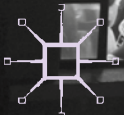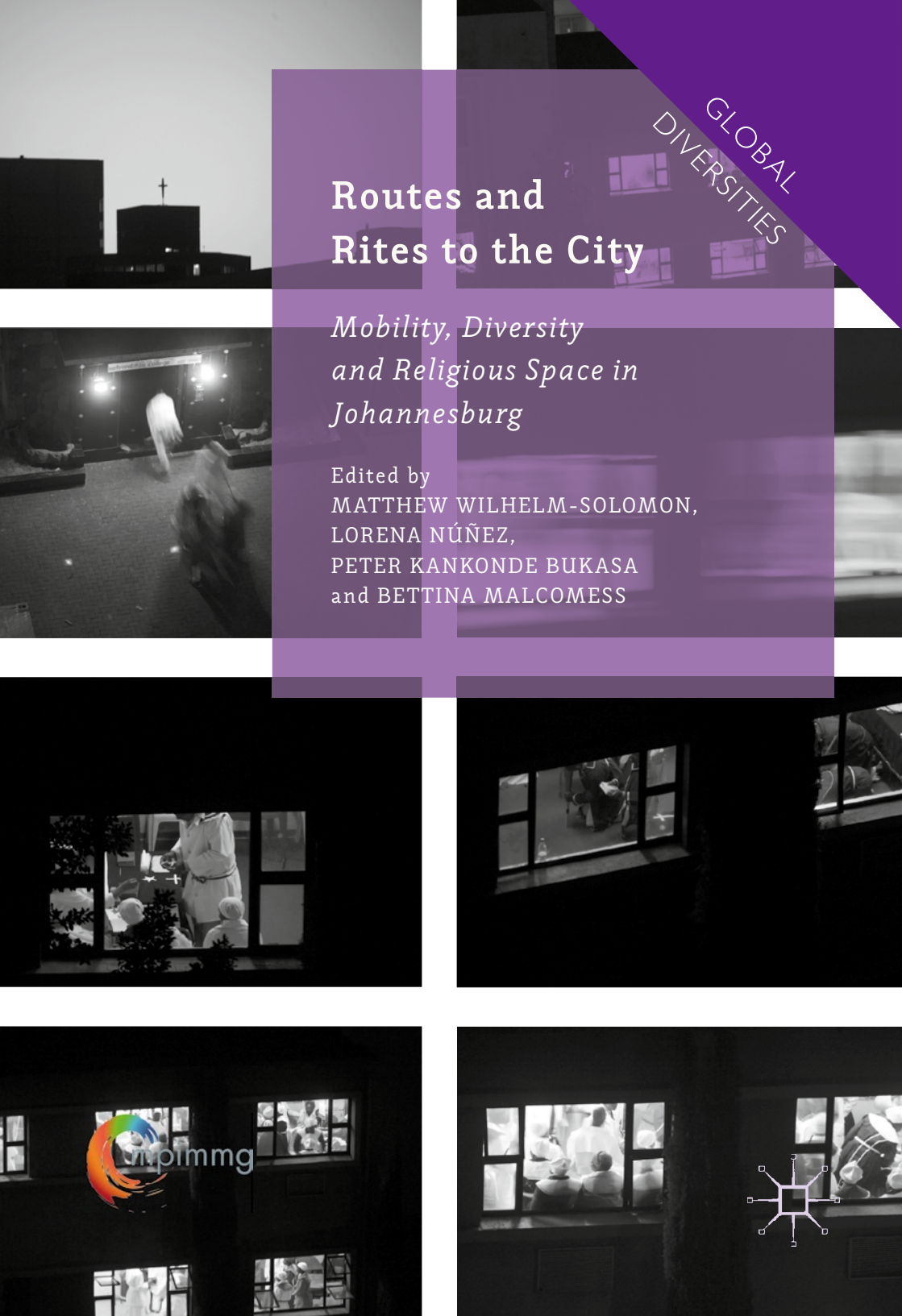# Routes and Rites to the City

Mobility, Diversity and Religious Space in Johannesburg

Edited by
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LORENA NÚÑEZ,
PETER KANKONDE BUKASA
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Over the past decade, the concept of 'diversity' has gained a leading place in academic thought, business practice, politics and public policy across the world. However, local conditions and meanings of 'diversity' are highly dissimilar and changing. For these reasons, deeper and more comparative understandings of pertinent concepts, processes and phenomena are in great demand. This series will examine multiple forms and configurations of diversity, how these have been conceived, imagined, and represented, how they have been or could be regulated or governed, how different processes of inter-ethnic or inter-religious encounter unfold, how conflicts arise and how political solutions are negotiated and practiced, and what truly convivial societies might actually look like. By comparatively examining a range of conditions, processes and cases revealing the contemporary meanings and dynamics of 'diversity', this series will be a key resource for students and professional social scientists. It will represent a landmark within a field that has become, and will continue to be, one of the foremost topics of global concern throughout the twenty-first century. Reflecting this multi-disciplinary field, the series will include works from Anthropology, Political Science, Sociology, Law, Geography and Religious Studies. While drawing on an international field of scholarship, the series will include works by current and former staff members, by visiting fellows and from events of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity. Relevant manuscripts submitted from outside the Max Planck Institute network will also be considered.

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Acknowledgements

Contents

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Bettina Malcomess is a writer and an artist, working occasionally under the name Anne Historical. She is the co-author with Dorothee Kreutzfeldt of the book *Not No Place: Johannesburg, Fragments of Spaces and Times* (Jacana, 2013). Her practice is interdisciplinary, collaborative and research-led, often shifting in response to the material she works with. She has curated several group exhibitions and site-specific public projects. She was one of the co-founders of the Keleketla! Library Project in Johannesburg. She teaches at the Wits School of Arts in Fine Arts and occasionally in the School of Architecture. Her research and editorial work for this volume was supported by the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity's 'Super-Diversity, South Africa' Project.

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Pragna Rugunanan is an academic at the University of Johannesburg. Her doctorate focused on African and South Asian migrant communities in South Africa. She has served on the executive of the South African Sociological Association and is currently a council member and a working group convener. During her break from academia, she was involved in training and consulting for various manufacturing concerns under the Manufacturing, Engineering and Related Services Sector Education and Training Authority (MerSETA). Upon her return to academia, she has been involved in National Research Foundation (NRF)-funded research projects on Family, Well-Being and Resilience and Social Capital and Citizenship. Her research interests include the sociology of migration and labour studies and changing patterns of work, social networks and community studies. She has published on migration, gender, xenophobia, education and citizenship. For this research, she received funding from the NRF,

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Matthew Wilhelm-Solomon is a researcher at the African Centre for Migration & Society (ACMS), and the lead researcher on the *Routes & Rites* project. His research and editorial work for this volume was supported by the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity's 'Super-Diversity, South Africa' Project and managed through the ACMS. Elements of his chapters here were presented in narrative form in the e-book *Writing Invisibility: Conversations on the Hidden City* produced in collaboration between the ACMS and Mail & Guardian, and also funded by the 'Super-Diversity, South Africa' project.

Wilhelm-Solomon completed his doctorate from the University of Oxford in development studies which focused on HIV/AIDS treatment to displaced communities in northern Uganda. Presently, he is also working on a monograph focusing on migration and urban regeneration in inner-city Johannesburg. His articles have appeared in a number of international journals and books including *The African Cities Reader*, *Medical Anthropology*, *Current Anthropology* and *Healing and Change in the City of Gold*, among others. He has also been a recipient of the Volkswagen Foundation 'Knowledge for Tomorrow' Postdoctoral Fellow in the Humanities and a writing fellowship under the Migration &

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1

Routes and Rites to the City: Introduction

Matthew Wilhelm-Solomon, Lorena Núñez, Peter Kankonde, and Bettina Malcomess

Overview

This book is an exploration of the ways religion and diverse forms of mobility have shaped post-apartheid Johannesburg. By mobility, we refer

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From t*op left*: St Mary's the Less Anglican Church, Rosettenville Synagogue, Rosettenville Catholic Church, Pure Fire Miracles Ministries International, Watchman Catholic Charismatic Renewal Movement, Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (Rosettenville Branch). Photographs by: Bettina Malcomess and Shogan Naidoo. 2014–2015

to not only transnational and intra-national migration but also movements of commodities, ideas and forms, the traffic of objects, sounds and colours within the city. By taking this approach, we aim to re-theorize religion and urban super-diversity (Vertovec 2007, 2015a, b): here superdiversity is viewed not simply in terms of the plurality of religious, ethnic, national and racial groups, but conceived in terms of the multiple *movements and enclosures* through which religion produces and permeates urban space. The relationship between religion, mobility and urbanization involves both temporal and spatial diversity and the shifting borders of spatial production, belonging and exclusion. This is a constant process of territorialization and de-territorialization of physical, aesthetic and symbolic forms of the city. We argue here that while religion allows for a sense of belonging and capacitates movement, freedom and aspiration in the city, it is also complicit in establishing new forms of enclosure, moral order and spatial and gendered control.

In reading the city through the intersecting phenomena of religion and mobility, we aim to provide a reading of post-apartheid Johannesburg that has been widely neglected in the literature on the city, as well as engaging with and advancing global debates around religion, urbanization and diversity. Here we focus on Johannesburg in its singularity not only as a

recently "post-apartheid" city, with particular configurations of situated histories, but also as a case study of a city of the Global South or "near-South" (Simone 2014)—post-colonial cities characterized by extreme disparities and proximity both to capitalist urban development and to extreme instability. After the end of apartheid in 1994, Johannesburg remains a city characterized by high levels of social inequality, a post-colonial legacy, defined by highly diverse forms of mobility, social identity, economic strategies and collaborations. This approach is not in any way to deny the persistence of apartheid-era racial and class inequality in the city, nor the continual processes of marginalization and dispossession through post-apartheid capitalism: rather our aim is to trace how religious forms and mobilities produce and saturate the circulation of capital and labour, and the spatiality of the post-apartheid city. These are imbricated in intersecting forms of social and moral order, exchange, belonging and exclusion in the urban context. Hence, this volume explores the intricate cartography of religion in Johannesburg, covering a great diversity of practices and spaces. Here we draw on perspectives from religious history, anthropology, urbanism, aesthetics, critical theory, sociology and theology. Adding to the flourishing body of theory on religion, migration and urbanism, we show how the transnational dimensions of migration and religion are continually being territorialized and de-territorialized, and also the ways these processes operate *within* the city.

Whereas most recent volumes addressing religion, migration and urbanization (discussed below) have adopted a transnational comparative perspective, our approach focuses on a single city: Johannesburg. While this is a multi-authored volume, it was developed through a series of dialogues and collaborations hosted by the African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS) at the University of the Witwatersrand though including a diversity of scholars from different universities and insitutions, and funded by Max Planck's Super-Diversity South Africa project. The process involved a transnational group of authors involving South Africans, Zimbabweans, a Congolese, two Scandinavians, a Chilean and a North American. However, the project was developed and situated within a University of the Global South and located within the site of study. Several of the authors collaborated with one another on research, and even those who have sole authored their pieces attended a series of conversations and workshops discussing material in progress—hence there are themes and arguments which recur

across chapters, illuminating diverse dimensions of the city. In this sense, this volume is closer to what Susan Reynolds Whyte (2014) calls a "polygraph" rather than a typical edited collection. We argue that a case study of a single city viewed through multiple and transnational perspectives allows us to view the forms of mobility and diversity operating within and beyond the city. In this introduction, we will provide a broad background to the city of Johannesburg and situate this book's theoretical and empirical engagements.

Diversity, Dispossession and Religion in Johannesburg

The city of Johannesburg was born in 1886 as a mining encampment, after the discovery of gold-bearing quartz.[1] From a piece of *uitvalgrond* or abandoned land in the middle of eight farms, public diggings were declared—an explosive moment giving rise over the century that followed to one of Africa's largest metropolises. From all over the country and world, prospectors gathered in Johannesburg. While white prospectors competed over digs and fortunes, particularly with the onset of deep-level mining, continued processes of colonial dispossession ensured that there was cheap black labour to exploit: mining compounds were created. Johannesburg, initially under the control of the Afrikaner leader Paul Kruger became a key site in the inter-colonial war between the British and the Afrikaners, into which many black Africans were conscripted. In the early twentieth century, the demand for cheap labour led to migrant labour coming in, not only from all over the region but also from India and China.

The city from its outset was characterized by biblical references as "the new Babylon" and "new Nineveh"—defined as it was by illicit markets in liquor, crime and sex work, as well as the equally shadowy and speculative nature of gold prospecting (Van Onselen 2001, 3). Compelled by a sense of moral dissolution and decay, religious groups and institutions established

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[1] For an overview of the history of Johannesburg and its origins, see Beavon (2004) and Van Onselen (2001).

themselves in the city. While mainline churches—Catholic, Presbyterian and Anglican along with Jewish synagogues—were established in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, emergent religious forms linked to migrant labour were also a feature of the city's earliest history. In particular, Christian Zionism was a form adopted from an American evangelical movement, the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church (CCAC) founded in Chicago in 1896, eventually establishing a Zion City, and drawing its following from marginalized urban populations. In 1904, proselytizers from Zion City came to Johannesburg to grant membership to a group of black South Africans. The Zionist movement spread across the country, being adapted and innovated into various urban and rural local forms, the largest of these being the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) established in 1925, with its headquarters Zion City Moria in Limpopo province (Comaroff 1985; Sundkler 1961; West 1975).

What is clear here is that a super-diversity of ethnic, national, racial and religious groups was a feature of Johannesburg from its early decades—but this diversity was highly stratified and characterized by exploitation and repeated dispossession. As Chipkin (1993, 195) notes with regard to the early migration into Johannesburg: "the growing tide of migration that took countrymen into the industrial towns of South Africa cannot be divorced from large-scale dispossession." The history of Johannesburg in colonial and apartheid times was also one of intense dispossession. The first mass evictions in Johannesburg, as Keith Beavon (2004) has documented, were in 1904 and involved burning down the houses of an Indian community in the city, justified by the threat of bubonic plague. The 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act aimed to regulate black migration and residency in Johannesburg and laid the basis for apartheid-era urban segregation throughout the 1920s and 1930s, with mass evictions of black residents from the inner city to the urban peripheries. After 1948, apartheid-era legislation was to solidify the racial division of South Africa and its cities, and black workers had to live in townships like Soweto on the urban peripheries (Tomlison et al. 2003). The 1950s saw the mass removals of black communities in Sophiatown in the northwest of the city. While the period from the 1970s to 1980s saw continued evictions from inner-city areas, these slowed in the 1980s due to anti-eviction activism and legislation leading to increased multi-

racial residence in inner-city areas (Beavon 2004; Marx and Rubin 2008; Winkler 2013). In the latter years of apartheid, while the government attempted to stop racial mixing and exclude black populations, civil society activism in Johannesburg managed to partially prevent evictions from the city (Winkler 2013). During the 1990s and 2000s, however, there was heightened mobility of white capital and residents from inner-city Johannesburg to previously whites-only suburbs, resulting in increased dereliction of inner-city infrastructures (Chipkin 2008; Zack et al. 2010). The post-apartheid city was to be reshaped substantially, not just by the breakdown of racially structured influx control but also by new patterns of migration. However, the role of religion in these changes has been substantially ignored—it is to this end that this volume aims to contribute.

Re-reading Post-apartheid Johannesburg

An indication of the lack of attention to religion in the study of the post-apartheid city is in the fact that the introduction of the Harrison et al.'s (2014) expansive edited volume *Changing Space, Changing City: Johannesburg After Apartheid,* in an exhaustive overview of the literature on the city, makes little mention of religion. Their volume does, however, contribute to redressing this absence, containing Winkler's contribution on Hillbrow arguing that "credoscapes" formed by faith-based organizations of different denominations have been important in creating "nodes of hope, order and stability amid perceived chaos and decay" (Winkler 2014, 492), a narrative piece by Kuljian (2014) on migration and the Central Methodist Church and two pieces on the dynamism of Islam in Johannesburg (Dinath et al. 2014; Sadouni 2014) and drawing attention to the contemporary and historical dynamism of Islam in Johannesburg. *Routes and Rites* traverses some of the same spaces, though it is, however, the first volume to offer an explicit focus on religion in Johannesburg and a sustained engagement with its implications for theorizing urban spaces, mobilities and materialities—looking not only at issues of belonging and exclusion but also at the super-diverse forms and processes through which religion is enmeshed in urban life.

Much of the literature on post-apartheid Johannesburg has primarily been concerned with racial and class segregation, criminality and security, the expansion of private sector regeneration is shaping urban space or its architectural heritage and public memorials (see inter alia, Beall et al. 2002; Tomlison et al. 2003; Murray 2008, 2011). A primary debate on the post-apartheid city has been of the effects of the expansion of neoliberal instrumentality and marketization on managing urban regeneration, and the ways in which these have re-inscribed class divisions, albeit with some limited de-racialization. Religion in the city is mostly considered an epiphenomenon or in a functionalist sense as a lost refuge for the marginalized, a "sanctuary in a heartless world" (Murray 2011, 171), but it is not accorded real force in shaping and reading the post-apartheid city.

A second body of theory has been primarily concerned with emergent lines of migration, affiliation, alliance and cultural form. The reshaping of the city through patterns of migration, both within South Africa and from across its borders, has led to a plurality of new social identities, alliances and engagements and evasions of the state and police (Hornberger 2011; Nuttall and Mbembe 2008; Simone 2008; Vearey 2010; Wanjiku Kihato 2014; Landau 2009; Landau and Freemantle 2010). Notably, Mbembe and Nuttall's (2008) *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis* has given attention to the *Afropolitan* form of Johannesburg—its emergent forms of consumption, migration and cultural production. Malcomess and Kreutzfeldt (2013), inspired by the work of Walter Benjamin, trace the historical evolution of the city, its passages, waterways and *uitvalgrond* (surplus ground)*,* along with its archives, as a way of reading the interplay between aesthetic and material forms, and the inscriptions of memory and dispossession onto these. However, they acknowledge that the religious and spiritual dimensions of the city are not reflected in their work, and it is in part from this absence that this project departs.

In particular, it has been through studies of migration, or migrant spaces, that religion has re-entered urban theory. For instance, Landau (2009, 197) has argued that "religion is one of a number of strategies for negotiating inclusion and belonging while transcending ethnic, national and transnational paradigms" and "by using strategies of partial inclusion and claiming rights, the religious practices of international migrants find ways to meld a normative social order, and to claim rights and transience"

(Landau 2014, 301). Tanja Winkler's (2013, 2014) study of Hillbrow, one of the most diverse areas of the country, and a primary residential area for non-national migrants, has given attention to the significance of faith-based organization in the inner city and the role these could play in urban regeneration policies, while being significantly excluded by state and private sector-driven policies. In particular, the xenophobic violence of May 2008 which began in the township of Alexandra, but spread throughout the inner city leaving thousands displaced, has provoked a major re-evaluation of our understanding of the city and post-apartheid South Africa more generally (Landau et al., 2011 for an account of this violence). Nationwide, it led to over 60 deaths and more than 100 000 displaced. It began in the township of Alexandra on the outskirts of Johannesburg, but spread into the inner-city, and nationwide. Religious groups played a major role in response to this crisis, and this in turn drew attention towards the role of religion in the city (Bompani 2013; Sadouni 2013; Kuljian 2013; Hankela 2014; Hartman-Pickerill, this volume). A volume *Healing and Change in the City of Gold* edited by Palmary, Hamber and Núñez (2015), and also developed at the ACMS, addresses the issue of religion in Johannesburg but primarily from a social-psychological rather than urbanist perspective. Hence *Routes & Rites* is the first full volume that aims to rethink post-apartheid diversity in the city of Johannesburg through the lens of urbanism and religion.

In the volume, we have chosen to take a broader perspective and to focus on spatiality and mobility, rather than only on migration. Johannesburg has often been framed as a city of migrants with a "long history of local and international migration" (COJ 2013). The 2000s in particular elicited a radical shift in migratory patterns in South Africa and Johannesburg, particularly due to the political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe, which led to South Africa becoming one of the largest recipients of asylum seekers in the world in the first decade of the millennium; although in recent years, with the civil conflict in Syria and the so-called Migrant Crisis in Europe, this has changed. At present, it has almost 300,000 asylum seekers and refugees,[2] though certainly many more undocumented migrants. Though census data may not reflect the actual dynamics of migration, given the high numbers of undocumented migrants in the city, they do reflect some of the changing dynamics of migration. In 2001, 97.1 % of

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[2] http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e485aa6.html

the residents of Johannesburg were born in South Africa, while in 2011 this decreased to 84.6%. The majority of non-nationals in 2011 came from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region (7.5 %), with 0.7 % coming from the rest of Africa, 0.5 % of the UK and Europe and 0.5 % from Asia. This reflects overall an increase of 9.8 % in international migration in the decade from 2001 to 2010. However, we cannot only view migration as a trans-border phenomena: 48 % of the residents of Johannesburg were born outside of the province of Gauteng in 2011, compared to 2001 in which only 7.4 % were born.

This reflects that migration to the city is predominantly from within South Africa and not cross-border migration. Hence, the most radical shifts in the city cannot be thought of as a result of trans-border migration. Nonetheless, in the inner-city areas the diversity of groupings is evident and well documented in ethnographic studies, reflected also in this volume. We do not, however, draw a clear distinction between national and non-national migrants; our concern here is with the diversity of processes of emplacement, rather than with a taxonomic categorization of migrants. Inasmuch as the apartheid regime aimed at rendering black populations "temporary sojourners" in the city, this effectively aimed to territorialize belonging in "ancestral homelands": however, in the post-apartheid era, borders between insiders and outsiders, citizen and non-citizen continue to structure and constrain mobility (Burchardt 2013; Nyamnjoh 2006). Hence, we must consider the "migrant" a particular effect of territorializing bureaucratic and military regimes (both the apartheid state and the contemporary asylum and deportation regime). Hence, while we give much attention to processes of human mobility, we do not aim to re-impose borders between citizens and migrants. Furthermore, in recent studies of mobility and globalization in Africa, mobility has been treated in terms of not just the mobility of people but also "resources, ideas, finances and objects" (Langwick et al. 2012, 8). An analysis of mobility hence provides a broader and more encompassing lens than an analysis of "migration" and also allows the focus to encompass broader assemblages of people, spaces and things. Here we follow this idea again not only with the attentiveness to transnational forms of mobility but also in terms of attempts at class mobility and the ways in which religion shapes forms of economic and social aspiration.

A final point to make here is that the absence of religion in contemporary studies of Johannesburg is striking, particularly given the rich historiographic and ethnographic study of religion in South Africa and Southern Africa (see inter alia, Comaroff 1985; Comaroff and Comaroff 1991, 2009; Chidester 2012; Sundkler 1961; Gunner 2004; Ngubane 1977; West 1975). These studies among others have traced how religious orders, rituals and mobilities have shaped Southern African history, indelibly inscribed within both the colonial past and post-colonial present. However, the impact of these studies on reading the post-apartheid city has often been elided. A central concern in this volume is that contemporary forms of religious diversity must be understood from an historical perspective. As such, we view the urban as a dense constellation of spatial and temporal forms of diversity. In developing this volume, in addition to contributing to re-theorization of diversity, we also aim to contribute to the emerging and vital study of urbanisms in Africa and the Global or "near-" South (Pieterse 2011; Simone 2014).

Rites and Rights: Engaging the Religious Turn in Urban Studies

The chapters in this volume are shaped by encounters with two diverse streams of theory: first, religious sociology and anthropology stemming from Weber and Durkheim, and encompassing the rich tradition of religious studies in Southern Africa, and, second, recent trends in urban theory particularly informed by urban geography and the work of Lefebvre (1991, 2000), along with recent work in assemblage theory, particularly informed by the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari 2004, among others. As a point of departure, let us begin with Durkheim's conception of "rite." He argues that "rites can be distinguished from other human practices—for example, moral practices—only be the special nature of the object … The special nature of that object is expressed in the belief" (Durkheim, 2008, 40). Durkheim classifies the object of religious rites in his well-known distinction between the sacred and the profane, and the rite requires a sacred object. Durkheim writes that the "sacred and the profane are always and everywhere conceived by the

human intellect as separate genera, as two worlds with nothing in common" (Durkheim, 2008, 42). Almost all the chapters of this volume show, however, that the relations between the sacred and the profane are fluid and unstable: rites are not simply structured by belief; rather rituals and material practices involve the constant reworking of categories and objects of belief. Rites or rituals are generative, creative, unstable and innovated (Appadurai 2013, 192). Rites produce their objects and are shaped by them, rather than the materiality of rites being ordered through an abstract belief. The chapters in this volume show that the objects and spaces of rites not only are shaped and produced by transnational and urban movements but also are themselves mobile. Religious rites are enfolded into the movement of trans-border migration, traffic, commodity circuits, security enclosures and so on.

From here, we enter the domain of urban theory: how then do we understand the spaces and objects of rites, and what is the relation of rites to rights? The connection is more than simply that these are homophones: at stake is the production and transformation of urban space.

As Lefebvre in his well-known essay writes that the "right to the city" can only be formulated "as a transformed and right to urban life" (Lefebvre 2000, 158)—of which, he notes, "only the working class can become the agent, the social carrier or support of the realisation." Lefebvre (1991) views space as socially produced and relational, encompassing lines of movement, and not as an abstract container. David Harvey (2012, 23), Lefebvre's most prominent contemporary exponent, has reformulated Lefebvre's vision by arguing that "the right to the city is, therefore, far more than a right of individual or group access to the resources that the city embodies: it is a right to change and reinvent the city more after our heart's desires. It is, moreover, a collective rather than individual right, since re-inveinting the city inevitably depends on the exercise of collective power over the process of urbanization." Harvey frames this collective struggle, as Lefebvre does, in Marxist terms of global working-class struggle.

Our emphasis on rites rather than explicitly formulated "rights" is not that we deny that urban regeneration schemes continue to dispossess and dislocate precariously placed residents in Johannesburg and globally (see Wilhelm-Solomon 2016) nor that the struggles for the rights in the city can be collective and transformative. Rather, such a perspective seems

to bracket out the lives of many who seek personal mobility and self-transformation through other forms, notably spirituality or religion, and that claims to urban space are often made through religious rites and appropriations of space, not collective rights-based movements. In fact, with the exception of the Central Methodist Mission (Hankela, this volume), few religious organizations in this study have actively mobilized for socio-economic and legal rights through formal civic, political and legal mobilizations. The relation of rites to rights is hence formed through social and material practice within the urban fabric.

Lefebvre's work has had a profound impact on thinking about the relation between religion and spatiality, and provides a basis for the reflections of several contributors to this volume, as it has inspired other studies theorizing the religious shaping of urban forms. The recent volume *Rescripting Religion in the City: Migration and Religious Identity in the Modern Metropolis* addresses this convergence most explicitly. The focus of this collection is "on the ways in which religious constructions of identity and the ways of imagining the world have engaged with the contingencies and pluralism of migrational life" (Garnett and Harris 2013, 2). The editors draw attention to the complex relationship between space and place and draw particularly on a Lefebvrian notion of space to highlight the historical, sensorial and affective relationship to religious spaces in the city.

Another emergent theme in urban religious studies is the engagement with the work of Deleuze and Guattari and assemblage theory more widely (see MacFarlane 2011; Farias 2011; Simone 2014), and the complex relationship between territorialization and space. The collection *Global Prayers* by the Metrozones Project provides a transnational and trans-disciplinary approach to understanding the ways in which "the urban and the religious reciprocally interact, mutually interlace, producing, defining and transforming each other" (Lanz 2013, 26). The work is oriented around three theoretical manoeuvres: first, drawing on the concept of 'worlding' (see Ong 2011) which involves the localized appropriation and reworking of globalized commodity circuits, imaginations and flows of signs and value. Second, they draw on the Deleuzian concept of the assemblage focusing on the dense interconnections between multiple forms, both material and spiritual. Their third theoretical manoeuvre is

the inclusion of multiple methodologies and modes of research, such as artistic practice, in interrogating the relation between religious and aesthetic forms of the city.

The collection *Topographies of Faith* (edited by Becci et al. 2013) explores the ways in which religion and urbanity "are transformed together by current social processes" and pose the questions of how "the spatial organization of cities and spatializations of religious communities, practices and aspirations" are related to one another (Burchardt and Becci 2013, 13). They argue that social relations can be spatialized through two primary processes: first, drawing on Berking (2006, cited in Burchardt and Becci 2013, 13), the demarcated and territorialized borders of political authority, and in particular the nation state; and second, drawing on Castells (1996, cited in Burchardt and Becci 2013, 13), a de-territorialized form that exceeds the boundaries of national borders and enclosures and that form around global flows. They argue that "the deterritorialisation of religion is primarily made visible through the ways in which transnational migration both uncouples and reconfigures place and territory from religious identity and community," showing how "the entanglements of religion and nationalism on the one hand, and global denominationalism on the other are two crucial horizons through which religion is folded into urban modernity and must be interpreted" (Burchardt and Becci 2013, 14–15).

Another key domain of debate has been regarding the role of the "sacred" in the city in light of critiques of Durkheim. The volume *The Sacred in the City* (eds Gomez and Van Herck, 2013) poses questions about the problem of the sacred and the magical in the modern metropolis. It deals with the sacred as a political, aesthetic, cultural and architectonic category for understanding modernity and modernization. The sacred is treated as circumscribed to the religious sphere and instrumental in forming identities of the urban multi-cultural dwellers. The sacred is also treated as an aesthetic experience, which helps to understand non-rational and non-intentional social binding, as a form of primary sociality. Another key example of the exploration of the sacred in the urban is the work of De Boeck (2013, 529) who explores the ways "in which urban cultures and infrastructures mediate diverse practices, discourses and affects in the various domains of the sacred." With refer-

ence to Kinshasa, he introduces the term "Polis-Sacred" to indicate that "sacred and the polis have become intricately intertwined" (ibid., 537). An emergent theme in this work, as in others within the religious turn in urban theory, is the unstable relation between sacral and secular space (see Lanz 2013), along with the blurring of distinctions between sacred objects and commodities.

What is distinctive in our approach in this volume within this current religious turn in urbanist research is that it takes the case study of a single city rather than providing a transnational comparative dimension. We believe that, more than just a matter of scale, this approach reveals the dense spatial and territorial inscriptions at play w*ithin* a particular city. We argue that this provides a route into re-theorizing the relation of religion to urban diversity.

Rethinking Religious Diversity in Johannesburg

"Super-diversity" in Vertovec's (2007, a, b) formulation is intended to account for the proliferation of multiple categories and subdivisions of groups in the contemporary metropolis—based on religion, ethnicity, history of migration, race and so on. This formulation also accounts for the layering of multiple historical forms of migration and diversity. While we are influenced by this approach, we aim to re-theorize an understanding of this layered temporal and spatial diversity in relation to urban space, as well as viewing diversity in terms of the multiple *processes* by which religion and mobility shape the urban. In South Africa, according to Blom Hansen (quoted in Vertovec 2015b, 14) "Urban dwellers … have developed a kind of agility and ability to live simultaneously in many different spheres"—here we give attention to the ways in which rites and religion are enfolded into the very plurality and proximity of these spheres.

Vertovec (2015b) proposes a triadic model of understanding the relation of diversity to complex social environment in terms of "configurations—representations—encounters." Configurations refer to the

"structural conditions within which people carry out their lives" (Vertovec 2015b, 15). Representations refer to the cognitive, discursive and symbolic forms shaping social power relations; and, finally, "encounters" refer to the domain of "human interactions." In our perspective, these formulations are powerful, but lack a theorization of spatiality and mobility, that is the ways in which these triadic forms become territorialized, connect with one another and are reworked in particular settings. We argue here that diversity is not something that only takes place within urban spaces and territories; rather, its forms are part of the very processes through which urban spaces are produced and formed. A case study of a single city testifies to the very plurality of ways in which flows of people and objects become entangled in religious rites and forms, and in doing so become implicated in the city's spatial and temporal formation. In developing this position in relation to religion, it is important to briefly account for how religious diversity has been framed in social science literature.

Religious diversity or pluralism generally conveys the idea that there exists today an astonishingly diverse range of religious beliefs and practices in many societies around the world (King 2008). Scholars mainly use, depending on their disciplinary perspective, the concept of religious diversity to refer to either positions or attitudes regarding the issues of the truth claims of one religion vis-à-vis others, or the plurality of religious offerings, or again the sociological effects of religious diversification in a given society (Wilde et al. 2010; Miller 2002). Sociologists of religion have mainly debated the effects of religious diversification on the salience of religion in people's lives and their religious participation. Hence, religious diversity has been discussed mainly as demographic reality.

Historically, religious plurality has been perceived to have a negative impact on religious beliefs and activity (Hume 1762, cited in Eswaran 2011). The first classical theory against religious diversity was proposed that it would lead to conflict and public disorder and reduce the authority of religious claims by infusing doubt about the truth of those claims (Hume 1762, cited in Eswaran 2011; Stark 1995, 431). The second classical theory assumed modernism's secularization effect on industrialized societies. Eminent scholars such as Emile Durkheim, Max Weber and Peter Berger (in his early work) all argued that increased industrialization and religious pluralism in most western societies accounted

for a perceived diminishing religiosity (Berger 1967; Van Tubergen and Sindradóttir 2011; Eswaran 2011). These academic discussions of the "old" pluralism saw the existence of a wide variety of Christian denominations as evidence of a pluralistic society (Machacek 2003, 146). The argument that over time modern and industrialized societies would experience the withering and disappearance of religion has long been taken to be self-evident. However, these theses have been firmly rebutted in recent scholarship on religion in the city as discussed above (Burchardt and Becci 2013; Becker et al. 2013).

While the above discussion is concerned mainly with inter-congregational religious pluralism at a societal level, a variant literature has instead spawned considerable work focusing on intra-congregational or individual-level belief diversity within denominations and within congregations understood to be the primary cause of religious diversity (See Gill 2003; Stark and Finke 2000; Olson 1999; Stark and Bainbridge 1985). This literature shows that there is diversity, for example, between mainlines and liberal denominations, while there is comparatively less diversity of belief in conservative denominations (Poloma 1989 and Yamane 2007, cited in Reimer 2011). Even within orthodoxy, for example, there is a degree of variety between congregations in the same denomination (Reimer 2011).

Recent work in urban studies has developed the themes of diversity in relation to the urban. In particular cities in the Global South, exhibit what Ajay Ghandi (2013, 191, 204) calls, with reference to Old Delhi, "radical heterogeneity" where we witness a complex play between "demarcation and border crossing." While ethnic or religious lines may be established in discourse or at times of violence, these are frequently transgressed in daily life. Burchardt and Becci (2013) call attention to both the horizontal diversity between groups and the importance of the "pragmatic historicity" of the religious diversity involving "demarcating pasts, confronting presents and envisioning futures." Kihato et al. (2010, 3) develop the notion of urban diversity as involving "ethnic, racial, national, religious, gender, class and sexual differences, which are at once sources of creativity and innovation but also of conflict and contradictions." These theorizations point to the multiplicity and fluidity of diversity in contemporary urban spaces, and the fact that they are a source of

both conflict and creation. Knott (2015, 90–91) argues that "religion is undoubtedly an important facet of contemporary superdiversity, influenced by migration, transnational circulations and diasporic interconnections." She frames this diversity primarily in terms of differentiated "selves, groups, creatures, things, times and places … distinguished or set apart by others. Arguably, where religion is present, there is diversity, or at least the potential for it." Similarly, Adogame (2010) emphasizes the complex dynamics of self-identity and place-making in relation to transnational religious forms. While we engage with these approaches, we also argue that theorizing diversity needs to be analysed at the level of the *processes* and *forms* of spatial production and the mobilities of those who practice and produce these religious forms in urban spaces. Here, difference is a product of not only structural divides and conflicts but also internal divergences.

One key theme that emerges from our study is that while religious competition and differentiation is pervasive, religion in Johannesburg is not a source of outright violence and conflict in the ways that it has been in other cities of the Global South. Furthermore, in contrast to the concerns with multi-culturalism in Europe raised by popular fears of migration and rising Islamaphobia, religion plays very little part in social tensions and violence in South Africa, where race, class and nationality have been defining historical and contemporary forces. Hence, one may ask what is the value of studying religious diversity? Our approach here is to address, firstly, the ways in religion and rites become articulated within (and outside of) other forms of differentiation and division. Furthermore, we understand religious diversity as *productive*—in this sense, to paraphrase Lefebvre (1991), we read religious diversity as productive of urban spaces, producing forms of mobility and passage within and through the city. What we term religious space is thus characterized by a plurality of internal forms, of differentiations, movements, passages and enclosures, which are not simply a product of divisions between self-identified groups. Here, we think of super-diversity not only in terms of the horizontal diversity of groups of different ethnic, racial and religious composition but also in terms of both spatial and temporal diversity, and the way these layers form part of the urban fabric. Religious diversity is conceived of as not only diversity between religions but also historically

determined processes of re-assembling lines of inclusion and division; diverse traditions, moral orders and ontologies; and disparate spatial relations. Religious rites become implicated and enfolded in these processes. Religious diversity thus represents a plurality of "pathways" through the city, not only assuming symbolic and aesthetic forms but also actively blocking and regulating the daily movements of bodies according to gender, class and race.

Kankonde and Núñez show how religious diversity involves the overlay of religious traditions within a specific site—a synagogue used by both a diminishing white Jewish population and a Congolese Pentecostal church. This space involves not only mutual inhabitation but also a respectful difference mediated by the worship of Yawheh. Religious rites become implicated and enfolded in these processes. In contrast, Sjødin's study of the African Hebrew Israelites, reveals how transnational forms of worship become re-territorialized in the space of the city. Without any direct Jewish lineage, this group adopts Jewish idioms of worship and views Israel as a spiritual home. In these studies, we see the constant play of how historically localized and transnational religious forms produce super-diversity in the city. Jinnah and Rugunanan's chapter shows how the area of Mayfair has become diversified much more in terms of different branches of Islam, along with historical relations between Hindu and Muslim communities which were formed during the colonial and post-apartheid era. More recently, these areas have undergone increased diversification with new and post-apartheid lines of migration from Somalia and elsewhere. This study relates to the production not only of space through the proliferation of mosques and temples but also of private spaces of worship and reveals the importance of the interactions between historical and contemporary lines of mobility and enclosure and the ways they are inscribed upon urban spaces. However, while the area is undergoing increasing intra-religious diversification, apartheid-era racial divides persist.

Katsaura's chapter in this regard is important for arguing how racial and class-divides are being re-inscribed in the city; ironically, fear is becoming a new form of religion, and habits of securitization take on a ritualistic character. He invokes the concept of "enchanted suburbanism" to grasp the ritualization of security. Even while there may be limited and suspi-

cious inter-racial diversity, there is little class diversity in these spaces, these are held together by fear and consumerism, bound up in a neo-Pentecostal and corporate form. Similarly, Wilhelm-Solomon, Zulu and Worby show how, while evangelical prophetic churches provide spaces for international and class diversity and capacitate aspirational hopes for physical and social mobility in the city, they also legitimate class-divides. Hankela's study of the Central Methodist Mission reveals how division emerges within a single "congregation" and how the dynamics of migration and refuge produce new forms of segregation. Hartman-Pickerill's chapter traces diversity in one of the oldest townships of Johannesburg, Alexandra. While townships, later designated as locations under apartheid, were zones demarcated for dwelling for black urban subjects, they have also been a space of intense political and cultural production: diversity has been characterized by both conflict and solidarity (see Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008). She provides a study of the aftermath of xenophobic violence in 2008 in Alexandra township where churches pushed for peaceful relations between South Africans and non-nationals and an end to violence. Finally, Moyo, Núñez and Leuta show how in cemeteries and burial yards, the graves of non-nationals are often anonymous. While the bodies of migrants who die in the city are returned to their ancestral homes, many are buried in unmarked graves. Hence, there is distinction between the populations of the living, and the memorials of the dead, their nameless graves are simply traces of an absence, itself another process of displacement.

Together, these studies not only show how the layered temporal and spatial super-diversity of Johannesburg is inscribed upon but also produces the urban space of Johannesburg. Furthermore, religious rites are not confined to discrete spatial zones—rather they are constantly enfolded into quotidian urban movements, passages and enclosures. To develop Vertovec's (2015b) triadic structure of diversity, the chapters in this volume show how religious rites become articulated with plural configurations, representations and encounters which are assembled and dissembled in particular urban nodes and pathways. Thus, the city is not only shaped by a diversity of ethnic, racial and religious groups (although historical divides and inequalities persist), but also produced through a diversity of religious rites and practices. Religious super-

diversity can hence be reframed not only as a super-diversity of groups but also as a super-diversity of movements, passages, spaces, processes and moral, social, and ontological orders that characterize the city. We elaborate on the theoretical implications of this below.

Religious Spaces and Mobilities

Defining religious spaces and mobilities poses a continual question in this volume. As discussed above, religious spaces and objects cannot be delineated into a division between the sacred and the profane, nor by fixed or demarcated structures, or orders. Religious forms and rites are continually in motion; rituals form assemblages with other urban processes and materialities. In contrast to a conception of the large-scale productions of space, religious rites constitute continual flows and movements, demarcations and inscriptions, territoritorializations and de-territorializations. Furthermore, the relation between religious rites and the city are also about sound, movement, clothing, colour and aesthetics and not only physical and territorial demarcations. Finally, religion becomes enfolded in the urban through affective attachments and relations. The various chapters in this volume express how these dynamic processes define and change the same city.

Jinnah and Rugunanan develop the Lefebvrian conception of the production of space, showing how the areas of Mayfair and Fordsburg become overlaid and divided conceptions of space, which produce a fragmented "spiritual landscape." They pay particular attention, with reference to the Muslim and Hindu area of Fordsburg to the historical inscription and production of difference in the same locality. Hankela draws on both Douglas and Tuan to argue that spatial divisions are formed not only through classifications of dirt and purity but also through affective attachments. She argues that the Central Methodist Mission is "a fluid and multi-layered place, that is, as an outcome of the organizing of space into centres of meaning," paying particular attention to affective relations and "fields of care." Similarly, Kankonde and Núñez develop the notion of a site as characterized by the paradox of fixity and mobility, and that attachments to spaces are based on personal histories and

nostalgia, and not only forms of sacralization. Wafer conceives of the two spaces in the inner-city neighbourhood of Hillbrow, a commercial fast-food chain and a soup kitchen, as involving overlapping moral orders and the perforation of the borders of sacred and profane, existing as much materially as in a collectively produced imaginary. Katsaura develops the concept of "enchanted suburbanism" to reveal how suburban spaces are produced by alluring fantasy, in fact constructed around rituals of security and fear—inseparable from intersecting class and racialized patterns of mobility and enclosure.

Transnational territorializations and de-territorializations are a constant theme throughout this volume. Sjødin, as noted above, in his account of the African Hebrew Israelites, living on the western peripheries of Johannesburg, draws on notions of territorialization and de-territorialization to explain the complex process of transnational belonging (formed between the USA, Africa and Israel), produced not only through migrant journeys but also through imagined homes, and the transfer of rituals to create sacred spaces in the city. Malcomess and Wilhelm-Solomon, however, argue that mobile assemblages and territorializations are not simply taking place transnationally but within the city on multiple scales—from the stones and inscriptions on mountainsides to the circulation of commodities, along with the embodied movements of song, voice and clothing. Hartman-Pickerill argues for an analysis focusing on the political economy of space, and the way in which religious spaces form part of broader social and economic categories. Hartman-Pickerill traces the radical diversity in the congested space of Alexandra township, which was one of the hotspots of the xenophobic violence of 2008. In this setting, a multiplicity of African Independent Churches, mainline churches and Pentecostals demarcate the space illustrating the variety of place-making strategies of division and refuge, in post-apartheid South Africa. Moyo, Núñez and Leuta explore the question of whether it is possible to understand decisions around burial places through the lens of place-making. With reference to these overlapping studies, we argue that to focus on the highly localized inscriptions of religious practices is not to bracket out the transnational but rather to be attentive to the dense constellations inscribed into different aspects of suburban and urban forms.

Along with tracing the complex interplay between emplacement and territorialization, a further question of this volume is how to think about the radical diversity of processes of *ordering* and their relationship to demarcations between the sacred and profane, as themselves highly unstable. The sociological theme of order recurs in chapters including those of Malcomess and Wilhelm-Solomon, Hankela, Wafer and Wilhelm-Solomon, Worby and Zulu. In contrast to the vision of Johannesburg as a "disorderly city" (Murray 2008), these chapters show the city to be constituted by a multiplicity and plurality of contested orders. Finally, mobility here is conceived as mobility not just across space but also between classes, or in terms of aspirations for upward mobility. As Katsaura expresses it in this volume, "mobility becomes a rite of passage into the status and privileges of black middle class life." Wilhelm-Solomon, Worby and Zulu explore how prophets in Johannesburg not only provide a vision of future status but also claim to clear away the obstacles to achieving this. Religion promises to capacitate upward mobility through removing material and spiritual obstacles to wealth, success and status. These studies point to the plurality of the ways in which religion not only produces material sites and infrastructures in the city but also describes and gives weight to the more intimate and ephemeral processes by which religious processes inscribe mobilities and diverse assemblages within the spatio-temporal fabric of the city.

Religious Symbolism, Visuals and Aesthetics

A significant part of this project has been a visual research component, which has formed an important parallel process that has complemented the fieldwork and writing with a small selection of material included in this volume, and a visual essay that is available online. This dual approach has precedents in both large-scale transnational projects like *Global Prayers* and the collaborations of anthropologists with photographers, such as *Kinshasa: Tales of an Invisible City* (De Boeck and Plissart 2004). More than a parallel process, the visual component of the project, in fact contributed directly to some of the formations and writing of the chapters during workshops and exhibitions of work in progress. Thus, it

seems appropriate to enter the volume through a description of this visual research process.

The visual research has been defined by a focus on the diversity of spiritual and religious spaces within the city and on its edges, and the multimodal movements of its practitioners. This approach echoes that of the volume, tracing how diverse religious practices and processes occupy and transform urban and suburban spaces. As such, the production of sacred or religious space is what is conveyed in these images, often making visible the contestation of territories or the proximities of different practices. The photographic series, as opposed to the singular image, seemed to be the best form to convey the mobility and diversity of religious spaces in the city where each series forms a visual essay in itself, not always directly linked to the case studies. Some series are arranged in sequences in order to convey a sense of movement through space and time, often drawing on the visual language of the filmstrip. Here images convey the journey through a building, the movement on foot through the open veld or from a moving vehicle on the highway, or temporal passage from night into day during a 24-hour prayer vigil, taken by Dean Hutton, which forms the cover of our volume. This sense of continual motion defines the visual language of the photographs, a direct evocation of the theme of mobility in the book's written research. Often people are present in the photographs only through the traces they leave—from the interiors of the Central Methodist church where neatly stacked piles of clothing index the role of the church as refuge, to the white stones that demarcate the spaces of worship of Apostolic groups in the open veld. This approach sees these physical traces and markers as signs of the active production of religious space. It attempts to capture both the aesthetics of these processes and the conflicts and allegiances with other forces that shape urban space.

The photographic series, like the chapters themselves, move between points of view, zooming in from wide to close, in some instances remaining distant, indicating the position of the researcher and photographer as alternatively observer and outsider, listener and participant. While in others, an intimacy is set up which is possible only because the photographer or researcher has a personal relationship with the subjects, and an affective attachment to the spaces. In Simangele Kalisa's images, the

photographer herself has dressed up in the clothing of certain Christian denominations. Here the performative nature of the portraits points to the self-consciousness with which the religious subject fashions themselves, a set of significant aesthetic choices thus codify the body itself as religious site.

What is conveyed in the writing and the visuals is not only this ceaseless movement of religious actors, objects and processes but also the movements of the photographers and researchers themselves. What emerges in the written and visual components of the project is an aesthetics, or perhaps poetics, of religious diversity and mobility. This speaks to what this volume hopes to make legible, and indeed visible: the nature of religious space is a series of shifting assemblages and processes that shape not only the urban form but also the bodies and voices of those who populate and navigate the city of Johannesburg, itself a continually unfolding and uncertain imbrication of territories.

Excerpts from the visual supplement are included in this volume; the full visual supplement can be accessed at https://routesrites.wordpress.com/

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2

Valleys of Salt in the House of God: Religious Re-territorialisation and Urban Space

Bettina Malcomess and Matthew Wilhelm-Solomon

Introduction

Cadestral images of Johannesburg's inner city (that we purchased from an arcane geo-planning office in the labyrinthine Metropolitan Council complex) indicate the scale of the religious conversion of urban space. Large-scale office blocks, shopping arcades and industrial warehouses have been converted into religious sites throughout the city in the post-apartheid era. Yet, it is not simply large-scale redevelopments that mark religion's transformation of the post-apartheid city: pavement stalls sell an array of religious badges; supermarkets sell salts for spiritual cleansing and good fortune alongside daily household items; stores in crowded malls sell

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From *top left*: Village Main (view from M2 highway); African Gospels Church, Marban Christian shop, Revelation Church of God/Old Synagogue (view from Smith Street). Photographs by Bettina Malcomess. 2014

bound Bibles translated into African languages alongside self-help books and guides for financial success, themselves punctuated by metaphors of salvation: "The Magic Ladder to Riches"; "I believe in Miracles". Tailors in markets weave multi-coloured gowns that are transformed into a fluid procession of worship on Sundays while hymnal voices and loudspeakers distorted in supplication resonate in the streets and parks. The mine dumps and hills that encircle the city are littered with the remains of religious ceremonies and the healing rituals of Inyangas and Sangomas.[1]

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[1] *Sangomas* and *inyangas* are practitioners within indigenous Southern African religious and healing systems who also play ceremonial and political roles; they fulfill roles of healing, divination, birth-rites and burial, along with communication with ancestors. As Ashforth (2005, 52-53) points out although *sangomas* are widely associated with being "religious practitioners" and *inyangas* as "medical practitioners", there is significant blurring of these categories as both can invoke both religious and therapeutic roles.

The diversity of the religious spaces and practices forms the major content of this chapter, which traces how the religious ordering of space and time extends across other modalities of city life: the moral, the economic, the somatic, the governmental. The research for this chapter was carried out between 2013 and 2015. We aim to show how religion shapes the city's spatio-temporal fabric through multiple processes of demarcation, territorialisation and movement in a constant play between formal structures and mobility. We argue here that religious groupings in the city aim to establish sites of belonging and moral order through the administration of spaces, objects and bodies, both in tension and in harmony with co-existing orders and territories. Religious groups, formally and informally organised, thus form territories within the built form of the city, but they are also perpetually in motion, perpetually territorialising. Our fieldwork consisted of an immersion within these religious geographies: physically walking the city, surveying maps and planning documents, conducting interviews with different individuals and groups and observing specific sites and ceremonies. Our approach attempts firstly to show how religious orders are produced not only materially and spatially but also in the imaginaries of their practitioners and congregations, thus a poetics of religious forms are present in language through narrative and allegory, and in the affective and symbolic encoding of colour, objects, clothing and song.

We argue here that religious space is not only the large-scale production of sacred demarcations but also rather constituted by different modalities of movement, relational forms and fluid forces, described by flow and blockage, enclosure and openness, the solid and the ephemeral. In other words, our study extends beyond the conversion of physical sites involving the dialectics of the infrastructural and ephemeral (De Boeck 2013; Quayson 2014): the amplification of song through speakers onto the street, the quieting of voices in prayer, the myriad of shapes, colours and sounds by which the religious infiltrates and redefines the spatio-temporal experience of the urban (cf. De Witte 2008).

A central organising concept of our chapter is Deleuze and Guattari's (2003, 2004) related conception of assemblage and territorialisation. The influence of assemblage theory on urban theory (see McFarlane 2011; Farías 2012) has been notably discussed and critiqued by Brenner et al. (2011), who argue that this approach lapses into a "naive objectivism",

and does not provide the tools to account for structural processes of capital accumulation, state territoriality and dispossession. They argue that for assemblage theory to be meaningful, it must be articulated within urban critique and political economy. Here, we are concerned not with political economy as such but with the ways in which the territorial inscriptions of religious formations is articulated within broader urban processes: forms of spatial mobilisation, administration and control.

The use of territorialisation and assemblage theory have been explored in relation to religion, migration and urban space (Burchardt and Becci 2013; Garbin 2011; Wong and Levitt 2014) but primarily in relation to transnationalism and transnational migration—our concern here is rather how these processes operate *within* a single city. Although transnationalism is a powerful force shaping urban spaces and identities, we argue that religious diversity produces multiple demarcations and enmeshments within a singular urban space on multiple scales.

Lanz (2013, 29) has characterised assemblage urbanism as focusing on the "dense description of the agency, apparent in everyday urban life and on the mutually defining practices which generate urbanism", rather than "focusing on spatial categories or formations". Lanz argues that the power of assemblage is in analysing the relationship between the urban and the religious as a "practice of mediation". Lanz (2013, 30), drawing on Simone, argues that assemblage urbanism emphasises potentiality and provides a conceptual framework that is "capable of doing justice to the diversities and ambiguities in the connections between city and religion". Furthermore, "urban-religious configurations" are "assemblages of material, social, symbolic, and sensuous spaces, processes, practices, and experiences where the religious and the urban are interwoven and reciprocally produce, influence and transform each other". Here we develop these themes with a specific emphasis on the ways in which diversity and mobility in the city become inscribed in the urban form on multiple spatial scales. We are hence interested in religious territorialisation as a "spatialization of a specific relation to the sacred" (Garbin 2011, 149), and a means to understand the ways in which religious and ritual forms are enmeshed in the urban form, its daily flows, transactions and mobilities.

Drawing on Deleuze and Guattari (2004), we understand ongoing processes of territorialisation as a fluid movement between three forms: the assemblage, the refrain and the territory. The assemblage is that operation of "'holding together' heterogeneous elements" (Deleuze and Guattari 2004, 323) which has been adopted in social science writing to describe sets of relations in social, geographical and urban fields. It essentially describes a field of social relations as continually shifting, performative and generative rather than a fixed structure. Territorialisation refers to the constant re-inscription of the borders between inside and outside: a never-ending production and re-organisation of the orders of the social, spatial, temporal and economic. We adapt the term "refrain" to refer to not only the ephemeral markings of religious passage within urban spaces—including sound and song—but also the marking of the bodies of those who move through them. The refrain most simply refers to the recurring theme of musical composition, but it can also be gestural or optical. Thus we treat as a refrain not only the songs of religious groups but also a blessing given on a street corner, or the green and silver badges worn daily by members of the Zionist Christian Church, a coloured stripe on a white robe indicating membership to a specific Apostolic group. It is essentially that which produces or marks out a territory in the very same moment that it de-territorialises and "moves on"; it is both of a space and of a body. It is continually in "passage", and also itself a passage between assemblages. It's passage is not only spatial but also temporal—forming temporary relations, affects, feelings of belonging or separation, safety and protection—and then dissolving these in the next moment as it produces a new set of relations. Thus de-territorialisation follows territorialisation. The process of territorialisation is described as the production of rhythm, not the same as melody, rather a kind of oscillation; it is the formation of relations both between and within *assemblages*: "[t]erritorialising marks simultaneously develop into motifs and counterpoints, and reorganize functions and regroup forces" (Deleuze and Guattari 2004, 322). Finally, the territory can be not only a closed, transitory and demarcated space but also a form of passage.

Multiple Sites, Diverse Assemblages

We argue that the religious spaces of the city are formed in relation to multiple assemblages, continually in a process of re- and de-territorialisation. Religious refrains re-organise and infiltrate the exchange of commodities, the language of urban development, even politics, whether cleansing the sweat of labour in ceremonies with salts and water, emplacing the displaced in healing rituals in the open veld, or conjoining refrains of salvation with promises of wealth. In some of the case studies, we encountered a recurring tension between the image of religious territories as ordered, homely spaces, both moral and sacred, against the city as space of disorder, displacement and unchecked, immoral forces.

Three sites form the core of our study, selected to represent diverse processes of religious territorialisation specific to Johannesburg's urbanity. At each, a multiple set of religious assemblages and modes of territorialisation are legible, and the sites are indeed selected for their concentration of diverse religious processes. The nature of what we call the site is in fact also a fluid term by which we denote both actual physical spaces within the built environment and those processes by which spaces are converted for religious use: from office blocks in the inner city to warehouses in the industrial zone, to the "natural" landscape on the urban/suburban periphery. Here processes of de- and re-territorialisation vary from the production of formal and informal infrastructures to temporary markers of holy space in the open, to more permanent forms of property ownership and control. The first is an area on the southern peripheries of the city which forms a threshold between the inner city and the mine dumps of the former Village Main Mine. The site is cut through by the highway that encircles the city, beneath which is a traditional healers market and a local centre for the trade of traditional cures and medicines, known as "muthi".[2] Included in this site is an old Catholic chapel which is rented out for inter-denominational services. Our second site is the area around Park Station, the main transportation thoroughfare for travellers into and out of the city. The city blocks surrounding Park Station encompass the headquarters of the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God, the

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[2] According to Ashforth (2005: 133), muthi refers to 'medicine' or 'poison' that can achieve the positive ends of 'cleansing, strengthening, and protecting persons from evil forces, or negative ends of witchcraft, bringing illness, misfortune, and death to others'.

Anglican Cathedral, the High Court and a proliferation of street traders selling religious commodities among other items.

The third site is that of the Great Park Synagogue: the Synagogue was one of the earliest spaces of gathering for Jewish migrants and communities in the city and is now the home for a rapidly growing prophetic movement called the Revelation Church. The synagogue is also diagonally opposite Joubert Park, itself a public space in which many itinerant congregations gather. Our study also engages two traders in religious and spiritual commodities, both in close proximity to the major case studies: a Christian shop and a general dealer trading in traditional medicine, locally known as "muti".

The chapter charts a religious geography through our own movements between interior spaces of worship to exterior sites to spaces of trade, navigating the city from the level of the street to the radial highways and then the city as a whole as observed from a physical vantage point or geo-mapping. Thus, movement operates both physically, in our own walks, drives and encounters[3] and conceptually, as a means to illuminate the ways in which religious mobilities physically and metaphorically shape the city, in an ongoing process of de- and re-territorialisation. These movements through spaces do not produce a comprehensive map of the city's religious spaces as much as describe a series of concentrations, intensifications and assemblages of multiple religious territories enmeshed within the fabric of the city's social and physical geography.

We draw here on Eduard Glissant's (2006) distinction between errant and directional nomadic movement. For Glissant, post-colonial identities are inherently relational, produced by movement, first by the passage across or away from a point of origin, itself lost, and also by the movements of other forces, often violently into one's own territory. This directional nomadic movement is that of empire, coloniality, apartheid and capital, which is distinguished from the errant movements of the displaced, without a direct link to a home or fixed root identity, their movement is dynamic, organic and relational. It is through mapping and tracing these diverse trajectories of territorialisation and mobility that we intend to show how religion offers forms not only of collectivity and free-

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[3] A substantial part of the research was undertaken with the assistance of Melekias Zulu.

dom but also of control and separation. We attempt to make visible our own movements throughout the chapter, and although they may follow the passages of the truly errant figures in the city's life, we are aware that our own mobility is premised on a right to move that often goes against the flows of traffic and the gendered and racialised nature of public spaces in the post-apartheid city. Hence, if the "territory itself is a place of passage" (Deleuze and Guattari 2004, 323), then the passage is itself a kind of territorialising.

Multiple Refrains in the Uitvalgrond

African Gospels Church

On the edge of the M2 highway where the city meets the unnatural landscape formed by massive tailings dams, at the remaining base of one of its oldest deep-level mines, we find sketched into this peripheral zone the traces of multiple religious orders. Seen from the top floor of the Carlton Centre (a somewhat rundown Modernist relic of the 1960s gold boom), the view through murky glass panes provides an image of the entire city in miniature, and makes visible Johannesburg's relationship to its industrial and natural edges.[4] These edges seem best described by the Afrikaans word "uitvalgrond", roughly equivalent to the English term "surplus ground". *Uitvalgrond* was the word used to describe the original triangular-shaped area falling between three farms on which the original mining "town" was built. It presents a spatial concept for thinking the specificity of the city's relationship to landscape, so strongly marked by the history of mining

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[4] Johannesburg was established as a mining town in 1886 based on the gold-rich reef running along the city's East-West axis. Extraction of the embedded gold deposits depended on the development of deep-level mining and highly toxic processes employing mercury and cyanide. The Village Main Mine is one of the oldest and deepest of these. Deep-level mining has definitively shaped the economy, labour relations and environment of the city, producing the characteristic mine dumps or tailing dams along the gold reef. The sand of these dumps contains traces of Uranium and other toxic substances, affecting residents living in close proximity, such as those of Meadowlands in Soweto. The building of the Carlton Centre, a mall, office block and now moth-balled hotel, was financed by mining house Anglo American. Its construction in the 1960s however, marked a turning point in the city's economy from mining to industrial, market-driven production (Malcomess and Kreutzfeldt 2013, 94, 213–214).

(Malcomess and Kreutzfeldt 2013, 62–65). This idea of surplus ground describes those areas along the gold reef, punctuated by eroding tailings dams and disused infrastructure, many in the process of being re-mined. It also applies to those natural spaces falling alongside new developments, the extensions of highways, shopping malls, parking lots and major intersections: often grassy, even lush and lined with trees.

From the telescopic viewfinder of the Carlton, one can see on several days of a week the lines and circles of supplicants on the old mine dumps, their white robes lining the yellow sand and patches of green at the edge of the old mine entrance, transforming the uitvalgrond into a magico-religious space, a space where invisible orders, or those only marked by stones, demarcate spaces for prayer, healing, prophecy and spiritual repair. The groups that proliferate on the site of Village Main and its surrounds are mostly diverse Apostolic formations. While we don't invoke the former term "wilderness churches" (Engelke 2007; Werbner 1985; Mukonyora 2007), we note the allegorical substitution of the biblical landscape of the "wilderness", the "valley" and the "mountain" within the geography of the mining landscape, territories of liminality, toxicity and uncertainty.

Our research into Village Main involved geo-mapping, several visits to the site and finally the purchase of the original title deed from the city's deeds office, which revealed an even more mysterious economy of the space. In 2010, the original mining headgear had been removed although traces of illegal surface mining are still visible in the form of crudely dug tunnels and the site is patrolled 24 hours by private security guards. The title deed for the designated Erf 51 revealed that in 1923, ownership had been transferred from the Village Main Reef Gold Mining Company to The Vicar Apostolic of the Johannesburg Vicariate of The Roman Catholic Church. There was no evidence of a church built on or near the extant Village Main; however, just on the other side of the M2 highway which cuts across the old mining ground, we came across a building with the architectural typology of a small chapel, often found in smaller rural towns.

The building was surrounded by a fence and looked more or less abandoned, lost in the shade of the highway and a palm tree, across from a line of industrial warehouses, and adjacent to an open area used as parking by

minibus taxi drivers. Walking back to our car on the strip of land between the building and the highway, we noticed a stone plaque embedded in the concrete Mooi street off-ramp. Placed there in 1994, it commemorated a Catholic school built for the education of young black women that had occupied this site in the 1930s. The construction of the radial highway that encircles the historical centre of Johannesburg city was the vision of modernist apartheid urban planners, producing the system of sprawling suburban peripheries connected to the city centre and which transported the black urban labour force from dormitory townships to industry and mines, and back again every evening—a spatial division which persists. Through a conversation with the caretaker at the back of the property, we learnt that the old Catholic chapel was now owned by a BaSotho preacher who rented it to the African Gospel Church,[5] along with various others. On Sunday, the choral song of the church filters into the industrial surroundings. At a service of the African Gospel Church, we met Pastor Albert Dlamini; his story is, in a sense, a story of the shifting dynamics of religious territorialisation in the city.

Dlamini is a migrant from KwaZulu-Natal, who joined the African Gospel Church, which is a national institution as a young man in the 1970s, becoming a preacher. When he came to Johannesburg in the mid-1980s, there was no branch of the Church in the inner city. He told us, "I was coming to work in Johannesburg, but God was with me that time. I started to preach in the street, Park Station, everywhere, and people came to me". He got a job at a glass fitting centre and would preach in his free time, living in an inner-city suburb in the late 1980s, when the Group Areas Act was collapsing.[6] In a sense, Dlamini's itinerance reflects this moment of transition, his evengalistic movement enacting a re-territorializing of

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[5] African Gospels Church would fall within the category of African Independent or African initiated churches. Usage of the word "African" the name of African initiated churches is common, indicating that they do not originate from what Martin West terms Mission churches, and are thus entirely independent from Mainline Christianity of European origin (West 1975, 3).

[6] The Group Areas Act was one of several apartheid era legislations assigning different racial groups to different residential and business areas in a system of urban apartheid. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, several legal cases against the forced removals of black and coloured residents from Johannesburg set a legal precedent for the erosion of group areas in the city. Other factors such as economic pressure, the exodus of white residents, and the scrapping of the pass laws in 1986 (which restricted the movements of the urban black population) led to the city becoming what is termed a "grey area".

the apartheid city's public spaces. "I had no space, I went all over. You see when you're preaching Gospel from the street, there's no space. If God says I must go to Braamfontein, I go to Braamfontein to preach, if he says I must go to Denver, I go to Denver. When you preach Gospel, God gives you a space only, not people". In the 1990s, he was employed by the Church to establish a branch in the city, but for the following decade they had no choice but to continue renting different spaces, until finally in 2009 they settled into the former Catholic church building, though they still wish to one day purchase their own.

"It important to have a physical space", says Dlamini, "If you haven't got a physical space for the church, people have no chance to repent, because if you have no place, they will ask you where are you from? Where is your church? The street is the street, a house is a house. You can teach from the street, but people love where you stay, where you have a church". Dlamini's words indicate two forms of territorialisation. On the one hand, the desire to create a space, a fixed locus or home for the congregation; however, he also describes a relational form of belonging and identity produced by his early preaching in the street, the territorialising passage of the sermon as refrain. The space currently rented is shared with other churches, simply a shell containing what remains of the former Catholic chapel, and if need be this small congregation will move again.

In a service we attended, largely structured by song, there is an internal and gendered order inside the Church with the men on right facing the pulpit and the woman on the left. While men have more visible functions within services, women also play a significant role, preaching and arranging collections. The service is mainly conducted in isiZulu (a woman congregant was appointed English translator for our benefit) and according to Dlamini, the church also has non-South African congregants. Although Pentecostal, it does not operate along the same individualising lines of the large evangelical churches: tithing is not aimed at providing individual reward, rather tithes are amassed collectively. In the service we attended, two families "competed" for collections, but ultimately the money was pooled together. One of the women explained that they operated like an "NGO" supporting the Church. Later when we met Dlamini in his modest home in the suburb of Bertrams, outside of which his wife

made beaded jewellery, he told us that he thought the larger churches had "lost their way", focusing on money and not repentance.

Apparent in this case study are how the different modalities of the religious re-territorialisation of urban space are contingent on a set of relations that already structure the city's built and human infrastructure. As this infrastructure reflects an always shifting set of relations between property owners, state legislation and a host of private and public actors at any site, each territory is always already a passage, contingent on relations with external actors. Hence, from a migrant evangelist navigating different areas of the city as apartheid segregation began to disintegrate, Dlamini's small congregation eventually negotiates its weekly residence in a former Catholic chapel, rented from another wealthier Church, itself a temporary inhabitation defined by the social re-organisation of the interior space and the voices of the congregants.

Village Main

We now move from the site of the old church and the former Catholic school across the highway to the shaft of the former Village Main Mine, and along the edge of its tailings dam. In town planning records, this mine and former Catholic Church are situated on the same Erf (property), thus we treat these two anomalous spaces as a single site.

On the barbed wire edges of one of the disused mines, the remnants of ritual sacrifice can be found: a goat's head, the scattering of burnt clothes. Security guards at the site inform us that in the evenings expensive cars drive to the spot where ceremonies are performed by Sangomas in the night. They are careful when guarding the peripheries against the artisanal miners who work in the area not to step on these objects, which can cause misfortune. On its surface, illegal, artisanal miners, known as "Zama Zama" (many of whom are themselves migrants), compete for this unstable, mineral rich and toxic surface with Christian Apostolics, traditional healers and diviners, as well as criminals and private security. We should add ourselves to this field of competitors as researchers and observers within the same physical space. All are in a sense vulnerable here, both to crime and to the toxicity of the environment; criminals are often

armed with guns and violent crimes happen frequently. The soil is rich with deposits of heavy metals and chemicals which have produced what is called acid mine drainage affecting the ground water used in baptism and cleaning rituals and in processes of extraction in artisanal mining.

The Masowe Church is one among the many Apostolic groups which gather on these mine tailings several days a week, and sometimes for all-night prayers. The Masowe name, in Shona, derives from the notion of "uninhabited fringes", and *Sowe* refers to "unoccupied land that is sacred and special to Masowe Apostles" (Mukonyora 2007, xvii). Mukonyora notes that for the Masowe, sacred spaces can be rivers, at the edge of fields, the sides of mountains—and that these landscapes are gendered with different meanings for men and women. However, Mukonyora explains that the notion of the "sacred wilderness" translates into the urban setting as what she terms the "urban wilderness" (2007, 6). For example, in Harare, Zimbabwe, she found many Masowe worshipping on "barren land".

They establish their prayer ground on the mine dumps through demarcating the territory with stones and praying to purify the space. In addition to their robes, some carry identity cards when walking to the sites to protect themselves against police harassment. Their modes of territorializing are complex, involving the establishment of transient spatial demarcations on the uitvalgrond, adopting white robes with specific colour markings to identify different groups, as well as occasionally identity cards or badges. Here the refrain extends into the territory of both state and church bureaucracies, producing a syncretic symbolism through badges and colour to administer a set of territories that extend from the site of worship to the member's body as they move through distinct urban assemblages. Both fixity and mobility define this religious practice, and most Masowe groups claim specific spaces on the former mining ground, while establishing networks of diasporic affiliation throughout the city that aim to create a sense of home and belonging, especially among newly arrived Zimbabwean migrants.

In an interview with a Masowe church member, Mary (not her real name), we were told that her group's site is marked at each corner with a few small stones, which she called "preventers", hardly noticeable to the passer-by. Across the road, more obvious markings, such as stones painted white and even a large cross made of stones, are visible. These tempo-

rary, often subtle markers of spatial order form both visible and invisible thresholds between safety, morality and community against the uncertainties of city life. Locating themselves on the periphery of built urban space allows for the constitution of a territory outside of the preventative legal ordering and insecurity of urban life; however, ironically, it also exposes them to the toxicity of the water and soil and to criminal elements. Mary had come to Johannesburg from Bulawayo, in 2008, when the economy in Zimbabwe had collapsed. She described how her conversion to the Masowe church was defined by healing, such conversions through healing are commonly recounted from early case studies to the present (see Sundkler 1961; Comaroff 1985). She described how the church leader, usually the prophet, had put a stone inside the water in a plastic bottle and that when she drank the water this "pain" had passed out of her.

Another two members of a John Masowe church who we meet on the grass-covered bank alongside the old mine shaft explain that they came to use this embankment because they had felt unsafe on what they described as "the mountain" across the road—many members had fallen victim to crime. They explained that they worship for a 24-hour period every Thursday from 3 pm in the afternoon until 3 pm on Friday, they regard this as their Sabbath. They are also visible on Sundays, along with many other Masowe groups who populate the area. The Holy Spirit is central to their beliefs, and that they do not use the Bible; any member of the meeting can be filled with the Holy Spirit at any time and can preach. They explained that it is easy to tell true from false by the sound of the voice and that the spirit provides visions and prophesies. They make clear that there is no influence from ancestral religion on their worship, even though certain elements appear to resemble traditional divination practices. Other Masowe members also explained that while they don't approve of ancestral worship, they can still communicate with ancestors.

On the one end of the site we came across a line of burnt coals related to how they bless this site; if a *tstotsi* (local slang for common criminal or gangster) comes, they will say: "this may look open, but it is a closed space—the house of God". They stand with men and women in two groups, women facing East, men facing West. From further away, one can observe the prophet between the group of men and women, holding a stick high up and preaching. According to the prophecies of their founder,

who claimed to have been the reincarnation of John the Baptist, there had been a prediction that there would be an earthquake in Johannesburg in that year. A month or so before our conversation, there had in fact been a very strong earth tremor across the greater city region, registering on the Richter scale. They claimed that this was the fulfilment of the prophecy.

Johannesburg's plate movement is in part related to the effects of deep-level mining along the gold reef. In this prophecy, the city is allegorised as an image of disorder in that its very geological structure is unstable, as such the tremor becomes a material manifestation of the disjunction between the surface and those invisible, subterranean forces that threaten the order of the visible. There is something specific to Johannesburg's post-mining urban condition contained within this image of the uitvalgrond, already a zone outside of the order of the built environment, not quite landscape nor wilderness: man-made, toxic and disturbed. It makes sense to demarcate territories of spiritual sanctuary and moral order within and against this "disturbed ground", even with its own sublime beauty, lush and green in the summer months. These territories operate like a fold, both within and external to the city, they are liminal in all respects: unclaimed, unnamed, their ownership unclear, their very status undefined as natural or unnatural. What we observed here is not the production of fixed and closed territories, but a permeable and mobile set of processes that de- and re-territorialise the sites of the former mining land and the old chapel building. The assemblages that emerge here are complex and mobile, defined by the passage and the refrain. This leads us to another area within the centre of the city where we describe a different concentration of religious territories, defined by fixity, ownership and control.

Proximity, Economy, Allegory: Closed Religious Assemblages

A journey around a single city block bordered by Plein, Eloff and De Villiers Streets reveals something of the radical ruptures, dislocations and constantly shifting socio-political assemblages that characterise the city's religious spaces.

On the corner stands the imposing Universal Church of the Kingdom of God—Conacle of the Holy Spirit, which forms our central case study in this area. Just one block down on the De Villiers side stands the Anglican Cathedral of St. Mary the Virgin, its front entrance facing the back of the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG) building. In the pedestrianised street between, traders in stalls built by the municipality sell a variety of goods, including traditional medicinal herbs. One of these traders, an older woman is a long-standing member of the Anglican Church. Amongst a random selection of Chinese manufactured goods, she sells *mphepo* (wild sage burned in the household to ward of illness and bad spirits, and to encourage communication with ancestors), as well as what she describes as: "salt from the mines—for sore throats".

The gates of the cathedral are tightly secured and we are directed to an adjacent building called Darragh House. Built by the Anglican diocese of Johannesburg, it still houses the church administration. The building is rented out by the Church to various kinds of businesses and organisations, amongst them several unions, small manufacturers as well as the Apostolic Faith Mission of Africa. In one space, we come across a Ghanaian man we will call Wakaso who offers services as a traditional doctor, a tailor and "an immigration practitioner". The Apostolic Faith Mission occupies a medium-sized former office space which looks down onto the paved pedestrian street between the UCKG and the Anglican Church. The windows are dressed with red blinds, and white plastic chairs are set up in rows, some wooden chairs on the side with small mats in front of them for the ministers. There is a small office partition, a clock on the wall and a podium stands at the front covered in purple cloth, inscribed: "Jesus is the light of the world—I am the Lord that healeth thee". The office telephone rings continuously during our visit.

Across from Darragh House on Plein street, a small Masjid[7] is located in a former office and retail space; above the entrance to the building is a digitally printed sign saying "Dar es Salaam Centre", complete with palm trees and a minaret. Situated in the basement, the Masjid presents a different temporality, a moment of respite from the nervous energy of the streets and the nearby station and taxi rank. Upstairs we are invited

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[7] Arabic for Mosque.

for sweet milky tea at the ground-floor restaurant by a young man who comes to the Mosque, even though he now lives and works in Sandton.[8] The white caretaker tells us he has worked here for 20 years and that the building is owned by the Moosa brothers, who own 10 other buildings in the city, as well as a textile factory. At the entrance to the building, on a simple cloth laid out on the floor, pamphlets in Arabic and Amharic script, fez's, incense and other objects of worship are sold alongside herbs for penis enlargement.

Legible in these adjacent city blocks is the proximity of religion, both as worship and as ministration of services, to more material economies: street trade, immigration, labour relations and property ownership. We proceed here with our detailed case study of religious territorialisation in this concentrated area of the city, that of the UCKG. The UCKG is a transnational church formed in Brazil. Operating in South Africa since 1993, they have expanded throughout the country, attracting short-term and transient congregations with promises of prosperity and an end to suffering (Van Wyk 2014).

One encounters the UCKG building as one exits Park Station, the primary public transportation node of the city. Taking a left past a fast-food chain, Kentucky Fried Chicken, down De Villiers street, one comes across a large skyscraper with opaque windows. On its corners, young men dressed in black solicit passers-by for blessings beneath a tall wooden cross. The vast enclosed block, formerly the President hotel built in the 1970s,[9] is the headquarters of the transnational evangelical church, which has become a mass, international phenomena, challenging the hegemony of the Catholic Church, and owning one of the largest satellite television channels in Brazil. The interior of the building is vast—a windowless antechamber that can take 5000 people is adorned with backlit stained glass. Beneath the main hall is a subterranean chamber housing a baptismal pool. The Church advertises its sermons and miracles in a newspaper

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[8] Sandton is a separate municipality from Johannesburg; however, it is often subsumed within the suburbs of greater Johannesburg, both in terms of services and in its geographical and physical proximity. It is now the prime location of business and capital in the city, and the Johannesburg stock exchange was relocated here during the period of "white flight" from the inner city in the post-apartheid era.

[9] Title deed and geo-planning records of City of Johannesburg. Obtained 2013.

entitled "Stop Suffering" which is blessed during services. The services themselves are relentlessly focused on the giving of tithes, which are thrown into a large red cloth. Later, we learned that the church clergy in fact live in the building.

The church claims to have 300 branches in the greater Johannesburg region, with branches of various sizes across the inner city, the suburbs of Rosettenville and Cresta, and in Soweto and other townships. The Church offers neither a permanent home nor singular identity, rather its spatial logic is to reproduce highly administered and branded spaces throughout the city, often with crèches and funeral services attached. It also offers counselling services in cancer wards of state hospitals and has an ostensibly close, though opaque relationship to the state. UCKG's own newspaper declared that on Good Friday in 2014, a mass ceremony at the Ellis Park sports stadium was attended by Jacob Zuma, the controversial president of South Africa, where he received blessings. The UCKG use newspapers and the media as a means of proseletisation, but also tightly regulate the dissemination of information and employ a professional Public Relations consultant.[10]

Outside the church on Fridays, a table is laid out in the street with silver bowls filled with warm water, offering cleansings and blessings to pedestrians, who are then beckoned into services. This encroachment of the church onto the public street should be seen in contrast to the errant modality of the refrain, which we have used to describe the encounter with song and prayer in the service of African Gospels and the apostolic groups. While, blessings are freely given, their strategic emplacement on the corners of the block extends the church's territory into public space, served by a variety of markers: the red-cloth covered table, a cross over the doorway, bowls of blessed water. After a blessing is received, one is required to enter the side chapel to sign a kind of record book, or quite

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[10] After several months of attempting to get permission to interview Church officials, when permission was finally granted, it was subsequently withdrawn after we did not agree to a requirement that the Church was given the power to approve everything written about it. However, we did visit the Church several times declaring to the pastors that we were researchers, and so we include these informal notes here on the basis that they are public ceremonies open to anyone, though deleting any identifying personal criteria.

directly solicited into a service. There is almost always a service in progress, which one can enter at any point, a temporality in line with the immediate accessibility of commercial services in spaces such as the mall, the casino, the fast-food chain.

On one afternoon, after accepting a blessing, we were ushered into the lower sanctum for the 3 pm weekday service. Here we witnessed a series of exorcisms of demons, in which the congregation, ourselves included, had to come forward to the altar to incant with everyone else the refrain: "Fire, Fire, Fire". All of those called up for "exorcism" by the pastor and his smartly dressed assistants were women, while the exorcism was performed entirely by male clergy. The process was highly dramatic and theatrical, with loud screams and a range of sounds from different subjects seeming to be in some state of *possession*. This was amplified by the pastor's microphone as he conversed with the so-called demons; conversant in Zulu and speaking English in a Brazilian accent, he often translated for the audience. His entire sermon was simultaneously translated into Zulu by an equally charismatic local young preacher, a common practice in Pentecostal churches. In the spectacular form of the exorcism, and the forceful, even violent way women's bodies were handled, a set of hierarchical gender relations was produced. The gendered staging of the exorcisms at the elevated platform/stage at the front of the amphitheatre set up congregants as simultaneously audience and participants, complicit in a highly problematic re-ordering of the social space of the church with the female body treated as locus of social disorder. These bodies "suffered" indicative afflictions: sins of adultery, being unmarried, the inability to have children, along with illness often located in the stomach. Here the exorcism re-territorialises the female body within the moral order imposed by the church. This territory that begins with the bodies of its congregants within its antechambers extends into the space of street with the offer of the blessing.

In another one of the Church's more modest outposts, we encountered a similar ritual re-territorialising of social and urban space within a fixed order, this time the somatic is enmeshed within both a moral and economic register.

Here, rows of white, moulded plastic chairs, a signature of new charismatic and Pentecostal churches in cities all over the world, were

arranged to form an aisle down the middle. The arrangement of the altar appeared to be a pared-down reference to the paraphernalia of Catholic liturgy on simple table with no stage. A church member explained that the congregation is mainly drawn from those working or living in proximity to the church; he stressed that all nationalities are welcome, listing many migrant groups that live in the inner city: Zimbabweans, Ethiopians, Nigerians, "everybody". He explained that the major problems in the area, from the perspective of the church, are drugs and prostitution, and "miserable lives, suffering under the hands of the devil".

The ritual described to us consisted of the pastor blessing salt for a week before forming what he described as a "valley of salt" in front of the altar. At the service, he invited the congregation to walk through the "valley", saying: "come defeat your enemies here in the Valley of Salt—your enemies are not your neighbours but the demons". It is from this image that we draw the title of this chapter as a reflection of how religious territorialisation operates within existing urban assemblages, forming territories not only through the demarcation and organisation of spaces but also through language, allegory and ritual. This image of the city as space of moral disorder is a common trope in services in other Christian churches. In a service of the Apostolic Faith Mission, described earlier, the pastor referred to Johannesburg as "Sodom", a site of sins such as "homosexuality", imploring his congregation to "leave Joburg and return to God".

At UCKG, the blessing and metaphorical placement of the salt within the space between the congregation and the altar sets up a relationship between two economies: the material and the divine. Salts of various descriptions play a role in Zionist and Apostolic rites, as well as in African ancestral religions, with different coloured salts available in *muti* shops to treat various personal and physical ailments, from bad luck to lost lovers. At stake here is the way in which this ritual sets up a commensurability between a divine moral order and the order of exchange. Here we observe a different territorialisation of space to the modes of emplacement using stones, salts and animal sacrifices in the uitvalgrond. The role of the blessed commodity, salt, functions as allegorical substitute for the biblical landscape most strongly associ-

ated with desolation: the valley. In the Masowe, we witness a different allegorical substitution, of mine dump for "holy mountain", of uitvalgrond for wilderness. What is most striking here is the conversion of the interior of the church into an allegorical space in which a struggle is played out between personal salvation pitted against the city as a metaphor for suffering, embodied in the valley of salt. Here the church declares itself as a territory delineating the restoration of order against the moral disorder of the city; at the same time, the "passage" of worshippers through the allegorical valley of salt situates this territory within the very same economic order of exchange, and as such re-territorialises it. Passage through this metaphorical valley produces the same expulsion of demons as the exorcisms we witnessed. This passage is itself arguably an economical act, suggesting an expulsion of that which is in excess, requiring a kind of exchange between the believer and the church, as an administrator of moral, spiritual and by extension spatial and economic order. Pentecostal services in the city are shot through with this kind of economic language: "Give yourself to God 100 %" said one preacher during a weekday service in the Temple of Miracles church in Commissioner Street, "leaving just 1 % gives the devil a small hole through which to enter". UCKG is clear that members are expected to donate 10 % of their monthly salaries to the church in the form of tithes.

Hence, a space of belonging is also one of control and accumulation. In the mining ground, the territories of Apostolics and sangomas and inyangas are always already in passage, both fixed and mobile, negotiated with a diversity of actors on the site. Dlamini's congregation too never marks the territory of the church as their own, passing through the space each Sunday, their contractual inhabitation of the space is renewed only with song and the temporary social re-organisation of the space according to gender and rank. This is a set of refrains that can as easily invoke a territory in Dlamini's own home, or as in former times on the street. These errant movements can be contrasted with the allegorical movement through the enclosed territory of the UKCG branches, whether the passage of demons through the bodies of the congregants as they "cross" the allegorical valley, or the staged exorcisms in their headquarters.

Bounded Territories, Open Passages: The Revelation Church of God

One of the major offshoots of the UCKG is the Revelation Church of God led by the Prophet Samuel Radebe. Radebe, a former preacher at UCGK left to form his own church. If one drives down Wolmarans Street on the border between Hillbrow and the Central Business District, on Sundays and several days a week, you will find crowds spilling onto the streets and filling the courtyard, controlled by guards in bright orange overalls bearing the image of a red globe, the logo of the church.

Religion has historically been a way for migrants to find a place in the city. The Great Synagogue in Wolmarans Street was completed in 1914, designed by Swiss architect Theophile Schaerer and inspired by Byzantine architecture (Chipkin 1993, 50). Many of the Great Synagogue's congregants were Latviks who had fled Lithuania threatened by pogroms against Jews in Eastern Europe, along with other Eastern European Jews. Their routes to the city were often via the poor houses of London. While the wealthier were prospectors and landlords, many of the first wave of working-class Jews who escaped the Eastern European Programs became involved in the liquor and sex trades (Shain and Mendelson 2009; Van Onselen 2001). This site links to the chapter on the Rosettenville synagogue, which rents its hall to a Congolese Pentecostal church (see Kankonde and Núñez, this volume).

The building of the synagogue was hence an attempt to establish social standing, and to establish solid social ties binding a community whose place in the social order was tenuous. Almost a century later, the white Jewish community abandoned the synagogue, like many inner-city buildings, as a result of the perceived crime and decline. Now it is home to one of the largest new prophetic movements in not only Johannesburg but also Southern Africa called *The Revelation Church of God* (See also Wilhelm-Solomon, Zulu and Worby this volume). Prophet Radebe, the leader of the church, a South African, calls himself a "prophet of all nations" and the church has a diverse congregation including many other nationalities from around the continent. The church was only a few years

old at the time of this research and yet had established branches all over the country, as well as in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe.[11] The Synagogue reveals how multiple spatial inscriptions and territorialisations become overlaid in the city.

The Church uses many of the same methods as the UKCG including televised and online media, the selling of newspapers and tithing, but it draws on local religious motifs far more visibly. It has a very distinct spatial and symbolic form, with its congregants gathering in the street while the service takes place inside the building, relayed to those outside by loudspeakers. It also assimilates a variety of distinctly African elements into its services. Stories of Radebe's healing powers attract diverse congregants from across national and ethnic divides in the city.

On Good Friday in 2013, the Revelation Church packed the Johannesburg stadium to capacity with over 30,000 people. At the event, a number of Zimbabwean flags were waved. The Revelation Church has its own television station on DSTV (after being broadcast on Soweto TV), a website with regular podcasts of services, and publishes its own magazine and newspaper *Isambula* (isiZulu for *revelation*). The Church sells a wide array of merchandise including beanies, holy water and salts, DVDs and CDs, a wooden spear for "fighting evil spirits" and plastic buckets for "containing suspicious elements in people's environments" according to adverts in the newspaper. Tithes are regularly collected during services. The Church has clearly localised some of the US, Brazilian and Nigerian style—evangelism based on both miracles and marketing. Yet, to reduce its success to commercialism is too simple—the services clearly resonate with the fears and longings of many in inner-city Johannesburg and beyond. On several days a week, crowds line Wolmarans Street waiting to enter the old synagogue.

The interior of the synagogue is still well preserved. It has a large sky-blue dome, echoing with voices of the congregants and reflecting light through stained glass windows. The Star of David adorns many of the walls. A menorah, the seven-branched candelabrum invokes its Jewish past, its candles burning against the backdrop of a video screen. On the pulpit is a

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[11] Geo-planning and title deed records of City of Johannesburg.

leopard skin throne. The church's symbolism and rituals appear an assemblage of diverse traditions—Christian evangelism, Zionism, traditional healing and Judaism. Men and women in white robes line the circumference, the crowd dances and sways in circles thrusting their hands into the air. At the Thursday and Sunday services, many of those lining the seats hold small wooden spears in front of them. The atmosphere in the church during services is heated and trance-like, the songs and prayers building to a crescendo. At the culmination of the service, the Prophet facilitates exorcisms and blessings.

Outside, the waiting congregation (extending almost two entire blocks) always stand facing the church, as if the road was an invisible river between them and the church interior, while the sound of the service spills onto the street through loudspeakers. The orange-shirted guards regulate entry (allowing new members preferential access), and ensuring the crowds do not stand in the way of the traffic using orange plastic netting usually placed around building sites. Piles of blessed holy water stand at the church entrance and are handed out to those waiting outside. These portable bottles echo the use of water in cleansing rituals and baptisms on the mining ground, now labelled, bottled and officially distributed. Like the orange netting and the guards, the piles of water and the small wooden swords demarcate the threshold of the sacred in a way that echoes the civic administration of city spaces and the commodification of resources. The threshold of the church extends into its delimitation and control of the public urban space around it, no longer functioning as a passage, but a fixed and bounded territory. Here the shooting of photographs is disallowed.

As such, Revelation seeks to establish a controlled and highly administered space. Congregants are referred to and refer themselves as *amasosha* (soldiers). Even while the Church broadcasts its services on television, distributes them as podcasts and in print, it has a highly singular view of the public sphere. An entry on the Revelation Facebook page of Revelation is revealing of how the church employs its distribution of information as a form of exclusion. On May 18, 2016, Revelation posted the controversial statement by the Gambian President threatening to "slit all the throats of homosexuals"—asking for comments by church members. The responses, while largely against such extreme violence, still in the majority called for a solution to the "sin" of "homosexuality". Some posted full agreement, statements made in the public sphere and tantamount to hate speech.

The fact that the church could publish such an extreme view without mediation is indicative of the general exclusion of other genders and sexualities by mainstream Pentecostal churches.[12] Any media not controlled by the Church is not permitted (for instance, photography is banned even at the stadium events, which are controlled by private security). Hence, although the Church has a strongly public role and its services are produced for widespread circulation, these are not open for discussion or debate in the view of the church. Rather the highly mediatised expansion of the Church goes alongside the regulation of information and is part of the ways in which churches mediate the urban experience.

This distribution of information extends the public domain of the church into the physical realm of commodities, through the distribution of DVDs, literature and spiritual objects. The trade in religious commodities in the inner city is one of the ways in which religion is articulated within urban assemblages. The borders of religious territories are constantly shifting and this is revealed in the forms of commodities that circulate across them. We end our chapter's journey with two spaces of trade in religious and spiritual commodities.

Mysterious Economies: The Trade of Religious and Spiritual Commodities

Our final sites are the stores, The Muti Man and the Marban Christian shop, themselves sites of spatial change and the city's racialised history. North across the M2 is the Farraday traditional healers market which sells a variety of muti (traditional medicine) using both herbs and animal

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[12] While South Africa's progressive constitution has enshrined LGBTI (lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and/or intersex) rights, including the right to marriage and adoption, we still find the lives of many LGBTI individuals, especially amongst migrant and black communities, to be a complex navigation between visibility and invisibility. Being seen or recognised as homosexual in the wrong place, at the wrong time, could lead to potential acts of both real and symbolic violence. The heteronormativity of religious practices in the city means that members of congregations enter on condition of their sexuality remaining illegible, invisible, encoded. Revealing one's sexual persuasion often leads to rejection by church communities, a painful and difficult expulsion. This self-policing cannot be separated from the expectations placed on female gender roles witnessed within church Pentecostal church sermons.

parts, and surrounded by minibus taxi rank. The area has become a local centre for the trade in religious objects and commodities. Further down the road is a trading store called "Muti Man", run by a local, ethnically Indian family, who used to live in the inner-city area of Mayfair but moved to the wealthier Northern Suburbs. It started as a family grocery store, but in the early 2000s the family started introducing religious and medicinal products into the store, and it grew to be their major business. The store sells a host of products including salts for cleansing and protection, incense. Bhavesh Ravjee, one of the young managers of the store, explained to us: "This market 10 years ago was much smaller. There were people in the market, but in the last 7 or 8 years, the industry has grown a lot more. You can see that by a whole lot more suppliers out there, obviously that's an indication that the market has grown". The store reveals the overlay between traditional religions, Christianity, Hinduism and the global circulation of religious commodities with many of the products being imported from India. We are told that the store also stocks highly toxic liquid mercury, possibly purchased by artisanal miners who use it to produce gold in a dangerous filtering process done on sites such as the nearby Village Main. The space is shaped by the complex assemblage of religion, medicine, labour, informality and exchange, as such it is both territory and a passage for the objects, capital, labour and customers that move through it. Here religion and spiritual practice both shape and are shaped by networks of commodity exchange, formal and informal.

The Muti man reveals the intersections of diverse trajectories—Indian trading families in the city (see Jinnah and Rugunanan, this volume) with African religions and healing—and which form an assemblage in territory of the daily store. However, in the inner city, very few white resident congregants and consumers remain. One inner-city store is notable almost as an exception and anachronism. The Marban Christian shop has been for some time the only remaining trader inside the Old Arcade that runs between Commissioner and Albertina Sisulu (formerly Market) streets. A somewhat otherworldly presence inside what is Johannesburg's oldest Arcade, itself a kind of a shell of previous incarnations, in 1892 and 1960, respectively. Currently under renovation, Julius Malema's con-

troversial *Economic Freedom Fighters*[13] have offices upstairs. The shop has been run for 20 years by Pastor Ben Erasmus, and caters for a diverse range of Christian denominations: Anglican, Catholic, Methodist, African initiated churches, Pentecostal and Apostolic. A modest stock of gowns with different detailing, white, blue, burgundy; candles of varying shapes, colours and symbolism, Bibles in isiZulu, seSotho, isiXhosa, holy oils and Christian figurines. The shop's number one seller is communion wine and "bread" (small disc-shaped wafer biscuits); they also stock anointing oil from Israel. Ben explains that they bless everything sold, to "break any bondage on it and set it free". Everything is locally made, and the shop does not really make a profit. He bemoans that churches are no longer subsidised as they were under apartheid. Ben is often called upon as a healer and for blessings, and it is from this "work" alongside his business that he survives through "offerings" as opposed to tithes. The store reveals again the ways in which apartheid-era religious economies retain their trace in the city, but to survive have innovated and adapted to the radical diversity of the city transforming around them. Ben's customers are of multiple congregations, almost all are black.

In fact, within the space of Marban, there is a continual slippage between the orders of the spiritual and the economic, echoing Pentecostal language and temporality. Ben's assistant, Lesedi (pseudonym) attests to a story of how on some mornings when the shop was too quiet, they had prayed and half an hour later it would get busy; Lesedi is paid daily. Ben tells the story of an experience over an Easter weekend, "I had said the whole morning, something will happen today". At 3 pm, a woman who could hardly walk had entered the shop, telling them she had cancer and had three months to live. She asked for holy oil and a spoon. She drank two tablespoons and poured the rest of the bottle over herself, making a pool on the red carpet, then placed her hands on the counter, folded in prayer. Pastor Ben had held her hands and said: "Be healed in Jesus'

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[13] The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) was formed by the controversial former leader of the ANC Youth League, Julius Malema, after his expulsion from the ruling party, the African National Congress, in 2013. The EFF has gained some ground as an opposition to the ANC's hold on power, through their calls for "economic freedom". Their position is based on what they see as the failure of the 1994 negotiated settlement (in the transition from apartheid to democracy) to address the redistribution of wealth and land to the black majority.

name". He described how a quietness descended over everything, and that she had stood up, and was in fact "cured". This scene and her healing had caused quite a commotion in the arcade, but Ben refused this fame, saying "I am what I am by the Grace of God".

This temporary conversion of the space of trade into one of sacredness or holiness in the Pastor's story is a fitting image to conclude our passage through these diverse sites of Johannesburg's religious geography. Like the "Valley of Salt" in the small UCKG chapel, the stones marking out holy ground in the uitvalgrond, and the occupation of the street by Revelation Church, it speaks of the way religious practice continually re-territorialises urban spaces. Whether done through physical markers adapted to form boundaries, such as wire mesh netting, painted stones or piles of salt, or in allegory, narrative and song, this constitutes a diverse set of processes that are both material and imaginary, ontological and mysterious, directional or errant, fixed and mobile, controlled or unbounded. Religious space is here both territory and passage.

Conclusion

We have shown in this chapter that although religious territorialisations in the city are shaped by transnational forces, they also involve a diversity of territorialisations and de-territorialisations within the city. These are shaped historically through apartheid-era urban forms and religions, but have rapidly changed in the post-apartheid era. Our perspective here has sought to show how diverse lines of mobility, consumption and trade are imbricated within the urban fabric. Religious space is hence not simply large-scale spatial production or control, but encompasses the errant movements of urban residents as they cross the city. These errant movements traverse both formal and elicit economies. However, while the diversity of territorialisations encounter those of real-estate economies and urban governance, and at times disrupt these, there is very little formal resistance to contemporary orders of capital and labour. Even the errant movements of churches like African Gospel and the Masowe can be seen as inhabitations and appropriations of urban space, outside of structures of ownership already determined by histories of racialised dis-

possession, they do not or cannot actively resist these. On the contrary, large-scale evangelical churches actively mimic forms of securitization, mediatization and commodification in order to administer urban spaces and the flows of bodies and objects. Hence, while the errant passage of the refrain offers a sense of transitory belonging and solace, forms of religious territorialisation often themselves reproduce and adapt gendered and economic hierarchies. Our chapter shows that religious diversity in the city is a diversity and densification of processes of territorialisation, and not only a diversity of ethnic, racial or national groups; furthermore, this diversity of processes is re-inscribed within existing class and racial divides of the post-apartheid city. Religious assemblages, in their diversity, adapt to but do not fundamentally challenge or disrupt the domination of capital and the nation-state. Errant mobilities transform the urban but do not fundamentally challenge its relations of power and control.

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3

Migration and the Sacred in Greater Rosettenville, Johannesburg

Peter Kankonde and Lorena Núñez

Introduction

It is a Saturday morning; the stillness that surrounds the white old Synagogue located along one of the busiest streets of Rosettenville does not reveal that a religious service is taking place behind its closed doors. We knock on the door, and a middle-aged man wearing a *kippah* opens up for us. Soon we realize that a Sabbath is being celebrated at that same moment. Surprised by our presence, he offers to assist, yet, it is clear that we can't enter the space unless we had been previously invited. If so, there would be a place allocated to us, separated from the ten men invested with the authority

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Rosettenville Synagogue (*left*) and Yaweh Shammah Ministries (*right*).
Photographs by Shogan Naidoo. 2014

of reading the Torah in an unequivocal orthodox fashion. With only four
Jewish families remaining in the Johannesburg old south, the congregation
was struggling to meet the number of ten adult Jewish males or minyan
required in order to remove the Torah from its ark[1] every Sabbath.

Another day, this time a Sunday morning, we come back to the same
place but to a different religious service. The service is held at the Hall
contiguous to the Synagogue by a Congolese Pentecostal church that has
been for the last 13 years subletting the space from this dwindling Jewish
community. Congregants are making themselves heard by singing and
praising the Lord. The loudness of the service and its open doors are
welcoming newcomers and competing with the many other Christian
churches that have opened in the area. As we enter into both these
coexisting and proximate religious spaces, we learn about distances and
encounters of the city's diverse and multilayered history of migration.

This chapter examines various waves of migration and their process
of settlement in Greater Rosettenville in south Johannesburg from a his-
torical and contemporary perspective. We explore how various migrant
groups have gained access to sacred spaces, and this exploration leads
to an analysis of these spaces as pivotal in the process of place mak-
ing. Historically, the area is characterized by several waves of migration
(English, Irish, Portuguese, Afrikaner, black South Africans, Mozambican,
Congolese, Nigerian, Zimbabwean, etc.), each bringing their religious

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[1] The Torah: handwritten parchment scrolls consist of "five books of Moses, or the Jewish
Pentateuch, or a parchment scroll on which the Pentateuch is written for use in services in
Synagogues" (Encarta Dictionary).

practices to the area. We discuss here the process of place making by examining the case of a long-standing and dwindling Jewish community residing in the area that is contingently sharing the Synagogue space with a more recently settled Congolese Pentecostal congregation. We depart from the standpoint that when communities move to a new area, they claim and appropriate space in manners that are as diverse as the peoples themselves. After the initial settlement, a process of appropriation of the space must take place in order to recreate a feeling of being at home. This experience depends very much on the ability of the community to invoke or transplant a place of worship, to find a spiritual leader, or to defeat spiritual entities that may even be situated elsewhere (see Vasquez and Knott 2014).

For the millions of old and new internal and international migrants who have settled in South Africa's urban settings, the city involves all sort of threats, vulnerabilities, and insecurities at the physical, material, and spiritual levels—all too common in the experiences of urban newcomers. In the face of such threats, many migrants rely primarily on their religious and spiritual resources, often undergoing, sometimes simultaneously, different ritual practices that prepare them to face and overcome tangible and intangible threats (Vasquez and Knott 2014). Across Greater Johannesburg (and all major South Africa's cities), new places of worship have emerged in abandoned churches, warehouses, vacant land, homes, garages, and backyards among other sites. In addition, there are numerous *freelanc*e prophets who make themselves visible by the advertising of their spiritual powers throughout the city (Kadenge and Ndlovu 2012; Wilhelm-Solomon et al., this volume)—in this way they cater for the religious needs of the newcomers and at the same time transform the city's religious landscape. These new places of worship not only have diversified the configurations of religions on offer in the city but are also creating spaces where people come into contact with one another, compete for space, or even collaborate in new ways by sharing religious sites of worship and practices. In some cases, urban dwellers are merging their ritual practices that have developed in different cultural and geographical contexts. What is common to these places of worship is that these help new residents to enter and navigate the city. Spiritual paradigm and language

(re)produce familiar forms of religious devotion that allow them to assert their belonging and not feel *out of place*.

As existing religious geography scholarship shows, the strong correlation between ethnicity and religion manifests itself in religious landscapes and patterns of rites—ones that tell much more about religious configurations than just peoples' religious adherence in a city (Tillman and Emmett 1999). They convey an ethnic landscape representing the many waves of immigrants who have settled in a particular place. Sometimes, they even explain why and how they did it (Tillman and Emmett 1999). Our choice for exploring processes of religious place making through the access to construction and maintenance of sacred spaces in Greater Rosettenville has both methodological and historical justifications. Religious spaces are uniquely situated to offer a deep understanding of the dynamics of migrant religious place making and its associated historical social processes.

This chapter first provides a conceptual framework on sacred space before presenting the background that allows us to situate the discussions within the broader historical processes of migration, urbanization, and settlement as well as their impact on the religious landscape of the Greater Rosettenville area in Johannesburg. The data presented was collected through in-depth interviews with the Jewish Congregation and the Congolese Yahweh Shammah Ministries leaders between 2010 and 2013. We then discuss the case presented, followed by a conclusion.

Conceptualizing the Sacred Space Construction and Place Making

In the midst of the abundant literature on religion, Chidester and Linenthal point out at a central distinction in the characterization of the sacred, defined as both "supremely transcendental and essentially social" (Chidester and Linenthal 1995, 5). These two strands, in turn, align with substantial and situational definitions (Chidester and Linenthal 1995; Chidester 2012). Substantial definitions conceive the sacred as possessing an essential and inherent character where the sacred is seen as an extraor-

dinary and powerful manifestation of the transcendental. A classic substantive approach to the sacred is found in Eliade's work, who conceived the sacred as "real." According to Eliade, the sacred contains all "reality" (Eliade 1959a, 1959b), with the capacity to affect other things that become "real" as they take part in the sacred (Eliade 1959a, 1959b). A sacred object therefore "appears as the receptacle of an exterior force that differentiates it from its milieu and gives it meaning and value" (Eliade 1959a, 5). A situational approach instead understands that *nothing is essentially sacred.* In line with this conception, Lévi-Strauss defines the sacred as an empty category, "a value of indeterminate signification, in itself empty of meaning" (Lévi-Strauss 1950 cited in Smith 1987, 107). The situational approach is genealogically linked to Durkheim's understanding of the sacred as "things set apart and forbidden—beliefs and practices which unite into a single moral community" (Durkheim 1915, 62). For Durkheim, the sacred produces a cohesive social force that supports the formation of a moral community. In Durkheim's conceptualization, the sacred is ambiguous and ambivalent, an unfixed category, a notion that has substantiated other distinctions such as between the sacred and profane, purity and pollution (Douglas 1966), the permitted and forbidden, and clean and unclean (Smith 1978).

A parallel between the substantial and situational sacred and the poetics and politics of the sacred has been drawn by Chidester and Linenthal (1995, see also Kong 2001). Differences between these approaches become more apparent when examining how the sacred manifests *in* space. The political analysis of the sacred, that is, a situational understanding of it, provides a suitable frame to examine, as we do here, the multilayered and often quite mundane forces—social, political, and cultural—intervening in people's access to sacred spaces. Framing sacred spaces within this perspective is even more pertinent in urban contexts of increasing ethnic diversity where newcomers compete with other locals and foreigners for space as well as for limited symbolic and material resources. The city represents both risk and opportunity, and for migrants, finding a new home often involves finding new places to worship. As members of communities with similar religious identities, they may engage in the appropriation and consecration of spaces around the city. Through this process of consecration, the sacred becomes fixed, and this requires an understand-

ing of the sacred in substantial terms. In these sites, people gather to be empowered, to survive, and to conquer and appropriate the city and their future. As it will become clear, here the symbolic work of rituals enables newcomers to face the uncertainties of their everyday lives in the city, and to protect themselves against risk and violence.

Sacred Space

"All sacred things must have their place."

(Native thinker quoted by Claude Lévi-Strauss, The Savage Mind 1966, 10)

In a remarkable way, Claude Lévi-Strauss explains how place is central to the sacred:

> It could be even said that being in their place is what makes the sacred for if they were taken out of their place, even in thought, the entire order of the universe would be destroyed. Sacred objects therefore contribute to the maintenance of the order in the universe by occupying the place allocated to them. (Lévi-Strauss 1966, 10)

From an urbanistic theoretical perspective, sacred space in the city requires additional accessibility and visibility, therefore increasing its ascendancy over secular spaces and over the urban population. However, a constructivist and situational perspective on the sacred moves away from a formal conception of sacred sites to understand them as socially constructed and multivalent spaces. Kong argues that sacred spaces are potentially ordinary places made extraordinary through rituals which may include public and visible sacred places as well as secret or private places such as homes (Kong 2001). Wanner (2012, 252) expands the scope of analysis beyond religion to include aspects of everyday life and lived spaces that are "rendered either 'sacred' or 'secular.'" The author explores the displacement of the sacred to the private sphere during the secularization process initiated by the Soviet Union and its reversal through the remaking of sacred spaces after socialism (Wanner 2012). Thus the sacred and the secular

are not opposite spaces—as the sacred and profane classic divide would conceive them—but a continuum.

While there seems to be consensus among classic authors in defining sacred places as those that possess *numen* (Otto 1917 in Eliade 1959; Van der Leeuw 1986; Kong 2001), the question of how such extraordinary value of the sacred is produced—or comes to exist—depends on the perspectives on the sacred. From a substantial approach, the sacred irrupts in a place. From a situational perspective, the sacred comes to be through actions embedded in meaning. As Smith (1978, 6) puts it, the sacred is constructed "as the result of cultural labour or ritual in specific historical situations." Chidester's situational conception brings together the ritualistic labour involved in the production of the sacred and its political aspect. "Anything can be sacralised through the religious work of intensive interpretation, regular ritualization, and inevitable contestation of ownership of the means, modes and forces for producing the sacred" (Chidester 2012, 5).

The political analysis of the sacred has its origin in the work of Van der Leeuw (1986, 393) who defines sacred space as a "locality that becomes a position by the effects of power repeating themselves *(sic)* there or being repeated by man." Van der Leeuw's depiction of the positioning of a sacred space as *a political act* provided the foundations of a political analysis of the sacred. As Chidester and Linenthal (1995, 8) put it, Van der Leeuw conceived the establishment of a sacred space ultimately as "a conquest of space" linking the sacred space with the politics of property. Hence, a sacred space is not solely a place of meaningful value but also a powerful place; therefore—or because of that—the sacred is "appropriated, possessed and owned" (Chidester and Linenthal 1995, 8). It is through ritualization that the sacred acquires "a surplus of meaning that is immediately available for appropriation" (Chidester 2012, 44). In the politics of property, the sacredness of a place is "asserted and maintained through claims and counterclaims on its ownership" (Chidester and Linenthal 1995, 8).

From their historical and contemporary uses, sacred spaces materialize the spiritual lives of communities and, at the same time, are instrumental in affirming identities and constructing belonging. Historically and contemporarily, these spaces represent a foothold in the conquering

enterprise of newcomers. These spaces are also instrumental in revitalizing the projects of migrants in the city. The spatial analysis of sacred is therefore central to understand the paradox of mobility and fixity offered by the case that we present here. As we will show, once the sacred has been construed and its added value instituted, it opens up for negotiations and appropriation: through claims of ownership it becomes fixed. We argue therefore that a spatial analysis mediates between the substantial and situational perspectives that run along the mobile sacred and the fixed sacred. These notions mirror one another, and a spatial perspective on the sacred allows for grasping these tensions empirically. Below, we explore how historically and contemporarily the spaces of the Synagogue shared by two (the Jewish and Pentecostal) religious congregations have become places of intense meaning production and social production for migrant and local communities. This perspective in turn offers a window to understand various historical and contemporary migratory flows and their multifaceted processes of emplacement in the urban context. As new migrant-initiated churches compete for congregants, economic success in the city and spiritual well-being are imminent and necessary to one another.

Background: Migration and Sacred Landscapes in Greater Rosettenville, 1889–2015

This section gives an overview of the different layers of migration and the diversification of Greater Rosettenville's religious landscapes over time. What we refer to as the Greater Rosettenville area in this chapter lies about 5 km south of the Johannesburg Central Business District, on a part of what used to be the Turffontein farm. This area includes some of the oldest Johannesburg southern suburbs of Rosettenville, La Rochelle, Regent's Park, The Hill, Kenilworth, Turffontein, and Forest Hill. The Greater Rosettenville area (that some migrants affectionately call "Rosy") has moved over its centenary history from being a whites-only segregated area to becoming a mixed area and currently undergoing a "black-only" re-segregation process, mainly as a result of white

flight and the arrival of new internal and international migrants. This social transformation has also transformed the religious landscape. In fact, over the course of its 124 years of existence, this area had first welcomed Afrikaner, British, Jews, Portuguese, Greeks, and Lebanese populations. Since the end of formal apartheid, the area has also become home to thousands of people previously forbidden: blacks, Indians, coloured South Africans, and migrants from other African countries. Sol's assertion that "when people move, the church moves" (1982, cited in Nzayabino 2011) is very evident in the area: while its original white residents built mainly mainline churches (Catholic, Anglican, Dutch Reformed, Methodist, Baptist, Neo Apostolic, etc.) and Synagogues, the area is currently experiencing an expansion of new internal and international Pentecostal, apostolic, and Zionist migrant residents.

The first groups of people to move into Greater Rosettenville were English-speaking migrant miners and other fortune seekers from the United Kingdom, Australia, Ireland, and the United States (Harrison and Zack 2014). In fact, until the late 1910s and well beyond in most cases, the white population of towns was overwhelmingly foreign and predominantly English speaking. This was mainly because the initial skilled labour complement of the gold mines on the Rand was drawn from English-speaking miners from Cornwall, Wales, Northern England, Australia, and the United States. Internationally, these miners formed a mobile floating global population and have been appropriately described by Jan Hyslop as "the imperial working class" (in Bonner and Nieftagodien 2012). Thus by 1907, a full 83 % of the men working on the mines were foreign born (Bonner and Nieftagodien 2012). Their number, however, substantially declined as most of them left out of loyalism to volunteer in the two World Wars (Harrison and Zack 2014; Bonner and Nieftagodien 2012). The religious heritage of these original English-speaking white residents is mainly the mainline churches. The British attended mainly the Anglican St Peter's Priory Church, while the Irish immigrants established the St Patrick Catholic in 1906. During the twentieth century, there were also a number of Protestant churches (Dutch Reformed, Methodist, Baptist, Neo Apostolic, etc.), and a few evangelical churches established in the area.

It is estimated that between 1994 and 2004, Rosettenville alone moved from a demarcated "whites only" enclave of 20,000 to a teeming suburb of 50,000. In a span of ten years, the areas became racially and ethnically diverse, with groups of whites and blacks living side by side here in equal numbers and relative harmony (Kraft 2004). While current statistics can hardly capture the reality of new demographic configurations due to the fact that most undocumented migrants do not participate in censuses, the population has most likely increased as family, kinship, and established social networks in the area have facilitated the arrival of newcomers who do not have to worry about accommodation and other necessities (Sibanda 2011). Black South Africans from Soweto and other black and mixed-race townships were the first to move in right after 1994, often buying homes from early departing whites (Kraft 2004). International migrants from the rest of Africa soon joined black South Africans who moved into the area. The first migrants were Mozambicans and Angolans who, assisted by their mastering of the Portuguese language, were attracted by job opportunities in the Portuguese-owned businesses in the area (Vigneswaran 2007). Family reunions, subsequent migrations, and the Southern African Development Community (SADC's) free visas policy have contributed to the increase of migration from these two countries (see Ostanel 2011). Members of these two migrant communities make today the bulk of members in the Portuguese churches in the Greater Rosettenville. West African immigrants, particularly Ivorians, soon followed Mozambicans and Angolans. Although what drew them to Greater Rosettenville is not entirely clear, cheap housing and proximity to the CBD seem to be the most plausible explanations.

The first Congolese migrants settled in the area around 1997 after they had received advice from their friends regarding the general safety of the area compared to other migrant areas in the city such as Hillbrow, Berea, Yeoville, and Belleview that have from the 1990s had important numbers of Congolese migrants. Nigerians started moving into the Rosettenville area around 1999. Their number has remained small over the years and is estimated to be between 1000 and 1500 people.[2] The common characteristic of these early African migrant residents was their good financial standing, which allowed them to rent apartments. However, as in many

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[2] Interview with Prince Kennedy, a Nigerian resident, 15 December 2012.

other socially transforming Johannesburg suburbs, they obtained access to rentals only through the fronting of their white acquaintances or have used the service of informal agents (Kihato and Landau 2006). Greater Rosettenville became home to a larger number of cross-border migrants when Home Affairs set up a Refugee Reception Office in the area at the end of 2004. The attraction of newcomers has continued even after the later closure of the Refugee Reception Office in the area. Zimbabweans were the last group to become visible in the area. Sibanda (2011) found instead that socio-economic, cultural, and safety reasons were the main factors that "forced" Zimbabweans to choose Rosettenville. The arrival in the area of these new and poor black residents caused outward migration not only of whites but also of most early middle-class black residents, both South Africans or cross-border migrants. Although, in interviews, some early cross-border migrants allege that it was safety that determined them to come to the area (Kankonde, Forthcoming-b), by 1999, early white residents cited crime as being the main reason that drove them out (Kraft 2004). As a result, the area is currently undergoing a "blacks only" re-segregation process. The availability of social networks, cheap accommodation—including instances where up to ten people share one room— and the presence of various migrant communities from other parts of Africa make Rosettenville an important entry point for newcomers.

As thousands of Greater Rosettenville's former white residents left the area, the churches they built became empty on Sundays or were sold to new migrant Christian congregations. Yahweh Shammah Ministries, the first Congolese migrant Pentecostal church to move into the area, occupy part of the Rosettenville Synagogue (The Weis Hall), which used to be the Talmud Torah School. What is worth noting is that during Rosettenville's 124 years of existence, this is the first time that churches originating in Nigeria and the DRC, linked to Evangelical and Pentecostal movements across Africa, have settled there. The Brazilian Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UKCG) also has a strong presence, offering daily Portuguese language services for Mozambican and Angolan immigrants (Philip and Zack 2014). However, while early residents bought land and built their worship spaces, new residents buy or rent old churches to be occupied on specific times on the weekend or, in many cases, transform former business premises or deserted ones as a result of area decay and

outward migration. Sometimes it is simply private houses that are transformed into churches. Recreational areas and public parks have also been turned into places of worship. Since 2010, about a dozen of Zionist and Apostolic religious groups, in their white-blue or white-green uniforms, have also started "sacralising" places, mainly on weekends, in some of the "no go bushes" around the disused mine shafts and dumps and the landmark Wemmer Pan recreational precinct as well as in the surrounding public parks. Sangomas (traditional healers) and other practitioners of traditional African religion can also be spotted, in their garments, while doing shopping or performing cleansing rituals in the area's parks. On some streets such as Lang Street, residents complain about the noise made by the inyangas (isiZulu name for traditional healers specialized in herbalism) performing spiritual cleansing rituals and keeping them awake at night.

Religious Cohabitation Between the Jewish and Pentecostal Congregations in Rosettenville

It is strange-evidently "beshert" (meant to be) that the place of first prayer should be the site where the very first *minyanim* were held. (Sacks 2008)

The above quote captures the essence of the sacredness that members of the Jewish community have always attached to the Rosettenville Synagogue. In his discussion of the transformation of the notion of sacred space in Judaism and the shift from a "locative" type of religious activity to one not circumscribed to a fixed place, Smith (1978) points to the necessity "to take history … seriously" and to examine closely how that transformation took place (in Bokser 1985, 279). We thus start with the historical background before analysing this case in the discussion section.

According to Jewish religious beliefs, the Torah (that contains the Jewish religious law) is the important sacred object because of its believed direct connection with God. This connection, in turn, extends the Torah's sacredness to the physical space of the Synagogue. This is to say the sacredness of a Synagogue is primarily due to and linked to the presence

and holiness of the Torah. The Torah has always been a gravitating centre of the Jewish community because it would be impossible to spiritually settle in a place without the Torah as the absence of Torah is the absence of the "Land" on which the community would dwell. As argued by Maier (1975), historically and religiously, the Jewish people became a people before they had their own specific land and were able to continue existing as a people also after they went into the diaspora because their very peoplehood was based on the Torah. According to Judaism, the Holy Land was given by God to the Jewish people on the condition that they observe the Torah and its commandments.[3] But this is so only because the Torah itself represents a movable sacred territory where the Israelites could come near to God in the diaspora (Magliano-Tromp 2012). This is to say, by its origin and contact with God (Yahweh Shammah), the Torah first became the Holy Law and, in the diaspora, the Law became the Land. In Maier's (1975) view, for the Jews in the diaspora, the mobility of the Torah—and its inherent sacred condition—is related to the loss of their territory, "the role of the Torah as movable territory developed as a substitute and in compensation for the loss of actual territory" (Maier 1975, 20). Hence, the establishment of small Jewish meetings must have been an important event for the gold hunters in early Johannesburg. They later established an Orthodox community. Orthodox Jews hold dear and defend ancestral religious practices against innovation and dissension. The Torah that is kept in the Rosettenville Synagogue was brought to South Africa by the pioneer East European Jewish immigrants in their journey to the country. As Dr Krengel explained:

We have the Torah, the rolls which are handwritten which come from Europe, we value them, they are from 1820, who knows these people [early Jews that came to South Africa] brought them in the ships. When it is damaged I am hurt. (Dr Krengel, interview November 2013)

While the presence of the Torah remains the fundamental source of the Rosettenville Synagogue's sacredness, an interpretation of a chain of apparently unrelated historical events that determined how the place

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[3] http://www.rense.com/general43/torah.htm

was acquired and its location of the Synagogue constitutes, for its members, meaningful evidence of God's will for its existence and divine election of its current physical location (Sacks 2008). In fact, initially the Rosettenville Jewish community held Sabbath services and minor festivals in a private house belonging to a certain Mr Weiss, which was where the Rosettenville Synagogue is located today. However, the celebration and services for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur were held in the Masonic Hall on Main Street, in Kenilworth (Saks 2008). As any Synagogue, its members shared property rights run by a chairman and had to hire a rabbi. However, because the immigrant community did not initially have enough financial means to hire a rabbi, Rabbi Stein and, later, Rabbi Lyetsel offered their services for free. However, as the Synagogue's archival record shows, given that the Rosettenville Jewish community could not still make up the *minyan* for the Sabbath morning services, two men used to be hired from downtown to help make up the required number of ten men. In 1908, it turned out, however, that it was impossible to hold Rosh Hashanah celebration services in the Masonic Hall as the premises were being rented to a Christian congregation for their church services. The lack of venue for this celebration put the community in dismay. A man heard about the predicament that the Jewish community found itself in while drinking in a beer hall on 4th Street La Rochelle.[4]

For the community members, the second event that confirmed divine answer and election of the specific location of the current Synagogue came in the form of a tornado that struck the southern suburbs in 1928, badly damaging Mr Weiss' house (Sacks 2008)—the same house in which the very first Sabbath service in the area was held. Mr Weiss offered to sell his damaged property to the congregation, and the community immediately accepted the offer to buy it and build a new Synagogue there. For the community, this event was "beshert" (godly meant to be) not just because the tornado had struck and badly damaged Mr Weiss' house but also because after that event, Mr Weiss had no intention to repair it even though he could (Sacks 2008). The Jewish congregation in the area reached its peak in term of members in 1957 when 600 people attended the following year's Golden Jubilee, with Johannesburg Mayor Ian Maltz officiating (Sacks 2008).

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[4] Synagogue's hand manuscript archives.

  The different religious events that took place here have a special significance for the Congregation members. As Dr Krengel, the current chairman at the Synagogues, recounts:

> [The Synagogue] started before 1900, [it was] beautifully done (…) my parents got married [here], the Jewish community came from Poland, Lithuania, Germany before the war, and [there were] few escapees from the Nazi regime. There is hardly any Jewish community here, my parents got married in the Synagogue. I am very fond of it, fond of its history. I fund it myself and somebody else. It was a flourishing community until 1940, when the Jewish community started moving out of the Area. (Dr Krengel, interview, November 2013)

When this South-Eastern Hebrew Congregation celebrated its centenary in 2008, less than 25 members were present. Its remaining members are still committed to keeping its doors open for as long as possible (Sacks 2008). Dr Krengel and his wife are central in preserving the sacredness of the Synagogue through the holding of the Sabbath services every Saturday. Reflecting on the changes in the political system in the country and the changes in the area, Dr Krengel asserts:

> The apartheid government was very good to us and this government is also good but we have the same fears (of crime) the whites [in South Africa] have … we are very disturbed by all the changes in the Rosettenville area, and around the Synagogue there is quite a criminal element. People came into the Synagogue, drank our liqueur. Few nights ago drug addicts got inside, we need to put a new alarm system. The [Torah] scrolls have a lock… Interestingly they did not take our religious adornment the candles from Poland, they didn't take it. (Dr Krengel, interview, November 2013)

Explaining the ethnic nature of their religion, Dr Krengel said:

> We are an interethnic religion. We don't look for converters, our religion is based on the mothers, the mothers are carriers of the genetic pool … men intermarry (…) The community is based mostly on men. You can't pray and do all the ceremonies unless you have ten people. We are basically a male orientated orthodox community. My wife and I are very devoted. We walk to the Synagogue. (Dr Krengel, interview, November 2013)

The services at the Synagogue are led by a spiritual leader Rael Cynkin who does not live in the area but commutes to the south on the Friday prior to the service. From there, Dr Krengel, his wife, and the rabbi walk 3 km to the Synagogue every Saturday. Dr Krengel distances himself from the Jews who left the area and abandoned their old Synagogues to worship in new ones. He refers to the notion of *gravity* as being anchored to a place (the Synagogue), to its history, as that history is very much his own. The attachment of Dr Krengel to the place is deep and historically rooted in his own biography:

> There are few hard hearts like myself; the Synagogue is still holding services … [It] is not a monument.[5] We can't keep all the Jewish celebrations. We can only afford to have the Saturday service. (Dr Krengel, interview, November 2013)

The observance of the prohibition to use technology during Sabbath sets a geographic limit to the community. Maintaining the number is a difficult task. As we observed, the ten men required to hold services was made possible by the presence of three poor and disabled Jewish men living in a hospice located in the area. They distinguished themselves by their unorthodox *kippahs* (one was wearing a red wooden hat and another one an Andean wooden hat) and their less circumspect behaviour with little observance of the service norms (one of them was drawing while the service was conducted, another one walked in and out). After the service, during the sharing of food, Dr Krengel congratulated the man wearing the Andean wooden hat, saying he is *behaving better now*. He had been attending the service for 6 years. Dr Krengel thanked him for having brought in his two friends along to the Synagogue and mentioned the hard time the man had faced in the past when "*he even had to ask for charity to the blacks*." Dr Krengel's wife said she thought he was going to be moved from the home where he stayed.

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[5] When Dr Krengel says it is not a monument, he emphasizes the sacred nature of the place that is maintained through the labour of ritual.

Interfaith Relationships

The Congolese church renting part of the Synagogue is led by Bishop Ladi. Bishop Ladi came to South Africa in 1991 and is among the first Congolese pastors in Johannesburg. He started together with colleagues the Yahweh Shammah Assembly in Hillbrow as prayer group in Joubert Park in 1991.[6] When that church split after few years, he started his own prayer group in Elandspark, Southeast Johannesburg, before the group finally became a church under the name of Yahweh Shammah Ministries. His church moved to its location in part of the Rosettenville Synagogue in 2002.

We had an appointment to meet with the Bishop on a Monday afternoon. But as the Bishop was still busy by 3 O'clock when we got there, we had to wait on chairs on the corridor. In contrast to the Jewish segment of the Synagogue, which is usually empty and quiet from Sunday to Friday, the Pentecostal church side is always alive with people coming and going, some to rehearse for the choir, have prayer meetings, or simply, meet their friends. But on this Friday, 1 March 2013, unlike the Sundays morning when the church space is usually crowded because of the main church service, the place was relatively quiet. In the corner, there were three Congolese migrant women who were in the process of having their hair done. The women used the backyard to do their hair, especially the Congolese style dreadlocks. The central location of the church has made it a convenient meeting place. Mostly Congolese women make appointments to meet in the small yard in the middle of the premise for short meetings for trading or offering different services such as the Congolese hairstyle. The church space has also become relatively quiet compared to the time when, to assist asylum seekers and newcomers, the church had decided to modify what used to be the Jewish kindergarten into a temporary accommodation and distribute food once a week. Among the congregants, a good number lived first on the church premises before they could find their way in the host country. The place was also quiet compared to the time when one woman was using one room for babysitting a few migrant kids during the week.

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[6] Interview with Bishop Ladi, 22 February 2010.

We first met with Bishop Ladi in his office on a Monday afternoon in 2010 and many times afterwards. The Bishop occupies the former official rabbi office, right opposite the entrance of the main church hall—a very spacious office furnished with a desk and two couches. The majority of church members are Congolese women. But since around 2008, the Bishop had decided to give sermons in English to accommodate the few South African and other English-speaking church members. While the decision to change the preaching took migrant church members out of their linguistic comfort zone, the majority of them, according to the Bishop, supported the decision because they were learning English. On this day, as at each time we met, we started by agreeing on the language of the interview between French, Swahili, Lingala, or English. The Bishop chose French that he intermittently alternated with Swahili. The Yahweh Shammah church has a relatively small congregation. The church space is also not big. It can accommodate a maximum of 200 people. Since its presence in the area, more than 70 other (mainly Congolese and Nigerian) migrant Pentecostal churches have started operating in the area. Despite the religious competition, the Yahweh Shammah has survived and grown. In order to accommodate the growing number, about two years earlier, the Bishop had decided to break down and move the right side wall of the building to make the church more spacious. This decision did not please some members of the Jewish community who wanted the former Talmud Torah School Hall to remain intact. The building got finally modified.

One of the factors that distinguish the Congolese Pentecostal church members from the earlier Jewish community that built the Synagogue is the transnational context within which the new migrants experience their church membership. As Kankonde (Forthcoming-a) found in research among Congolese and Nigerian Pentecostal churches in South Africa, these migrant churches are dealing, in host settings, with church members' increased transnational and spatially transient forms of belonging. In fact, thanks to new communication technologies, some migrants remain transnationally tied to home-country-based pastors who either converted them to Christianity or assisted them with prayers during migration preparation phases. The main consequences of such transnational religious connections in migrant churches in South Africa is that many

migrants simply develop a kind of church membership of convenience whereby they attend churches in South Africa just to "hear the word" without fully belonging and regularly remitting their tithes or financially participating in home church business.

The other major cause of migrants' fluid forms of church membership and belonging in Rosettenville is the high rates of migrants' spatial mobility and transience. As revealed by the ACMS 2006 Johannesburg Survey, although most migrants had recently arrived in South Africa (e.g. 50 % of Congolese participants had arrived less than two years earlier), they are highly mobile: 60 % of Congolese had moved out between one and four times since their arrival. Only 15 % of Congolese had lived for more than two years in the same house at the time of the survey, while 49, 4 % contemplated to move out in the next 3 to 6 months. The weak nature of migrants' religious belonging to host country migrant-initiated Pentecostal churches is due partly to the transnational religious ties that most migrants maintain at least in their first years of their arrival in South Africa; this explains why many of them simply abandon churches and look for other churches in their new neighbourhoods.

However, the sense of dwelling in the space we are discussing has its source in the nature of relationship between the two (Jewish and Pentecostal) religious communities:

> We have never had problem with the Synagogue, they like us too much … especially when they saw that the name of our church is in Hebrew. I think it is because the name Yahweh Shammah [written on the wall] at the [Hall] building has a special meaning for them, that is the name of their God. You can see the proof of their love for us in the way they behave toward us. I told you that the Nigerian church [that was renting before the Congolese church] was asked to vacate the place due to rent issues. But for us, even when we (have) had financial difficulties they were very understanding to us. Even the money we were paying was too small, what we were paying covered just [the] electricity bills; this before we even started buying the place. (Interview with Bishop Ladi, 1 March 2013)

The Jewish community and the Congolese seem to have a mutually contingent and distant appreciation of the presence of each other:

They have a meeting place for their priests who fly from the Congo, we had a little kindergarten and classes [before], they [the Congolese] little by little have been building, I think it's probably for their priests … they probably don't have the numbers they need so has become a center, they hold big meetings once or twice a year. There is respect among us, very little interaction; we know we both pray to God.

Hopefully we have a person that can collect from them [the money of the rent] (…) They know if they don't pay for electricity we can cut them off. They haven't got the government protection which others have so they have to listen to us, but we don't take advantage. (Dr Krengel, interview, November 2013)

The premises of the Synagogue cannot be rented for commercial purposes; therefore, they rented it to another religious group. The Jewish community in the area had dwindled significantly around the years 2000, and the Torah School had closed (Sacks 2008). As Bishop Ladi explains:

It was because the place was not in use anymore. The part we occupy used to be a Hall and the nursery. But members of the Jewish community in the area had substantially diminished and only old people remained. Even today, less than ten people worship here. They want us to be the ones who buy the whole place. (Interview with Bishop Ladi 22 February 2010)

Mutual Perceptions

The interesting ones are the Congolese: they simply believe that everybody is praying to God during the day [and] they want to get a chance when God is resting at night … they pray at night. I don't think they have [prayers] the Saturday night. When they have their prayer we hardly see them or heard them … we have sometimes difficulties in getting the rent from them. One of the reasons we continue [renting to them] is [for us to be able to] get a rent as we had difficulties in paying the electricity and we have an older woman and a male looking after the Synagogue. (Dr Krengel, interview, November 2013)

Pentecostals and Christians generally see Jews as rightful citizens (the chosen people) of a supra-territorial Kingdom of God (Vasquez and Knott 2014, 336) whose return to the "real" religious faith is a matter of time according to God's will before Jesus returns for the last judgement. What our study revealed is that such belief in the closeness of Jewish people with God also structures the approach to the sacredness of the space they occupy. Like in the case of the Congolese church, spiritual claiming of the new space of the Synagogue they occupy did not require sacralizing it as that would have been necessary had they occupied another premise. As Bishop Ladi said while explaining what they did to spiritually take possession of the place:

> We organised a night vigil to thank God, to dedicate the place to him. The place already belonged to Him … we just thanked Him … a group of church members fasted and prayed to take possession of the place. We started praying authority prayers while still negotiating for the place. The Bible says in Deuteronomy 11: 24 and Joshua 1: 3 "Every place where you set your foot will be yours" "I will give you every place where you set your foot, as I promised Moses." There were many people ready to buy it … we had to make sure that we get it. After the deal, we continued with authority prayers because we did not know what the previous owners (a Nigerian Church that rented the place) did in the place. We needed to sanctify it. (Interview with Ps Lady, 1 March 2013)

In their recent work on travelling faiths and migrant religions, Diana Wong and Peggy Levitt (2014, 348) suggest a major conceptual and analytical distinction between two types of religious faiths in motion: travelling faiths and migrant religions. Travelling faiths, they argue, "concern religious movements with universal claims around which a religious community forms (de-territorialized religions)." Travelling faiths, such as Pentecostalism, take mainly missionary forms and travels in order to proselytize. Migrant religions, to the contrary, "travel within the local ethnic confines of the migrant (and home) population, even as they reterritorialize and adapt to new contexts" (Wong and Levitt 2014, 348). They further argue that, "today's de-territorialisation of religion occurs in no small measure because faith-bearing migrants serve as key carriers of 'new'

religions" (Wong and Levitt 2014, 348). The case presented above shows how religion in motion needs to be seen and understood beyond their spatial frames. This form of spatial coexistence represents the encounter between the two types of religion in motion: a case of a travelling religion (Judaism, which is a non-proselytizing ethnic religion) and a travelling faith (Pentecostalism is a proselytizing and growth-driven faith). The cases show a form of continuity and collaboration in the way Jewish and Pentecostals groups perceive the sacredness of the Synagogue space.

Discussion

Religion is "a deep psychological and emotional experience, a core moral commitment, a personally and socially crucial way of trans-valuing human experience and desire, a reality both within and beyond the phenomenal world" (Jackson and Marotti 2004, cited in Wong, 2014, 307). Yet religious experiences are fundamentally about "spatial memories" (Vasquez and Knott 2014). For migrants, religious belonging and attachment is also about memory and nostalgia. Religion is central to migrants' place making because it "is fundamentally about memory and 'topophilia'—the emotional and visceral attachment to particular places, especially home and the homeland" (Hervieu-Leger 2000 and Tuan 1974, cited in Vasquez and Knott 2014, 336). Sacred spaces, in turn, intervene in special ways in processes of place making as they enable particular experiences: "[These are] places where one's god(s) may be found and where one may undergo a sacred experience including an gamut of emotions from serenity and protection to fear and the sense of being overwhelmed" (Kong 1993, 345).

The discussion about the sharing of worship space by communities from diverse religious denominations that we present next delves into the conditions of mobility and fixity that these forms of worship enable their members. Through examining the construction of sacred spaces by occupants of the Synagogue and Pentecostal church, we examine what the process says about these communities and the relationship they establish with one another. Importantly, through examining claims of ownership

over sacred spaces, we attend not only to these group's spiritual claims but also to their territorial rooting.

The Synagogue: A Paradox of Mobility and Fixity

This case shows the paradox of attachment to the sacred space (place) in the condition that the Torah allows a mobile sacredness. The case reveals a kind of contradiction: on the one hand, it is the Torah that allowed Jews (who had no territory) to sacralize space as they travelled around the world and settled in Rosettenville. The paradox is that for the remaining congregants, the Synagogue space needs to be preserved because of its spatial gravity, not only because of the Torah, which will certainly be taken to a new place as soon as the congregation dwindles below ten males. This demographic decline has consequences in terms of the possibilities to maintain the sacredness of the building, although several temporal strategies have been deployed in order to maintain the Synagogue through the Sabbath ritual. Those remaining look down on the Jews that have left the area and abandoned their Synagogue, which now has become the place of worship for churches from other denominations. Mobility in their view is negative, although intrinsically this same mobility is provided by the Torah. It shows that although religiously speaking it is the Torah which sacralizes the place, over time, as people occupy the Synagogue space, it takes on a different meaning. In the case of Dr Krengel, it is his personal connection; it is mainly his family memories that give the Rosettenville Synagogue a special meaning worthy of preservation. His personal relation to the place is the force that explains why the Synagogue still exists. And to achieve this goal, he goes to extra lengths to look for people from a shelter to make up the *minyan*. What this case shows is just how the sociological and cultural importance of a Synagogue has remained the same over millennia but also how over time and with repeated use, the sacredness of a Synagogue extends beyond the presence of the Torah and becomes embedded and conflated in personal biographies and is very much sustained by lived memories and nostalgia. Krengel's saying, *if there*

is something that happens here (Synagogue) it hurts, suggests that there is a dimension of a "me" embodied in the physical space of the Synagogue.

In reality, while Jewish religious identity has always been associated with the Law, the sanctity of Synagogue evolved with time. In fact, the Jewish soldiers and mercenaries who migrated to Hellenistic Egypt and organized themselves as ethnic associations invented the current model of Synagogue primarily as place where community solidarity could be found, secured, and reaffirmed in a foreign land (Magliano-Tromp 2012). It took a century or so before they came up with the idea to spend their Sabbath afternoons studying the Torah and other Scriptures in Synagogues, probably learning for the first time the habit of studying holy books in Egypt where the practice was already widespread (Magliano-Tromp 2012). The Synagogue "buildings, the people who entered them, and the activities done by them were all considered holy, at the time and place of their gathering—because the acts they performed in that particular place brought them nearer to God" (Magliano-Tromp 2012, 10). So it was the presence of purified people, convening for the holy act of prayer, that made the Synagogues sanctified places (Magliano-Tromp 2012, 7).

The Portability and Pneumatic Nature of New Pentecostal Beliefs and Religious Practices

In the case of the Synagogue, we see a struggle to remain versus the new entrepreneurial behaviour of new groups. In this sense, the Jewish attitude towards the new Pentecostal occupants reflects both a case of convenience as they pray to the same Yahweh Shammah God and a utilitarian one as they need to pay electricity and water bills. Renting out the place to the Congolese allows them to cover those expenses but also ensure that the space is not secularized or desacralized as the new church is appropriating and sacralising the space in the name of the same God. The condition of mobility is central to Pentecostalism and has been defined as "portable pneumatic." Vasquez (2009) defines the global portability of Pneumatic Christianity in Africa as a pneumatic materialism that characterizes new Pentecostalism, a religion that

is able to bridge in multiple contexts the tension between the seen and the unseen, among the personal, the local and the global. It can also address the otherwise intractable condition of physical insecurity and exclusion faced by vast sectors of the world's population, particularly in Latin America and Africa. (Vasquez 2009, 276)

Like the imagistic mode[7] of religiosity, these Christianities rely on intense episodes of elevated arousal, and they often de-emphasize theology in favour of embodied and emplaced practices like glossolalia, divine healing, and exorcism. And while texts are certainly important in these Christianities, they are not just sources of transportable universal doctrines and ethics. These texts are themselves sacred artefacts, charged with the spiritual power to transform, to forcibly purify both self and society. These texts are tools in the struggle to conquer specific worldly territories (Vasquez 2009, 278). Central to the case presented here is the issue of portability or pneumatic religious worldview driving the Pentecostal ritual practice in claiming and appropriating sacred spaces. For the Pentecostal, the full presence of God can be embodied in the form of the Holy Spirit by certain chosen religious leaders. Whereas for the Jewish Congregation, it is the Torah's holiness that confers sacredness to the Synagogue, and for Pentecostal believers, their holy leaders can invoke almost at will the Holy Spirit to sacralize the space they move into. In migration or diaspora settings, religion and sacred spaces are central to place-making processes of diaspora communities, contributing to emplacement processes of both bodies and religions in motion (See Vasquez and Knott 2014; Wong and Levitt 2014; Magliano-Tromp 2012) for various reasons: the first reason is that religion functions in what religion scholar Thomas Tweed (2006, 80–122, cited in Levitt and Wong 2014) calls the "dwelling," namely "mapping, building, and inhabiting" space at various scales. Second, religion is central in that it allows socio-cultural and spatial

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[7] For Vasquez, imaginistic modes of religion today, including African and Latin American Pentecostalism, are circulating through other media. "Their worldwide diffusion is rather the result of the practices of transnational networks of missionaries that rely heavily on the widespread use of electronic, image-heavy media, like TV, videos, films, and the Internet. Through this media these religious actors render the imaginistic mode of religiosity translocal, no longer only the province of small-localised communities, but rather of transnational networks 'community of sentiment'" (Vasquez 2009).

"crossing" or bridging for the people who carry—it remains inextricably connected with mobility, journeys, and circulations (Levitt and Wong 2014). The above multi-dimensional character of religion provides meaning for a complex of lived experience for migrants who carry it as they travel through diverse spaces.

Conclusion

The Greater Rosettenville suburbs have always been an arrival point or an intersection on the city's continuum that leads people to other long and multiple spatial trajectories of mobility, producing a mosaic of human biographies that define, probably more than ever, contemporary life in Johannesburg. The many migrants groups who have settled over the years in this part of Johannesburg carried their faiths that not only transformed the physical landscape of the city in various ways but also allowed them to engage with everyday urban life in ways that gave them meaning, protection, and sense of belonging. In this chapter, we looked at a case of sacred space construction and their importance in place-making processes for different waves and settlements of migrants in Johannesburg's Greater Rosettenville suburbs. This work provides a localized microcosmic picture of just how religion through the construction and access to sacred spaces remained central in the processes of place making and belonging to the City.

We examined this issue from historical and contemporary perspective, analysing the case of the Rosettenville Synagogue and the Yahweh Shammah Ministries (a Congolese Pentecostal church) sharing space in close proximity—especially from a perspective that encompasses contrasting mutual experiences of the sacred. Firstly, from a situational perspective, we identified the historical construction of the sacred in the process of place making around the Synagogue vis-a-vis the historical and broader spatial diversification and transformation of the ethnic and religious landscape of Greater Rosettenville. Secondly, from a substantive perspective, we approached the sacred from their localized meanings through an analysis of the different narratives and politics involved in the negotiations for accessing the sacred place and the meanings that those situated at

the centre of the processes (Synagogue chairman and Pentecostal Bishop) attached to this space. In this sense, the chapter captures how "lived religions" (Orsi 2003, cited in Wong 2014) inform the ways the old and new residents of Greater Rosettenville act out and not just transform the physical space of the places of worship but also provide temporal ownership and belonging to their members. This chapter showed the paradox of mobility and fixity regarding the situation of the Jewish community and the portability of Pentecostalism in migrant place making.

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4

"It's Only the Glass Door, Which Breaks Every Day." Layered Politics of (Dis) Order at the Central Methodist Mission

Elina Hankela

Introduction: Central Through a Broken Door

Why did the Central Methodist Mission, familiarly known as Central, differ so clearly from other Johannesburg inner-city churches in regard to its response to the presence of poor international migrants in the area? I asked this question to Reverend Hogana, one of the ministers at Central, in 2009. For some years, homeless people had found shelter inside and around the six-storey church building at the corner of Pritchard Street and the Smal Street Mall. Under the aegis of the Ray of Hope Refugee Ministry (from here on referred to as the Refugee Ministry) run by the

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Central Methodist Mission Sanctuary (*left*) and refugee accommodation in church interior. Photographs by: Olivia Shihambe. 2014

church, Central had sheltered first dozens, then hundreds and thousands of both African migrants, mostly from Zimbabwe, and South African citizens. In 2009, estimates of the number of people staying in the building varied between 2000 and 3000.[1] Besides offering shelter, the Refugee Ministry involved other dimensions, such as counselling, primary health care, skills training and material support.

Reverend Hogana began her answer by talking about the door of the church, the main entrance that faced the busy Smal Street Mall consisting of a double door of metallic frames with central glass panels. It exposed Central's special character:

> [W]e have opened the doors of the church. The other churches have closed their doors. They even made burglar doors so that nobody comes near their door. So we are different in that way. We opened our doors. There is no burglar door. It's only the glass door, which breaks every day.[2]

Four years later, in 2013, the number of people staying in the building was around 1000.[3] In August of that year, the glass door, which had some

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[1] A funding report to UMCOR (August 2009) mentioned that "as of August 2009, close to 3000 people were being accommodated in the Church" following the arrest of the people sleeping on the streets around Central and their consequent vacation of the street space at night. During 2009, the media often referenced the figure at 3000 (or "over 3000").

[2] Transcript of interview with Rev. Hogana, 7.4.2009. The names of interviewees, apart from that of Paul Verryn, have been anonymised.

[3] The 2013 figures are based on the headcounts done by volunteers who worked on a database of the people in the building.

weeks earlier been broken, was intact. A tape across the glass seemed to plead with people not to walk through it. On a grey Sunday morning in September, only the metal frames of the door were left standing, and in February 2014, even one of the frames had disappeared. People no longer needed to open anything in order to walk into the church.

Thobeka, a congregant at Central, expressed her experience of the transformation of her church as follows: "[A church] should be the safest place but now it's like being in Hillbrow when you are in that church, you know. It's not safe, and it's filthy."[4] The Refugee Ministry divided people within the church and among the public as to whether it represented Christian social responsibility or, quite the contrary, had turned the church into another "Hillbrow," the nearby inner-city neighbourhood that in the public imagination is still often synonymous with crime, and known as a neighbourhood of African migrants.

The open and broken door, the dissolving of the boundary between the imagined sacred space and the imagined and real roughness of the inner-city streets, and the concomitant reordering of the space in and around the church, offers a starting point for this chapter. The aim is to understand the making of Central as a multi-layered place; that is, as the outcome of organising space into centres of meaning (Tuan 1996). As a layered centre of meaning, Central stretched, over the years, beyond the building itself, impacting on the streets around it, both intentionally (the open door) and in a seemingly uncontrolled manner (the broken door).[5] Various perceptions of what the church ought to represent determined the continuous negotiation of space and place in and around this church.

Yi-Fu Tuan's conceptualisation of "place" offers a framework for exploring the layeredness of Central: "A key to the meaning of place lies in the expressions that people use when they want to give it a sense of carrying greater emotional charge than location or functional node" (1996, 445). Thus people can have "a sense of place," and a place can be said to have "personality"; places provoke awe ("public symbols") or affection ("fields of care") (1996, 445–446). As a place, Central was both a public symbol,

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[4] Transcript of interview with Thobeka, 3.6.2009.

[5] The interest is on the building and the street space at the corner of Smal and Pritchard Streets, while I acknowledge the influence that Central and its leader had on the place-making in various other locations in Johannesburg and beyond.

interacting with the outside world and relying on recognition from the outsider, while withholding a number of overlapping fields of care (or of belonging and identity) only known to the insider and binding people to a material environment through emotional ties (1996, 450–451). Public symbols, Tuan further notes, can "lose their status as places and merely clutter up space" (1996, 451).

Analysis in this chapter is based on qualitative data I gathered in 2009 and 2013. I spent most of 2009 doing ethnographic fieldwork at the church, conducting semi-structured interviews, recording sermons and undertaking participant observation. After moving back to Johannesburg in 2013, I conducted further fieldwork and follow-up interviews particularly for the purposes of this chapter. Rev Dr Paul Verryn, who was the superintendent minister during my research engagement with Central, had finished his term at Central by the end of 2014, and the church has executed a decision to close the door to people staying in the building. These latest events are, however, not part of the analysis in this chapter.

Dirt, Faith and Order

My previous interrogation (Hankela 2014a) into the reasons for a tense relationship between the congregants and the people staying in the church suggested that the impact of the open door on the physical and social environment at the church was one reason for the distance between the two groups. People described the congregation's unease with the deteriorating state of the building, the dirty toilets, rats and lice, or the missing seats in the sanctuary, and with the acts perceived either as immoral (e.g. weed or alcohol consumed in front of the church) or criminal (e.g. the media reports on Central as "a haven for criminals"[6]). Due to the attention that material dirt and the deteriorating state of the building received in people's narration of Central, Mary Douglas' notion of matter out of place is used here as a tool for unpacking the imaginaries that governed the enacting of space into place(s) at Central.

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[6] This very phrase was used in a headline in the Sowetan in July 2009 (http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/sowetan/archive/2009/07/16/church-now-a-haven-for-criminals, viewed 4.2.2015).

Douglas' main argument in her influential work *Purity and Danger* is geared towards understanding the creation of symbolic and social order through classifying human experience. Dirt then is what falls outside the boundaries of a given system of classification: "There is no such thing as absolute dirt: it exists in the eye of the beholder" (Douglas 2002, 2). Douglas shatters the ways in which "primitive religions" and "great religions" were opposed to each other, the former being seen as driven by fear and characterised by pollution beliefs; instead she uses the notion of classification to point to the similarities between the two, exposing the intelligibility of both systems (2002, 1–7). Exposing the subjectivity of any classification system, the eye of the beholder renders the different ways of ordering the world comparable. In the preface to the 2002 edition, Douglas notes: "But when the controllers of opinion want a different way of life, the taboos will lose credibility and their selected view of the universe will be revised" (2002, xiii). In other words, the notion of dirt can be linked to regulating and protecting a fluid—though often seemingly static—idea of a good community, and a good place.

Liisa Malkki's broadening of Douglas' notion to discuss refugees within a national order further sheds light on how to understand "dirt" at Central vis-à-vis symbolic and social processes through which people become matter out of place, an abomination excluded from an order that created them as the other (Malkki 1995, 6), or as things that clutter up space (Tuan 1996, 451). Place-less people or, rather, in Tuan's terms, people who do not share the meaning that a given group attaches to a given place, bring a new dimension to the politics of dirt and order as they, unlike smells or dust, challenge the order and "categorize back" (Malkki 1995, 8), constructing another field of care, another place.

When looking at the various clashing orders that have made Central a place, Douglas' notion provides a tool to bring religious and secular "faiths" into conversation, and to escape the tendency to exceptionalise religious faith. Charles Taylor writes, from a Western perspective, about "a myth of the Enlightenment" (Taylor 2011, 52), and "the fixation on religion as the problem" that afflicts "some of our major thinkers" (pp. 48–49): "They want to make a special thing of religion, but not always for very flattering reasons" (p.49). Liberation theologian Ivan Petrella's provocative statement that neoliberalism is "theology disguised as social science" (Petrella

2008, loc 3620) further calls for a recognition of the underlying similarities in secular and religious sets of beliefs, even if they are not thought of as identical. The different imaginaries governing space at Central can indeed be brought into conversation as equally "rational" classification systems.

Along with allowing for distance from a secular/religious dichotomy, the notion of dirt also allows one to approach religious imaginaries not as part of a specific private aspect of life, separate from the spheres of the public and political, but rather as embedded in and organically part of the inner logic of a broader classification system. Thus, for instance, at Central, the notions commonly used in defining the South African city (race, class, ethnicity; see Murray 2011) merged into the locally circulating religious discourses. Central's politics of (dis)order developed as the different parties categorised space and acts, and people and matter, and the lines between "holy" (good, right) and "dirty" (bad, wrong) shifted. More importantly, the classification process did not only lead to competing demarcations of dirt but, and more importantly, to differing hierarchies between various categories of matter out of place.

A Tour of the Space in and Around Central

Reflecting the diversity of the activities taking place at Central, the sense of the building changed from one moment to the next and from one room to another. The Vestry behind the sanctuary, for instance, visually resembled an informal settlement after married couples moved there in 2009 and created some privacy by building makeshift homes out of cardboard and blankets. The ground floor foyer, on the contrary, was in constant motion. In the evenings, it accommodated half a dozen small stalls where residents sold and bought fruit, coffee, eggs and other commodities. A little later at night, in 2009, the foyer would be full of sleeping people. In 2013, with the decreased numbers, the congestion seemed to have eased, but not everyone fitted into the rooms even then and many still made their beds in the foyers. On Sunday mornings, when the foyer was empty, the broken front door and the walls, stained up to shoulder height, drew attention, along with the missing letters from the sign next to the chapel door that in 2009 had read THE J.B. WEBB CHAPEL,

but in 2013 had shrunk to J. EBB HAPE. If one came early enough, one could greet the people mopping the floors, but later one primarily just saw congregants passing through the foyer to the sanctuary or the chapel.

The makeover of the sanctuary itself was almost as glaring. When the sanctuary was empty during weekdays, the battered carpet and the increasing number of empty spots where a seat was broken or missing caught the eye. But between 10 and 1 o'clock on a Sunday morning, when the congregation gathered for the main service, the space was filled with singing, dancing and drumming; white cloth, candles and a metallic cross on the altar; the choir in their uniforms behind the altar; ministers sitting in front in their cloaks and congregants filling the sanctuary and the loft, wearing anything from Methodist uniforms to tight jeans. When the hundreds of people sang the *Siyakudumisa*[7] prayer in Xhosa, the sanctuary was a strikingly traditional South African Methodist space, reflecting the importance that the Eastern Cape[8] plays in the early phases of the history of South African Methodism (Grassow 2008). However, if one momentarily forgot that this was an inner-city church, one was bound to be reminded of the location by either a hymn sung in Shona[9] (which in 2013 seemed to happen on most Sundays) or the fact that the liturgy mixed different South African languages.

As in the space inside the church, activity in the city space around it fluctuated. In the daytime, the street corner was characterised by music flowing out of shops selling cheap clothes, an endless stream of pedestrians, hawkers selling jewellery, cell phone covers and fruit, and others showcasing photos to attract customers for hairdos. During the week, immediately in front of the church door, from a handful to a dozen people ran their dreadlock and hair businesses in 2013, a novelty compared to 2009. On Sundays around noon, ministers stood at the door greeting congregants after the church service. The red double-decker tourist bus, also something I never remember seeing in 2009 but often encountered in 2013, reflected the Methodist mothers' red uniforms as it took tourists

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[7] Xhosa for "we extol/praise/glorify you." In Buhle's words, "*Siyakudumisa* is a prayer that each and every Methodist would like to sing because it really brings you closer to God." Interview 19.11.2009.

[8] Xhosa is the most common language spoken in the Eastern Cape.

[9] A language widely spoken in Zimbabwe. In 2009 (and likely also in 2013), the majority of the dwellers at the Central were Shona-speaking.

past the church on a Sunday afternoon tour. Besides such tourists, the rare white people in the vicinity of the church consisted of a few congregants, Paul Verryn, journalists and researchers who occasionally visited Central, and business people or lawyers working in the High Court next to the church. In 2013, a few white people also either temporarily stayed at the church or otherwise mixed with the refugee community. As a remnant from the time when Central was still a white church, or maybe a reminder of the colonial roots and order of the now also African Christian religion, a white Jesus of Nazareth followed every Sunday service from a number of stained glass images on the sanctuary windows.[10]

At night, the area quietened down. But people still moved in and out of the building, groups of young men chatted on Pritchard Street, and washing hung on the fence in front of the church that had been built by business owners in 2009 to stop people sleeping on Smal Street: at dusk, the gates were locked and the bit of Smal Street between Jeppe and Pritchard Streets was sealed off. Prior to the building of the fence and the mass arrest of sleeping people in July 2009,[11] hundreds used to sleep on the streets around Central. In January 2009, surrounded by people preparing for the night on Smal Street, Tinashe, who was then involved with Central and the Refugee Ministry, looked at me, and said, "See how the church affects the city." The fence and the city's attempts towards enforcing by-laws limited this effect, but did not stop Central from impacting on the space around it.

Theological Imagination as the Key to Understanding Central as a Place

The material shape of the Central of the 2000s can be thought of, among other things, as a political statement against social injustice (Hankela 2014b, 190–192). Paul Verryn's theological thinking provided the primary

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[10] The racial shift at Central, from white to mixed race to predominantly black, both reflects the transition of the inner city at large and resembles the trajectory of other inner-city mainline churches that, in the 1990s, faced the options of closure, relocation or transformation as the city around them shifted (see Taylor 2008).

[11] See "SA slams arrest of homeless Zim" in iol news 4.7.2009, viewed 11.5.2012, http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=13&art_id=nw20090704185320106C509851

map governing this spatial and social transformation. The superintendent minister from 1997 till the end of 2014, and during that time also the district bishop for 12 years (1997–2009), Verryn was in an influential position to direct the journey of Central in Johannesburg's inner city, post-1994.

There is of course a break between the symbolic and the social worlds, an ideological or faith (broadly understood) position and its materialisation in space. The material and social realities at Central were not a perfect actualisation of Verryn's liberationist imagination of them, nor did he claim them to be. Neither was the church space impacted on by the leader alone, nor can one claim that the leader's influence was restricted to theological vision. Yet I argue that Verryn's theological imagining of the religious, social and physical landscape set, to an extent, the physical boundaries within which others, who inhabited the space, negotiated its nature as a place.

Verryn's public theological voice, which materialised in Central as a "counter public symbol," was a particularly strong one on a spectrum of Christian socio-political engagement in democratic South Africa. Referring to the Refugee Ministry (in particular during the events around the xenophobic violence in 2008), Barbara Bompani takes Central as a prime example of a religious organisation that has challenged other actors in the public sphere under the new dispensation (Bompani 2013, 137). Scholars generally agree that the critical and prophetic public voice of the so-called ecumenical churches, to which Methodists also belong, in opposing the order of apartheid, through bodies like the South African Council of Churches (SACC), became silent or diminished in the early years of democracy (see e.g. Maluleke 2000, 194; Storey 2004, 66–69; Bompani 2006, 1137–1138; Kuperus 2011, 289–295). This shift is illustrated in the "critical solidarity" clause that the SACC adopted when the liberation movement got into power, a clause which perhaps exposes a broader trend in post-1994 South Africa to depart from the choice to listen to the underside of history (Vellem 2012, 351). Some argue that in the early 2000s churches, and the SACC in particular, regained a more critical voice in the public sphere (Bompani 2006, 1138), but others continue to maintain that at a political macro level the SACC "has become increasingly marginalized" (Kuperus 2011, 302). South African theologian Clint le Bruyns wrote only in 2012 that "many if not most churches"

believe that "the dispensation of prophetic engagement has ceased for the time being, that there is no crisis demanding prophetic engagement right now" (le Bruyns 2012, 86). What could be called a liberationist theology of order, which made the crisis of socio-economic inequality visible at Central, was at its core a theology of prophetic engagement.

A Boundary-Less Liberationist Order

Verryn's understanding of the relationship between the church and the world is characterised by continuity and synergy, as well as a utopian vision of a just society. There is sin and holiness in both the church and the world, Verryn once explained, and thus—from the perspective of holiness—the construction of a dichotomy between "world" and "church" is false.[12] The breaking down of the boundary between the church and the world draws attention to the influence of the liberationist tradition and the South African liberation struggle on Verryn's theological imagination (see Hankela 2014a, b).[13]

Central to different liberation theologies, and characteristic of Verryn's ministry and a branch of the broader Methodist witness in South Africa (see Bailie 2009), is the preferential option for the poor or the marginalised. The option does not translate into encouraging charity, but stands for an epistemological choice to read the world through the lenses of the poor and to encourage solidarity in fighting unjust societal structures or, in other words, to stand against "sin" that manifests in societal structures (see Gutiérrez 2013a, 27–30; Gutiérrez 2013b, 154–157; Gorringe 2002; Frostin 1988). A liberation theology could then be defined as "both action and reflection that aims to liberate marginalized peoples from oppression, to act" (Cooper 2013, 1). Influenced by this tradition, Paul Farmer stresses that we all live in *one* world: there is no "country of social suffering" where the poor can be dumped out of sight (Farmer 2013b, 135).

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[12] Transcript of interview with Verryn, 9.4.2009.

[13] One could also examine Verryn's theology in relation to his denominational location within Methodism, which has in different times and places been affiliated with social action and characterised by synergy between spiritual and material matters and above all its teaching of universal grace available to all (see Cracknell and White 2005).

At Central, the boundary between the sanctuary and the politics of the surrounding city had already been crossed in the 1970s and 1980s, during Peter Storey's time as the superintendent minister. In the later years of apartheid, for instance, groups that the government had denied the right to meet gathered at Central, generating confrontations with the police (Venter 1994, 125). Reflecting this identity, in 1985 the name of the then Central Methodist Church was changed to the current Central Methodist Mission, reflecting "a totally outward vision" of being a church in the city (Venter 1994, 127). This provides a stark comparison to the various private and corporate spaces as well as several churches in the city today that have turned their gaze inward, the boundary between the street and the private being regulated and fortified by walls, security gates, alarms and armed response services. In Storey's words, Central wanted instead to regain its identity as "a church with its face turned toward the city and its needs."[14]

Reflecting Verryn's theological location as a liberationist minister in a Methodist church that has a history of political engagement, his preaching often highlighted the breaking down of the boundary between the religious and the socio-political. "It's critical … that what we do in this place Sunday by Sunday isn't divorced completely from what happens in the streets outside this place," Verryn impressed on the congregation one Sunday morning. He had just spoken about his encounters with people in a township in Patensie in the Eastern Cape (one of the receiving ends of the structural violence that maintains socio-economic inequality). A young man had said to him: "What's the use of us going to school? We want to tell you, Sir, that we have decided we are going to start selling drugs because we know that we will make money to feed our families."[15] Such conversations "in the streets outside this place" found their way into sermons and the centre of religious life. The porous boundary was further reflected in the politically inclined gatherings that continued to take place at Central during Verryn's time (Hankela 2014a).

Because social justice set the tune for what synergy between the world and the church meant in the material reality of Central, the breaking

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[14] Personal email from Peter Storey, 9.7.2012.
[15] Transcript of sermon, 9.2.2014.

of the dichotomy between the two did not aim for the dissolving of Central into the prevailing order of the city. On the contrary, as a public symbol, the church stood out in the midst of the city's attempts at "regeneration"—and against them. Around the church, the inner-city renewal project harnessed private investors to uplift the city centre, in the spirit of "a growth-first approach to city improvements and revitalization" (Murray 2011, 247; see also Winkler 2013), or the "logic of capitalist spatial development" (Harvey quoted in Murray 2011, 247). This required public–private partnerships that supported the momentum of the entreated upliftment, also leading to a need to "clean up" the inner city (Winkler 2013, 311), which in the recent past has not only meant removing filth but also unwanted squatters and vendors (Bompani 2013, 142). The kind of capitalist classification system that seems to govern the regeneration project—and the making of places in and of the city—was at odds with the liberationist order, according to which Central as a field of care should have been "a place of hope, a place that will not discriminate, a place in which they all suddenly become citizens and belong."[16] And in reverse, the Christian community should be "the people who are supposed to be the *initiators of something different* in this country—and really we're not."[17]

The break between the orders of the city and Central was not due to any imagined, primordial, inherent holiness of the church, but was rather an epistemological, moral and pragmatic break, stemming from a preferential option for those who were deemed less than human, and therefore out of place. Within this order, material dirt was classified in relation to, and up against, other kinds of dirt.

A Liberationist Reading of Dirt

I never once heard Verryn deny the inconvenience of filth, smells or broken toilets at Central. Neither did he condone contraventions of the moral order among the community staying in the church: the breaking

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[16]Transcript of interview with Verryn, 2.12.2009.
[17]Transcript of sermon, 16.2.2014.

of the rules of the building, or the cases of abuse or crime reported by the local media.[18] Verryn would often speak of these matters, but their existence at Central did not justify closing the doors to the poor. As much as these matters caused discomfort to everyone involved with the church, in a liberationist hierarchy of dirt, they played a secondary role.

In the context of the inner city, an understanding of "sin" as structural translated into social injustice being the primary dirt to be cleansed. Verryn read his context through the principle of the inherent and equal human dignity of every person, based strongly, though not only, on the religious premise of creation in the image of God (Hankela 2014a, b). While his preaching on humanity also involved a strong dimension of individual responsibility, at a structural level the principle translated into a demand for radical equity. Retelling a dispute he had had with a person working in law chambers close to Central, Verryn recounted:

> She said to me […] "We have human rights as well. It's not just these people living in your building." […] I said: "I am fully aware of them but *one of your human rights is not luxury*. And the second thing is that as a legal firm that is supposed to be working for the rights of people you will know that one of the first rights that you need to start addressing is the disparity between the rich and the poor." […] Justice is about instituting realistically the humanity of people, so that they truly can believe that they are […] made in the image of God basically.[19]

Verryn had become known in South Africa for his ministry among international migrants, but the main matter out of place in his reading of the signs of the time was poverty, and consequently—in line with Farmer's insistence on our living in one world—the other end of the continuum of socio-economic inequality, namely, luxury. In the context of a country that ranks among the most unequal in the world (Bhorat and van der

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[18] For instance, the following headings featured in the media in 2009 and 2010 when Central was more often in the news than today: "Church now a haven for criminals" (Sowetan 16.7.2009); "Joburg church rocked by claims of abuse & child criminals" (Eyewitness News 14.9.2009); "Children moved from church after sex-abuse claims" (Mail and Guardian 15.9.2009); "Analysis: Bishop Paul Verryn and the dangers of speaking truth to power" (Daily Maverick 26.1.2010).

[19] Transcript of interview with Verryn, 2.12.2009.

Westhuizen 2010, 55), the open door was an act of solidarity with the lower socio-economic classes.

Indeed, the choice to speak of a refugee ministry and of "refugees," when many of the people living at Central did not have legal refugee status, is in itself a political choice, pointing out that the system itself is out of place—not the people (see Hankela 2014b, 191–192). Encouraging the presence of people who are deemed out of place has been a part of Central's journey under the leadership of ministers who have placed social justice at the heart of the gospel. Starting in the late 1970s, Central was transformed from a white church into one hosting a mixed congregation, ahead of the racial integration of the inner city around it (Venter 1994). Black people were out of place in the city church under the racist apartheid order, a role later filled by *makwerekwere*,[20] or "refugees," who filled up the building in a city where they are in different ways unwanted (see Hankela 2014a, 160). As is already clear, other parties in and around Central did not passively accept this order.

Competing Images of Good Order

Mark is a business owner running a fast-food outlet in the Smal Street Mall, close enough to Central to have felt the impact of the church in his business environment. Mark's reason for being in the inner city was his livelihood: "We're here to trade."[21] Hence, his critical perception of the Refugee Ministry was also related to its impact on the business environment: "It all boils down to money. Does Paul Verryn care about our investment that we put into the city centre? […] I've got money invested in the city centre, the upliftment of the city centre."[22] On both occasions (2009 and 2013) that I met with him, the lack of, and the need for, what Mark called "control" recurred in his narrative of Central.

The Refugee Ministry seemed to have brought different types of dirt into the space around it. In the 2009 interview, Mark talked about

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[20] A derogatory term used to refer to African migrants in South Africa.
[21] Transcript of interview with Mark, 3.12.2013.
[22] Transcript of interview with Mark, 10.12.2009.

increased levels of crime in the surrounding area, and filth: "We can't trade where you've got boxes, rubbish, human effluent and Coke bottles full of urine—you've got to clean up." According to Mark, business owners used to spend a lot of money on cleaning the street in the early mornings prior to the building of a fence that stopped people from sleeping outside their stores in March 2009.[23] Looking at the situation in 2013, it was clear that the fence had provided better control in terms of cleanliness issues—material dirt and human beings who slept outside the shops and left the space dirty were out of place in a business set-up—but closing the gates around six in the evening restricted trading hours.[24] While Mark did not condone either Verryn's "business" in the area or the criminal acts around Smal Street Mall, he hinted at ways to understand these other role players from the perspective of a business mind-set; in 2009, Mark suggested that Verryn was cashing in on the presence of the refugees at the church.[25] Crime also became comprehensible from an economic perspective: if people are unemployed with families to feed, an increase in crime is comprehensible.[26]

Mark's account also underlined the need for a given type of municipal and national order. As much as Mark pointed the finger at Verryn for creating the micro-scene that inconvenienced businesses in the area, he also looked at the unwillingness or inability of the national government to control the borders, as this had created "the nonsense." In his view, the city, too, applied different standards for Central and for Mark's business when it came to lice, rats or fire extinguishers. According to Mark, Central had become an abomination, out of place, in a city of Johannesburg's calibre: "We call ourselves a World Class African City. I can't understand. It shouldn't have happened in the first place."[27] Yet if the city indeed allowed Central such special treatment, it could have been due to the position Central had gained as a public symbol, even if one that by its mere existence fought the order of the city-under-regeneration.

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[23] Transcript of interview with Mark, 10.12.2009.
[24] Transcript of interview with Mark, 3.12.2013.
[25] Transcript of interview with Mark, 10.12.2009.
[26] Transcript of interview with Mark, 3.12.2013.
[27] Transcript of interview with Mark, 10.12.2009.

Lastly, Mark supported his critique of Central with references to the right of every human being to humane living conditions, to "live in a clean and safe environment."[28] On the face of it, this does not sound so different from Verryn. But, since the situation at Central surfaced in Mark's narration as Verryn's creation (not unlike in some media coverage), he, to the contrary, asserted: "If [Verryn] really cared about the people he would have taken that baby, that mother that are sleeping on the ground there and put them into a proper shelter."[29] Mark himself was not a stranger to social projects but, rather, told me that he was a founding member and chairperson of a charity that works in inner-city Johannesburg.[30]

Yet at the corner of Smal and Pritchard Streets Mark and Verryn had a clear difference in approach: Verryn did not aim to solve the problem within the existing order of a world-class-aspiring city order but rather push to change that order. "Hence the poverty of the poor is not a call to generous relief action, but a demand that we go and build a different social order" (Gutiérrez quoted in Farmer 2013a, 35). From a liberationist perspective, the mere fact that poor people inhabited the church and its surrounding area in the city demonstrated that we live in one world, and that as long as there is suffering, it cannot be pushed into a world of its own (Farmer 2013b). The dirt and deterioration of the church building are not, of course, inevitably concomitant with a liberationist approach to ministry. Within the broader liberationist discourse itself some have emphasised that the poor are also deserving of beauty (Petrella 2013, 149), an element of liberation which was, beauty here understood aesthetically, not characteristic of the operations of the Refugee Ministry. But the insistence that people live in one world does render the ministry comprehensible, meanwhile revealing its incompatibility with the push towards creating exclusionary middle-class spaces as a form of regeneration. What surfaces as a public symbol of the struggle for equity from the perspective of a liberationist tradition appears as a symbol of decay and the inability of the national government and the city to control its borders and streets from the perspective of privatised regeneration—and a

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[28]Transcript of interview with Mark, 3.12.2013.
[29]Transcript of interview with Mark, 10.12.2009.
[30]Transcript of interview with Mark, 10.12.2009 and 3.12.2013.

business person whose livelihood was disturbed because of the boundary-less form of the church.

Although Mark's conception of Central primarily challenges the church as a public symbol, he also evoked an imaginary of inhumane conditions inside its walls. Many spaces in the inner city—from within a given system of classification—have indeed been described, even in scholarly work, as spaces of (mere) survival. While survival was surely one aspect of life at Central, turning to the creation of fields of care inside the building challenges this perception of decay and survival as its primary characteristic.

Orders of Care

A conversation with Mary, a South African, long-term dweller at Central, offers a perspective onto the thinking of the community that lived in the church (interviewed in 2009 and 2013). My listening to Mary is influenced by countless other encounters with her and by listening to many other dwellers over the years. Here, I concentrate on her views rather than aiming for a comprehensive analysis of the variety of ideas of Central prevailing among the refugee community; the same approach applies to my conversations with Buhle, a congregant, below.

Mary joked about the material dirt at Central. She once responded to an invitation to visit me by saying that she would come with her family and her cockroaches; another time when I was at the church waiting for the evening service to begin, she asked why I was sitting in a pew next to a certain man: did I not know that I could get lice? Such banter, of course, did not mean that she would not have preferred a cleaner environment. When I asked her in 2013 how life in the building had changed with the decreased number of dwellers, her first response was that it was easier to clean, just as it was easier to move around in the building at night without stepping on people.[31] Speaking from the social location of a once home-less South African, who had over the years been closely involved with the lives of many poorer Zimbabwean migrants at Central, Mary used terms

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[31]Transcript of interview with Mary, 20.12.2013.

like refuge, home and a place that is not "a charity organization" when she spoke of Central. As these terms suggest, while dirt was not pleasant, despite it and in the midst of it, fields of care were constructed.

When asked what a church is, Mary explained: "[It's] where you run to when you don't have anywhere else to run. […] That's where your refuge is." She herself ran to Central years ago: "I was destitute. […] When I came I felt lost, and I felt rejected because there was no one who could take me in at that time."[32] Central had not only gained a reputation of a place where people run to, but also one to which people were directed by others. Mary spoke fondly of the fact that when others—such as those at the police station or the Department of Social Development—could not help people they sent them to "Bishop Paul Verryn at the Central Methodist." Like a number of others, Mary lived at Central for years, but in 2013, she also spoke of Central as a short-term shelter: for instance, as it was no longer allowed to spend the night at Park Station, people came to Central and slept at the church while waiting for their connecting transport, among them "senior citizens" who were travelling via Johannesburg.[33]

Despite the palliative aspects of the refuge, in Mary's narration, a refuge does not translate as charity: those who see this church as "a charity organisation" instead of "something that is helping them" have "misunderstood the whole point of this ministry."[34] In explaining her perception of the leader's message, Mary said, "You cannot just come here and sit until Jesus comes; you must do something about your life."[35] She made a distinction between "sympathy" and "help": people who seek sympathy do not take initiative in their lives, while those who look for help "don't want to be spoon-fed" and prefer a job over hand-outs.[36]

Mary herself called Central home. In 2013, I asked her to sum up Central in a few words: "Home: it gives warmth; it gives comfort; it gives respect." The reality "out there" made people who had stayed at the

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[32] Transcript of interview with Mary, 7.9.2009.

[33] Transcript of interview with Mary, 20.12.2013.

[34] Transcript of interview with Mary, 7.9.2009.

[35] Transcript of interview with Mary, 20.12.2013.

[36] Transcript of interview with Mary, 7.9.2009.

church and then left, come back "in here": "out there it's cold." Out there one faces loneliness and abuse, and not being taken seriously. For Mary, the positive spirit "in here" was rather strongly related to the presence and vision of the Bishop. In her view, the respect that the Bishop showed people "no matter who you are" and the fact that he believed in people could make one "walk tall" even in a difficult situation.[37] Overall, it was dirty at the church, and not ideal, but it was somewhere to call home. Yet a romantic perception of home does not help to understand Central as home. In making sense of the care aspects of Central, I have concentrated on the notions of home and refuge, but Mary was not uncritical about Central or the ministry either. At the time of the interview, she could not afford to stay elsewhere.[38]

Mary initially came to Central because of her destitution. On the contrary, Buhle, a South African congregant, came to Central to worship; the social location within which she addressed dirt at Central differs from that of Mary. For Buhle, the meaning of Central was linked to practising her faith, growing in faith and helping others grow. On Sunday mornings, Buhle, together with the rest of the congregation, practised vertical and horizontal place-making through singing, praying and dancing. The responsibilities she had in her church organisation were another horizontal social activity that facilitated the creation of a field of care—comparable to Mary's feelings about helping those who had no place to go. Dirt was an issue for Buhle, but she said that she came to the church to worship, and not "for cleanliness. It's to worship. As long as the sanctuary is still there, we will go." Referring to the members of the congregation who have moved to other churches, Buhle confirmed that dirt or cleanliness was not a reason for *her* to stay or go: "Those who think that God is in clean places, they have left."[39]

Buhle regarded the people in the building as responsible for (some of) its issues of dirt and deterioration, highlighting the contingent nature of these matters. In 2013, I asked her how the situation had changed in relation to the people staying in the church since we had spoken in 2009.

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[37] Transcript of interview with Mary, 20.12.2013.

[38] Transcript of interview with Mary, 20.12.2013.

[39] Transcript of interview with Buhle, 19.12.2013.

After noting that fewer people now stayed in the building, she went on to describe its worsening state:

> I am not sure whether they don't appreciate what the Bishop is doing for them, or they're just careless, you know, because glass windows broken, doors… [Elina: The main door?] The main door. Toilets. The main door! The main door is a nightmare because you will find it broken today, okay, and then maybe three weeks after it's fixed. […] You come back the other time, those glasses are broken again. I am not sure what is happening. Why are they fighting the doors? […] They seem not to respect much.[40]

Once again, dirt, as something out of place, surfaces as a result of behaviour that some people had deliberately chosen instead of choosing to be respectful. Thus Buhle made a clear link between the material and the moral when classifying her experience and verbalising the nature of the disorder at Central. A place has its order and people should follow it: respect for Central as a church would in her mind have translated into caring for the environment and joining the congregation for worship: "If you are staying in someone's house, you don't do as you wish, you do as people there do."[41] It was a problem that the people chose not to support the existence of a good community, a given order.

Nevertheless, Buhle expressed her support for Verryn. In the 2013 interview, she said that she was one of those who were "supporting him," as opposed to those who were "calling for his removal because of these people," or those who were neutral. At the same time, she explained that "you need to be very deep in faith to understand [what is happening at the church]," and returned to the notion of test that I had picked up from our previous conversation: "This is a real test [of our faith] because Jesus went to people like those. […] The disadvantaged."[42]

On the other hand, Buhle thought that the situation at Central was temporary and not how things ought to be: "So, and [we] pray that God please help us. We understand. We've got the message now." At the end of the day, a church should be a quiet place where people come to pray:

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[40] Transcript of interview with Buhle, 19.12.2013.
[41] Transcript of interview with Buhle, 19.12.2013.
[42] Transcript of interview with Buhle, 19.12.2013.

"a dignified place." This is illustrated by Buhle's description of "a new trend" of people doing hair and operating small pavement salons in front of the church: "You know, it's known that if you want to do dreadlocks go to Central." Buhle found this business enterprise "totally wrong." She would rather they had a corner inside the church so that people who passed Central—and had read about the church in newspapers—would not see them: "I want the space to be respected."[43] Central lacked dignity; it was dirty and open to people's judgement. The threat was seemingly that those who saw material dirt or people in the wrong place, like the hairdressers or a bottle of beer in front of the church entrance, would draw connections between the material state outside and the moral and spiritual state within. Whatever happened inside the building, on the other hand, would only be known to the congregation that had other sources when judging whether the church was "dignified." A door broken by a guest did not only run counter to Buhle's notion of respect, but also potentially ridiculed the emotions that tied the congregation to the physical space in the eye of the public.

Linking place with order, Tuan argues that "the loss of place" or the threat thereof—that is, a feeling that the boundaries of one's world are at stake—heightens a sense of place: "The sense of place is perhaps never more acute than when one is homesick, and one can only be homesick when one is no longer at home" (Tuan 1996, 453). Through seemingly threatening the continuation of Central as a given type of place, dirt may have strengthened the emotions and meanings congregants attached to it; some of them possibly emanated from a collective past when Central still was a "clean" church, a spiritual home that was now partly lost.

On the Politics of Layered Orders

"But when the controllers of opinion want a different way of life, the taboos will lose credibility and their selected view of the universe will be revised" (Douglas 2002, xiii). To an extent, Verryn as the leader of Central played the role of an opinion controller inside the walls of the

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[43]Transcript of interview with Buhle, 19.12.2013.

church building. The hierarchical structure of the Methodist church—even before one interrogates the power dynamics in this specific location (Hankela 2014a)—implies a hierarchy of orders in a Methodist space. As much as congregants might have disagreed with Verryn's sense of order, they had to live within the parameters of his vision. They might have agreed, disagreed or protested, but all of that took place within a space that was (to an extent) governed by Verryn's liberationist classification of the world. In this sense, Verryn's order set the tone for the organisation of space into place at Central, both in the eyes of the public and in the relational creation of meaning among the communities that occupied the building. Theology at Central became thoroughly material and mundane, interested in blocked toilets, fistfights and regional politics, while at the same time, it retained a utopian flavour, pointing to a just future for and beyond the Earth. Theology both created Central as a public symbol and defined the limits to the creation of fields of care inside the building.

On the streets around the church, the key controllers of opinion—the city and the private sector to which the city had handed power—spearheaded a different order, guided by a different idea of a good universe. Here, some saw the marriage between the religious and the political in Verryn's vision as problematic: religion should remain in the spiritual sphere, and more importantly inside a church building. Religious faith became the other in a public sphere governed by other faiths, especially if it challenged the beliefs that drove the hegemonic order. In this space, Verryn's vision turned the church building into a counter-public-symbol, a place that breathed protest. It gained recognition from the outside, but often because of its controversial character. Yet the fact that authorities did not destroy it may also speak of positive (even if hesitant) recognition (see Tuan 1996).

Inside the church building, the layered making of space into multiple fields of care also created orders that both overlapped and clashed. The concrete and symbolic needs of the parallel communities occupying the building differed despite their apparent reverence for the same God. Again, for some, the particular kind of relationship between the political and religious, which appeared as natural and organic to the liberationist leader, tarnished the dignity of the sanctuary. As the communities negotiated their existence in the building, the place changed, offering a centre

for a spectrum of meanings. Above all, the fluid layers of place-making, linked to different identities and social locations, exposed the contested nature of the grand narratives of both the city and the church leader. Within and despite these orders, people created their own city and their own Central, partly solving the problem of clashing orders inside the church by the creation of different places in one space, even if tension between these places endured.

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5

The Spirit of Hillbrow: Religion and the Ordering of Social Space in Inner-City Johannesburg

Alex Wafer

Introduction

As with many cosmopolitan, high-density and largely immigrant neighbourhoods in cities across the Global North and South, the public spaces of Johannesburg's inner-city neighbourhood of Hillbrow are saturated with the material signs of religion and spirituality. The bustling street-scape of Hillbrow's informal, illegal and itinerant economies sees hair salons and cell-phone repair shops alongside any variety of non-denominational and evangelical churches that occupy old synagogues, empty shops or re-appropriated offices and apartments. Every street pole, bus stop or concrete facia is plastered with posters and flyers for prophets who claim to heal all kinds of diseases (as well as increase virility and return lost lovers). Every street corner has small family-run shops such as Joy of God Internet Café, or The Lord is My Shepherd Cellphone and Communication

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Emmanuel TV, electronics store, Hillbrow. Photograph by: Olivia Shihambe, 2014

Centre. On any given afternoon, the small, over-saturated public spaces are occupied by false prophets, Jehovah's Witnesses and gamblers in equal measure. And on a Sunday morning, the streets of the neighbourhood—popularly regarded as places of vice and earthly indulgence every other day of the week—are washed clean by throngs of Bible-clasping church-goers dressed in their finest. Less conspicuous even, but nevertheless present in the public realm: on a cold winter evening during the month of Ramadaan, silhouetted against the greenish glow of the closed shop-front windows, small groups of young south Asian men sit on the floor of the mattress shop or the haberdashery to breakfast together.

While the presence of the religious and the spiritual in the contemporary city has received increasing academic attention (Johnstone 2015; Chiodelli 2015; Nolte 2013; Dwyer et al. 2013; Becci and Burchardt 2013; Garbin 2012; Sheringham 2010; Valentine 2013), at least in the South African context, this has tended to focus upon the ways in which emerging communities constituted by religious and spiritual belief reframe the social and political sphere. That is, the presence of a diversity of church and religious groups in the contemporary post-apartheid city

is understood variously as: the decline (and/or possible re-emergence) of civil-society activism; increasing anxiety and insecurity associated with transience, precarity and migration; and the decline of state institutions as the organising principle of the everyday life of the city (Morris 1999; Watson and Frassinelli 2013; Winkler 2008).

Piper (2009) suggests, for example, that in a context where civil society appears to be at a critical juncture between, on the one hand, a productive engagement with institutions of state power and authority, and on the other, a cynical disengagement from them, faith-based organisations (FBOs) possess a potential for fostering the traditions and practices of participatory engagement and accountability that have otherwise retreated from the social sphere. This argument is based partly on revisiting the significance of such FBOs during the anti-apartheid struggles, but is also an attempt to see in such associational groups the condition for new solidarities. Others have suggested, rather, that the dissociative, Pentecostal and atomising theology of many of inner-city Johannesburg's church communities undermines the possibility that such spaces allow for the forging of meaningful associational life. Apart from a number of more established traditional Christian churches in Hillbrow, it is not easy to recognise whether religious groups and organisations can even be regarded as FBOs in the sense that Piper (2009) implies, let alone whether they would be willing or able to engage as significant civil-society actors. Winkler (2008) argues that FBOs are ultimately far too diffuse and incoherent to be an effective site of social mobilisation, splintering rather into a myriad of small and informal groupings: "None of Hillbrow's faith communities collaborates with another and the multiplicity of FBOs neither guarantees resident representation in public fora, nor effective poverty alleviation outcomes. [However] It could be argued that faith groups structured around national identity and language are closest to Hillbrow's foreign nationals and asylum-seekers, as the state provides little, if any, support to either of these groups" (Winkler 2008, 2112). Also sceptical of the possibility of such groups to engender robust civic engagement, Landau (2009) has pointed to the important role of religious groups in the making of associational life among migrant communities in Johannesburg. While they may not invoke political and civil activism, Landau suggests that religious affiliations may serve other

functional purposes. Within the context of limited state and community support for, and even outright hostility towards, migrant communities, many migrants find that membership of religious groupings offers a way of navigating the city via what Landau terms a tactical cosmopolitanism: that is, they allow a form of belonging without investing in the broader political and social life of South Africa, maintaining (potentially lucrative) links with other places and other networks beyond the city, or at least ethnic minorities and immigrant communities within the city.

While these perspectives offer a useful entry point for understanding the diverse, often informal multiplicity of religiosity in Hillbrow, they are primarily concerned with religious organisations as spaces of albeit circumscribed associational or civic life. Certainly, the importance of these church groups in shaping the everyday life of Hillbrow derives in no small part from their ubiquity: indeed, churches and other spaces of religious ritual and practice are probably the single most prevalent form of urban practice in Hillbrow (although this is purely conjectural). This observation notwithstanding, the description of religious groups and organisations in Hillbrow as part of a vibrant plurality of civil society (or at least associational life) misses to my mind one key element in the way that religion and spirituality reframe urban space: that is, through ordering the material world according to spiritual and religious beliefs. By this I am not simply referring to the presence in the city of, for example, traditional spiritual or religious practices (although this is significant to the point I am trying to make). More than this, though, I am interested in the ways that the material intersects with the non-material or spiritual realm in the neighbourhood of Hillbrow to reorder urban social space. Like the majority of urban residents in the Global South, the residents of Hillbrow navigate expectations of subjecthood intertwined with experiences of abandonment, hope and anxiety, and everyday subjectivities made in complex relation to policemen, prophets and ethnic and familial networks (Gabay and Death 2014; Becci and Burchardt 2013; Taussig 1997). Understood in this way, the materiality of the inner city is permeated not just by the presence of so many religious practices and places of worship, but by a range of overlapping social orders from which expectations and subjectivities are forged. It is within this complex social terrain that I will develop in this chapter an argument about how the spiritual realm serves as an important vector in the associational life of

Hillbrow, intersecting with contestations over space and belonging in the material realm. I consider two different sites of religious significance in Hillbrow—a long-standing Christian church that provides a soup-kitchen for homeless people, and a fast-food take-away that is permeated by a 24-hour feed from a West African Evangelical television network. These two spiritual sites articulate in many respects two ends of a material order: broadly speaking, narratives of failure and success, which find some resolution in Christian narratives (the first I call the City of Redemption, the second is the City of Salvation). I show how religion and the spiritual cannot be seen only in terms of instrumental outcomes in the material world but in terms of a narrative which reflects upon and legitimises the everyday experiences of its residents.

The Spirit of Hillbrow

"Now get up and go into the city, and you will be told what you must do."—Acts 9:3–9, NIV

I first met Johannes in 2012.[1] My own experience of Hillbrow during the three years that I was on-and-off present in the neighbourhood oscillated between feelings of immense optimism and of despair. The neighbourhood has always been a place of refuge as well as entrapment for many of the city's migrants, its homeless and its hopeful. Hillbrow is a neighbourhood of opportunity, of transience and becoming. And like all intense urban spaces in the Global South and North, there are those that fall through the cracks—or perhaps more accurately, form part of an interstitial ecosystem. And Hillbrow is the neighbourhood in Johannesburg that most readily supports this ecosystem.

Johannes[2] (I call him Johannes after the city that he has made his home) regularly sits on the sidewalk along Hospital Street, itself a pecu-

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[1] At the time I was undertaking research as part of a post-doctoral fellowship with the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, based in Germany. The research project, which included research teams in Singapore, New York and Johannesburg, was a study of the ways in which difference was lived and negotiated through the everyday encounters between diverse individuals and groups in three *super-diverse* neighbourhoods (Vertovec 2007).

[2] All names used in this chapter are pseudonyms

liarly in-between street. Hospital Street is usually recognised as the divide between the neighbourhoods of Hillbrow and Braamfontein, with the service-entrance of Hillbrow Community Health Centre on the Hillbrow side of the street and the City Mortuary on the Braamfontein side of the street. Enclosed by these two state-run institutions, the street is relatively stark, but it does serve as a shortcut for people walking from Hillbrow to Braamfontein, or to the railway station at the bottom of the hill. Johannes occupies this street-corner site for the majority of the day; in winter, he wraps himself in a smokey blanket; in summer, he sits on an old broken deck-chair surrounded by a clutter of strange household objects: some cups and plates, broken electronic parts, several old magazines, some items of clothing. On an upturned cardboard box in the midst of the clutter was a handful of sweets in plastic wrappers and a box of cigarettes which he sells *loose* (i.e. single cigarettes). Johannes himself sits and smokes roll-ups all day, talking to people as they pass. On our first encounter, Johannes was highly suspicious of my presence in Hillbrow. Before I could continue my research, he demanded, I had to accept the Spirit of Hillbrow. Hillbrow is a place where the spirit is powerful, he claimed, and one cannot hope to understand (let alone be safe) in the neighbourhood without accepting this Spirit. It was never clear to me whether he was talking about the Christian *Holy Spirit,* or whether the spirit of Hillbrow was something altogether different. Like much of the neighbourhood, I assume that it was somewhere in-between these two inexact visions. Indeed, Hillbrow is saturated with both Christian and ancestral beliefs. I guess it was more important (to me as a researcher) to recognise (a) that the ontological terrain of Hillbrow was multiple and complex, and (b) that this very terrain played a significant role on understanding the material and everyday life of the neighbourhood.

I returned on many occasions to chat with Johannes; his spot was on my shortcut from Hillbrow back to Braamfontein (where the university at which I work is located). He would sit smoking his filterless roll-ups made from strips of newspaper and strong tobacco, right down to the last embers which he would inhale through his large, calloused thumb and forefinger, the searing heat not seeming to bother him. And he would slowly exhale, thick white smoke escaping his nostrils and mouth before he answered a question in a few slow and deliberate words. Behind him,

above a disused and long-ago boarded-up back entrance to the hospital, a faded sign in both Afrikaans and English ironically reads "mynwerkers bors kliniek—mineworkers chest clinic." The sign stands as a reminder of an older Johannesburg, now almost forgotten, ordered through the extraction of vital energy from black mine labourers, their expended bodies and ruined lungs allowed through the back entrance of an under-funded state hospital just a few city blocks from the old mineworkers hostels (and a stone's throw from the city mortuary). Its faded sign remains as an uncomfortable remark on the Johannesburg of today, and the seeming absence of any form of hegemonic social order, neither predatory nor benevolent. The chest clinic is closed now, replaced by a state-of-the-art HIV/AIDS clinic and research facility—a disease of a more mobile and less regimented set of social relations.

It is also a bitterly ironic reflection on Johannes' life, as I would discover through many long conversations talking with him. Johannes was never a mine-worker, but in many ways his trajectory mirrors that of the black male body through the history of modernity in South Africa. Born in the rural heartland of the Eastern Cape, Johannes found himself living as a young man in the crowded township of New Brighton outside of the industrial port-city of Port Elizabeth during the decline of the apartheid regime in the 1980s. One of the oldest townships in South Africa, New Brighton was a hotbed of political protest and violence in the 1980s, but was also well known for unemployment, disease and the many fires that destroyed homes in the underserviced and over-populated township (Bank 2011). Johannes worked as a casual labourer in the motor industry, and then as the industry started to shed jobs in the late 1980s, he survived off short-term jobs that he could find in the city. It was around this time that Johannes began to recognise a much larger conspiracy in which he was implicated, one which involved unseen enemies in both the present and among his ancestors who were determined to frustrate him and prevent him from finding his way in life. They frustrated his life in Port Elizabeth, and then followed him back to the rural areas when he returned after he could no longer stay in the city, trying in vain to find work that was non-existent. The rural areas of the Eastern Cape are where many spent black bodies have found their way through South Africa's

colonial and apartheid history, with nowhere else left to go after their vitality has been taken from them.

But the unseen enemies followed him there, conspiring to keep him from his ancestors, and Johannes made his way to Johannesburg to escape them. Here, amid the tall buildings and the multiplicity of ancestors and Christian gods and false prophets and money and violence and every-one-from-everywhere, Johannes has been able to hide: not quite belonging to the city, but finding a home within it perhaps for that very reason. And like so many people, Johannes has ended up in (or on the edge of) Hillbrow. Hillbrow is the place of others, he claims. It is the place where no one belongs, where everyone is an outsider. It is full of foreigners—which makes him uneasy (especially the West Africans) not because he does not like foreigners but because such a place is confused, chaotic and spiritually unstable. It is not foreigners who pose a threat, but the buildings: "These buildings are dangerous. They are tall and full of too many things. They know too much, they see too much [Do you go there, I ask him] The buildings are full of those that want to frustrate me. They are there too, they are looking for me. […] They cannot find me here among all these tall buildings."

Hillbrow is a place of confusion and chaos, a place where no single and recognisable order pervades. But clearly it is a refuge as well—a place to hide and to disappear. What role does a man, who is clearly schizophrenic and suffers from anxiety, a man clearly on the peripheries of the neighbourhood, have to play in the broader exploration of social order and religion in Hillbrow? For Comaroff and Comaroff (1987), the figure of the *madman*—whom they met in Mafikeng when exploring the impacts of the apartheid social order deep in the rural "homeland" areas—was an important archetype. He existed between the world of work and the world of labour—not quite equivalent to a distinction between self-determination and subjectivation. But he also existed between the world of the rational order (labour exploitation, material extraction and exhaustion) on the one hand, and the non-rational realm of beliefs and aspirations, desires and hopes on the other. In many ways, Johannes represents a similar archetype: in every way a peripheral figure, he sits all day on the pavement of a road not quite within the neighbourhood of Hillbrow. Yet he represents perhaps the everyman of Hillbrow. He sleeps

in a small unused storeroom in an abandoned part of the hospital—itself an infrastructure of a social order now gone, although on numerous occasions he has complained that the security guards are connected to the larger conspiracy, threatening to kick him out. He is a stuck man, not yet old, but no longer young enough to have aspirations beyond frustrating his earthly and spiritual enemies. He is a migrant, living far from his ancestral home, excluded from the economy (both material and spiritual) of the city that he now calls home. The point of this discussion about Johannes is to illustrate what I regard as a more general condition of life in Hillbrow—and indeed more generally in the contemporary city of the Global South. That is, that the city is increasingly defined by the multiplicity of social orders between older not-yet-fully decayed remains of colonial (or in this case apartheid) social orders, the experience of which was often violence and dispossession and exploitation, and the emergence of a deterritorialised social multiplicity.[3] In this context, the aspirations of modern and/or globalised subjectivities are confused amidst social and economic dissolution in rural areas and uncertain futures in what Landau (2012) calls urban estuaries. In the following sections of the chapter, I will discuss two examples of how the everyday material life of Hillbrow is navigated through this multiplicity of competing social orders.

Salvation

The most obvious beginning point for understanding the link between the ordering of the spiritual and the material domains of the contemporary city-of-the-Global-South is the work of Emile Durkheim, in particular his classic sociology on religion titled *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (2012 orig. 1912). According to Durkheim, among many non-modern societies, the spiritual world intersects with the material and everyday world not merely as a particular set of beliefs external to the material world, but serve to organise the material world. More specifically, Durkheim elaborates an account of what he refers to as the dialectical relationship between the *sacred* and the *profane* (neither of which

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[3] See also the Introduction of this volume on the diversity of urban orders.

term has meaning outside its relationship to the other). In this way, the material world is ordered by the signification of specific objects and sites in relationship to a non-material order, so that, for example, a specific mound or specific animal or specific natural or manufactured object is rendered as meaningful (sacred) inversely to others (non-sacred/profane). The rendering of some, specific object or site as sacred then structures a set of social relations in which the sacred does not adhere to the rules that pertain to the profane. The sacred becomes the exception to which the profane is then compared. Crucially, this order then permeates society, such that the material world is organised according to an idea of a non-material order. Durkheim was primarily interested in what he thought of as non-modern religious societies; like other nineteenth- and twentieth-century social theorists, Durkheim believed that modern, cosmopolitan and urbanised societies (i.e. Europe and North America in the twentieth century) were increasingly becoming secularised as the rationality of this *spiritual* order gave way to the industrial and bureaucratic ordering of the social and political spheres of everyday life. Notwithstanding various critiques of Durkheim's ideas, not least his overestimation of the secularism of contemporary societies, the dialectical relationship between the sacred and the profane has been continually productive for many contemporary theorisations of urbanism in the Global South (Dawdy 2015; Hansen 2001; Williams 2015).

Indeed, in the example below the sacred/profane dialectic can be usefully employed to think about how particular protagonists relate to parts of the neighbourhood of Hillbrow. The space is a late-night take-away that is owned by a pair of Nigerian brothers. Although not a conventional religious space—the primary function of the space is not connected to rituals or practices of religiosity per se—I have chosen to speak about this space partly because it is indicative of the permeation of the realm of the spiritual into the realm of the material. What marks this space as religious is the large-screen TV that is mounted above the counter and that streams a 24-hour televangelist channel. It is also a useful site to consider since it is outside this take-away that many of the young men who attend the soup-kitchen and Bible-study session—which I discuss in the next section—hustle for money late at night. For many of these young men, the space is associated with the profane, as associated with social and spiritual

ills. This particular stretch of street has a number of strip clubs and bars, which provide a late-night clientèle for the take-away.

For the owners of the take-away, the space is quite the opposite: it represents the grace of god in their lives. Having arrived in Johannesburg several years ago with very little capital, the brothers have managed to build up a business that is relatively successful. The brothers attend Winners Church, an evangelical church run by a West African pastor. The eldest brother Akim suggests that it is not only foreigners who attend the church. Nevertheless, for Akim, church attendance is not about becoming part of a community or partaking in the social life of Hillbrow. Church does serve a social role to the extent that they know many others who attend, but the specific attendance is connected to Akim's desire to present himself socially as a man who is thankful to god for his success in life. In the same way, the continuous TV feed to the televangelist channel inside the shop is a constant reminder of the role god has played in the success of the shop. God helps those who help themselves, Akim reiterated to me on countless occasions. And his and his brothers' hard work, piety and business acumen have been rewarded by the grace of god.

Yet the television is not just a symbol of thanks, like a candle in a window. The television constitutes the space of the take-away as a sacred space, as a space that contains—at least for Akim and his brother—the presence of god. Although I never undertook a formal mapping focus group with Akim and his brother (as I did with the group at the soup-kitchen, discussed below), they nevertheless read Hillbrow within a spiritual landscape in which the sacred and the profane are in tension. Hillbrow is a particularly acute context within which to witness this tension, and Akim believes that across the whole continent, Hillbrow is the most spiritually contested area. The take-away does not just contain the presence of god, then, but is a space carved out of a context of profanity. The shop itself is a testament to god's grace, exists because of god's grace, and becomes a powerful vessel in the battle for the salvation of Hillbrow. This is not just a take-away but a Christian duty. Akim and his brother are unequivocal in the link between their business success and the work of salvation. In this way, the presence of the take-away cheek-by-jowl with poverty, crime and vice becomes part of a cosmological order in

which material success in the world of the everyday is powerfully linked to narratives of salvation in the spiritual world.

In slight contrast to what Landau ([2009](#)) witnessed in certain peripheral areas of the city, in which foreigners have developed a repertoire of the tactics to avoid implication into permanence and belonging in the city, Akim and his brother would rather buy into a universalising narrative of Christianity that justifies and legitimises their business success in a context where South Africans are generally regarded as poor businessmen. Akim himself is married to a South African woman; he owns a house in the suburbs and drives his car into Hillbrow to run his business. Like the young men who attend the Bible-study sessions, Akim sees the social spaces of Hillbrow as deeply shaped by the spiritual. But whereas the young men understand their own material failure and weakness as part of the contested spiritual landscape, Akim regards his own material success as a result of his spirituality.

Redemption

However, the sacred/profane dialectic suggests—at least intuitively—a rigid social ordering based on the continual reiteration of the sacred. What we are aware of from the example above is that Hillbrow is a much more dynamic and fluid space, where social order is constantly shifting and being reasserted so that the sacred, to the extent that there is any consensus of its existence, is always being re-negotiated. Though the dialectical relationship between the sacred and the profane was continually invoked by the brothers, it was a constantly shifting signification. There was no single object or hilltop that was designated as a sacred space and through which the social relations of the space were organised. If anything, the designation of the take-away as a sacred space by the brothers was a gesture of defiance against the overwhelming profanity that surrounded the take-away. In fact, the take-away has moved so that the space itself is not consistent. Without dispensing with the usefulness of the sacred/profane dialectic in understanding the ways in which the social is navigated, it is also helpful to consider such a dialectic as fluid. The idea that the material world may be ordered in terms of other, non-material rationalities is

evident also in the work of Pierre Bourdieu, for instance, in his discussion about the difference between the traditional Kabyle house and the house that the European colonial authorities attempted to impose upon people in Algeria (1979): "The house, a microcosm organised by the same oppositions and homologies that order the whole universe, stands in a relation of homology to the rest of the universe" (277). I will quote here from Timothy Mitchell (1991) because he has succinctly summarised what Bourdieu develops throughout the much longer essay:

> The [Kabyle] house is organised […] according to a set of homologous oppositions: between fire and water, cooked and raw, high and low, light and shade, day and night, male and female, *nif* and *hurma*, fertilising and able to be fertilised. But to say "the house is organised" in this way is misleading for two kinds of reason. First, the house is not in that sense a neutral space in which items or persons are arranged. The space itself is polarised, according to the oppositions Bourdieu describes, and the polar oppositions invest every activity of the house, including even the way in which the house is built. Considered, moreover, in relation to the rest of the village, the house becomes just one polarity […] in a larger world. The same oppositions are established between the house as a whole and the rest of the universe […] These oppositions are not fixed categories into which items and spaces can be organised; they are an effect not of spatial coordinates but of polar forces. […] *such polar forces occur themselves not as a structure of oppositions but as an unstable play of differences.* (51—*emphasis added*)

It is this concept of differences that Mitchell finds close associations within the work of Derrida. As Mitchell says: "difference (…) is not a pattern of distinctions or intervals between things, but an always unstable deferring or differing within" (52). For Bourdieu, the traditional Algerian town does not conform to the modernist ordering of space based on the absolute categorisation of objects and functions but is rather a set of always shifting relationships.

Consider the following: each Friday morning, a small group of homeless young men gather outside the locked gates of a local church on Honey Street on the northern edge of Hillbrow, some distance from the bustling market and shopping-streets where these same young men spend

the other part of the week hustling and begging. Some weeks, especially in winter or near month-end, the group is small—consisting of 10 or 12 thin bodies wrapped in layers of dirty, ill-fitting clothes. On other weeks, the group swells to about 20 or even 30, including some older men and several women. Sick and unhealthy bodies lean against the faded pink wall, beneath the yellow and red hand-painted sign that reads *5C's Christian Church:* some of them sniffing glue from an old milk carton, others engaged in conversation about local gossip, still others waiting patiently and quietly. They are all waiting for entry into the church for the Bible-study session that precedes the serving of soup and tea prepared by several women from a church community in the wealthy northern suburbs of Johannesburg. The Bible-study session, coordinated and run by a local Zimbabwean pastor who administers and leads a full Sunday worship at his own church nearby, is due to start at 10 am—at the end of each weekly session, the group are reminded to be here promptly the following week. Most weeks, the security guard opens the gates and grants them access closer to 11 am—a begrudging St Peter, although his gates are hastily welded together from rusted steel and topped with barbed wire.

The small group file through the gates, and cross a small courtyard, into the church building: a utilitarian former school hall, with plastic chairs, Formica tables and torn curtains. The session begins with a prayer and singing. The pastor takes an attendance register at the start of each session, although there are many regulars who never appear on the list and never ask to be included, so it appears that the register is largely habitual: simultaneously insignificant yet central to the ordering of this strange little community. It is insignificant because there are no sanctions for attendance or absence. Moreover, only a few of those who attend are even on the weekly roll call. Those whose names are not called usually sit in polite silence while the pastor calls names and writes them in a scruffy pad. The book consists of pages and pages of names and dates, but in no usable order. Some pages have been torn out to scribble a phone number or email address, or have fallen out as the pad has been folded and bent and creased. Yet the roll call is also central to the ordering of the small group, and performs a significant function in attesting to the presence of these young men—not only their presence at the Bible-study session, but

their presence more generally. The roll call is a process of reflection and acknowledgement: absence is accompanied by brief discussions and conjectures about where a person may be. Moreover, the process of the roll call also establishes a ritual and hierarchy: the young men respect, and expect, the regime of roll call. It is a gesture of respect towards the institution of the weekly Bible-study and soup-kitchen. It establishes continuity, however fragile, in an everyday life with mind-sapping sameness but little continuity, and it allows the young men a feeling of importance and meaning.

Over the course of a year, I have noticed that some homeless white men have attended, though infrequently. On several occasions, other immigrant men have attended, from Ghana, from DRC, from Rwanda. For the most part, they have attended once and then never returned. No one is actively excluded, and when a new face arrives, there is usually some kind of group welcome. Nevertheless, the relatively tight group dynamic that exists among most of the regular attendees, and the fact that the session moves frequently between English and isiZulu (very close to isiNdebele, which is spoken in Zimbabwe), means that the make-up of the group remains fairly closed. The internal disciplining of the group is collective, informal and legitimated. Although no one is ever excluded on the basis of their being intoxicated, for example, there is a general unwritten code that drugs and alcohol—part of the everyday life of most attendants—must be left at the door. Anyone who is disruptive or severely under the influence will be asked to leave by the group in a relatively uncoordinated manner (including a great deal of shouting and laughing)—although usually they only ever go as far as the corridor, whereupon they will bide some time, maybe chat loudly to whoever else is outside, and return to the group some minutes later. Anyone of the younger men who is seen sleeping is usually woken by others, although the older men are granted some dispensation and tend to sleep most of the session in the back rows. Late arrivals are refused entry into the complex, having to wait on the street until Bible-study is over. However, they are then granted access to the premises for the soup-kitchen.

Despite then the obvious exclusions that happen in this space, and the various rituals and practices that define the space as relatively delimited, there is nevertheless something beyond the demand for food that encour-

ages people to attend, and indeed to return. Given that Bible-study is for the most part voluntary—late-comers are allowed in for the soup-kitchen—it is notable that people still choose to attend the Bible-study beforehand. They do not have to, and could still get food. Nevertheless, everyone I have interviewed refers to the entire Friday morning as "church"—certainly they do not use the word soup-kitchen. Clearly, membership of this Friday church group is defined by more than instrumental needs, although food and material need form important elements of the ritual of the group. Sandwiches are distributed during the Bible-study session, and there are unwritten but clear hierarchies about who can distribute the sandwiches, who can take first and who can take more than one sandwich. In my observations of the group over a year, it seems to me that the group is constituted—spatially and over time—by the particular ways in which the sharing of food and the discussions in the Bible-study sessions serve to make sense of the life-worlds of those that attend. Although always based on a verse from the Bible, the discussion sessions almost always digress into discussions about the difficulty of life on the streets, about temptation and human weakness, and about sharing hardships as a group. In all these discussions, there is an attempt to link the message of the Bible with the lived experiences of those who are attending the session. In other words, the sessions become an important space for both reflecting upon one's own (often very dire) situation and yet recognising that one continues to survive despite the conditions. They are incredibly sobering and empowering sessions.

I will refer to one discussion in particular that represented the incredible malleability and flexibility of the particular Christian narrative that emerges in these Bible-study sessions. One of the young men asked about the Zulu pre-Christian tradition of respecting one's forefathers, who are believed by many to be the gatekeepers of the spiritual realm. There was a great deal of shouting and laughing involved, amidst accusations and counter-accusations of either being satanic or of showing disrespect for one's own culture—or of claiming that Hillbrow allowed one to suspend one's culture. The argument was never specifically resolved in terms of a Christian theological perspective, but seemed to rest relatively unproblematically on the idea that our forefathers are where we come from and that the Christian god is where we are going to. The point is not so much

the coherence of the resolution per se—for indeed one might like to argue that both positions are untenable. Rather it seems to me that the forefathers, gods and everyday realities seem to intertwine in the ordering of life in Hillbrow. The emphasis of the session is towards embracing and including the various and multifaceted realities that those who attend the session bring with them.

A number of the sessions revolved around the space of Hillbrow itself. The pastor, a middle-aged man from Zimbabwe, came to Hillbrow almost a decade ago. It was, according to him, a calling to come here. Hillbrow is a space of vice and despair, known across all Africa, a place where the work of the Christian god is most needed. It is in this space that the young men have found themselves, and it is this space which the young men are able to reflect upon. In one of the discussions, the pastor asked the participants to map Hillbrow in terms of a more affective register of the neighbourhood. Although initially set up as a discussion about spaces of safety and the resources available for homeless people (other soup-kitchens, the public library, the police station, etc.), the discussion soon became about the presence of gods and devils in the neighbourhood. Unsurprisingly, the group soon abandoned the two-dimensional map altogether, deciding that the devil and god where both everywhere, omnipresent, and that Hillbrow was saturated with good and evil, with the sacred and profane.

What emerged very powerfully was the linking of the sacred and the profane with them as individuals, with the decisions that they made, with the weaknesses they succumbed to in their addictions and in the strength they derived from their survival. The presence of god and the devil, and indeed the battle between good and evil, was waged in the very materiality of their everyday lives. This was not a question for them of the failures of the post-apartheid state, of the institutional discrimination experienced by many immigrants, or of the inequalities of capitalism that consigned them to poverty. Or at least, in as much as these secular explanations were prevalent, the ability to read these explanations within a particular spiritual narrative allowed the group a degree of agency within them. Nor was the spiritual landscape simply a metaphor for the hardships of everyday life. The roll call, the food shared, the discussion and the reflection on their own material lives are all of one piece in which the

young men are able to organise and legitimise their own positions within a complex and chaotic ontology—one in which failure and addiction are not merely the result of choices in the material realm, but are caught up within the motives and rationalities of the spiritual.

Conclusion

I suggest here that the city is not a space of a singular and hegemonic social order in which each activity and institution has its place. The idea of FBOs as part of a broader field of civil society misses the ways in which the materiality of the city is saturated also by ontological multiplicity and complexity so that FBOs might also be implicated in expectations of salvation. In this way, what I am suggesting is that we need to recognise religion in the city not only as the presence of associational networks based around religious belief as these organisations saturate the material spaces of the city. We need to recognise the ways in which religion and spirituality actively (re)order the city—again, not in the ways they take up space (e.g. the permeation of praise and worship into the aural landscape of the contemporary city of the Global South) but in the ways that the material city is overlain with spiritual meaning and signification.

The prevalence of religious institutions in Hillbrow is testament to the pervasiveness of religion, and Christianity in particular, in those spaces in the city where the hegemony of the secular state is not always so transparently present. Indeed, most residents of Hillbrow claim some degree of religious identity or affinity, and it is remarkable how the neighbourhood is infiltrated by religiosity on Sunday mornings—an almost ritual cleansing after the vice of the weekend. But the geography of religion in Hillbrow is not simply the landscape as articulated by the numbers and forms of churches in the area. I have attempted to argue that the spiritual landscape also begins to structure the ways in which people relate to and encounter public spaces. Narratives of success and failure, which map onto spaces of good and evil in various ways, are not simply reinterpretations of religious narratives in people's everyday lives, but become frameworks for navigating and structuring the logic of the city.

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6

Remaking Religion, Rethinking Space: How South Asian and Somali Migrants Are Transforming Ethnically Bound Notions of Hinduism and Islam in Mayfair and Fordsburg

Zaheera Jinnah and Pragna Rugunanan

Introduction

Animated by the 'nature of contemporary diversity' (Vertovec 2010, 87), and the politics of space (Painter 2008; Campbell 1998), this chapter examines the religious expression, identities and forms of community of South Asian and Somali migrants and refugees in two adjoining neighbourhoods in Johannesburg. In particular, we look at the interaction between these groups of migrants and the physical space they move within and through as they make lives, livelihoods and communities in the diaspora.

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Mayfair Jumu'ah Mosque (*left*), BAPS Shri Swaminarayan, Mayfair West (*right*). Photographs by: Shogan Naidoo. 2014

We locate the narratives of our respondents within a (re)positioning of ethnic and religious groups in Johannesburg in the post-apartheid period. We argue that these groups of migrants in these spaces are physically and spiritually reshaping the areas in which they live and work to accommodate their religious and cultural practices and beliefs. Moreover, we believe the ability to exercise influence over a space rather than be subverted by it points to a sense of power and position that migrants hold in the diaspora. By this we mean economic and localised nodes of authority which often appear in the absence of secure political or legal status.

Post 1994, two contemporary waves of mobility shifted the demographic dynamics in Johannesburg. In particular, in the suburbs of Fordsburg and Mayfair, the first wave was due to the breakdown of apartheid-era legislation in the late 1980s such as influx control laws and the Group Areas Act which regulated the movement of people of colour, saw the movement of middle-class Indians from previously designated 'Indian areas' into Fordsburg and the more suburban space of Mayfair alongside it. The movement of predominantly South African Indians into these areas saw the development of a number of new mosques built in the area adding to the older churches, synagogues, temples and existing mosques. The second wave occurred in the post-2000 period, when many immigrants and refugees, particularly from eastern and northern Africa and South Asia, began living or working in Fordsburg and Mayfair. This movement significantly altered the social, economic and political landscape of the area in a number of ways: socially, new types of living

arrangements emerged; economically, many new retail outlets offering new services and goods were established; and, spatially, the configurations of homes and shops resulted in the blurring of boundaries between the 'public' and the 'private' lives of migrants.

Of particular concern in this chapter is how the arrival of international migrants from the early 1990s changed the religious landscape of these suburbs.[1] This is more evident in Fordsburg, where Muslims from Somalia, Malawi, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Turkey and other parts of India are found. This new group of Muslims have diverse linguistic backgrounds, sects (Salafi, Suffi, Shia), and schools of thought (Shafi, Deobandi). Invariably, this has resulted in new mosques being built, diverse forms of worship, different religious schools and new traditions. The plurality of Islam is unmistakable; indeed, its visible forms are apparent in public spaces in Fordsburg and in the different types of mosques that are now available.

Migrants arriving in Fordsburg and Mayfair in the early 1990s found a number of long established and well-funded mosques in the area. Two of the most prominent ones were the Jum'uah Mosque in Hanover Street built in 1988 which is one of the largest mosques in Johannesburg, and the Newtown Mosque adjacent to the Oriental Plaza. On the one hand, the rise in the number of mosques can be linked to the

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[1] The 2011 Census recorded that Fordsburg has a population of 2350 with 646 households in an area of 0.55 km². During this period, a total of 1297 males and 1053 females (i.e., 55 % males compared to 45 % females) were recorded. Further, half of the population was classified to be 'Indian/Asian' (n = 1175; 50 %); with 'Blacks' consisting of 46.21 % (*n* = 1086) and the remaining 3.79 % (*n* = 89) consists of 'Coloured', 'Other' and 'White'. English is considered to be widely spoken, accounting for 43.56 % (*n* = 1008) of the population; 'Other' accounted for 19.06 % (*n* = 441) and 15.13 % (*n* = 350) of the population was recorded as speaking isiZulu as a first language. These figures need to be treated with caution, as they do not reflect the migrants from South Asia, who may be included under the category of Indian, similarly, the figure for 'Blacks' constituting 46.21 %, does not reflect the diversity of African migrants in Fordsburg.

Spatially, Mayfair is more than three times the size of Fordsburg, and it covers 1.64 km2. Compared to Fordsburg, the population is significantly larger with a total of 12,027 people within 2991 households recorded. The gender representation is almost equal, with males accounting for 6062 males (50.40 %) of the population, whilst females, totalling 5965, accounting for 49.60 % of the population. Similar to Fordsburg, just over half of the population is classified as 'Indian/Asian' (51.92 %; *n* = 6244), with 'Blacks' recorded at 31.92 % (*n* = 3839) of inhabitants. The remaining categories of 'Coloured' and 'White' account for 5.61 % of the population (*n* = 675) and 'Other' is recorded as 10.55 % (*n* = 1269). The most widely spoken first language is English recorded at 56.29 % (*n* = 6611), followed by 'Other' at 24.61 % (2890 inhabitants) and then Afrikaans at 4.21 % (495 inhabitants).

increase in the population of the area, especially in the number of men. But it goes beyond numbers. It's not uncommon to find newer mosques nestled alongside older ones, representing the different schools of Islam and different types of worship by migrants. On the other hand, the rise of the face of Islam has purportedly led to a decline in the visible face of Hindus and Hinduism in the suburbs (Rugunanan 2016).

The increase in international migration in recent years, together with the rise in internal migration in search of better jobs and services, has resulted in bigger and rapidly growing cities with multicultural, multi-ethnic and diverse populations. Although there has been considerable interest from scholars on how this affects our understanding of belonging, diversity and the growth in the literature on multiculturalism (Vertovec 2007, 2010), there has been little attempt at understanding how intra-religious diversity and space interconnect. In addition, multiculturalism has often been conceptualised in relation to globalisation and international migration. Yet little has been written about forms of historical intra-religious diversity, particularly relating to social and spatial geographies (Burchardt 2013).

We begin by providing a conceptual framework, first by examining the concept of the 'production of space' drawing here on the work of Henri Lefebvre (1991); and second by critically examining the concept of diversity. Then we provide a historical narrative of the site of this study, Fordsburg and Mayfair in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, with a particular emphasis on nodes of religious practice. The rest of the chapter examines the evolution of physical space in the contemporary period and the ways in which it is produced, reproduced and shaped by migrants.

Diversity and De-ethnicisation of Space and Religion

The rise in international migration and urbanisation has invariably raised questions about the forms of and responses to diversity (Landau and Freemantle 2010; Vertovec 2010; Cohen 2008; Vertovec and Cohen 2002) including the reception and responses by local nationals in response to the religious pluralism of international migrants (Wuthnow

2011; Smith 2005; Sherkat 2001). The religious diversity we explore in this chapter is about the integration of migrants into settled communities (cf. Vertovec 2010). From the perspective of the sociology of religion, we pose the question of how diversity and pluralism introduced by new groups of migrants alters the use of space, particularly the notion of ethnically bound religious communities (Hervieu-Léger 2002).

Although the concept of space as fixed and territorial has been adequately criticised by social scientists (Gupta and Ferguson 1992; Malkki 1992), the idea of extending the concept of space across time and beyond boundaries has been limited to the study of transnationalism which has tried to account for the multiple connections that migrants hold. Yet even this has failed to situate space and temporality within these transnational processes. Anderson's (1991) work on 'imagined community' developed the notion of de-territorialised spaces, in which memory, serves to connect people rather than actual physical connections. How then do new migrants coming from largely Muslim and Hindu countries or backgrounds construct meanings in their new living spaces in Fordsburg and Mayfair, an area inhabited by Hindu and Muslim immigrants at the onset of the twentieth century? How are these constructions shaped by the memories that newly arrived migrants carry? Does religion and the religious symbolism that they encounter in Fordsburg and Mayfair create a sense of memory of home? In doing so, we relate back to Gupta and Ferguson (1992, 16) when they ask, 'how can we situate the "production of differences" within the historical processes of a socially and spatially interconnected world?'

Production of Space

A central thread of our chapter is the interaction between space and religion. Here, we are interested in understanding how the social and religious practices of new groups of people transform the meanings associated with physical space. In this way, we show how previously mundane areas are given new meaning and therefore give rise to new power relations. The new power relations are manifest within Fordsburg and Mayfair's communities and between and within diverse Muslim and Hindu migrant groups as well. Through migrants' assertion of their religious identities in public spaces,

they take possession of physical and symbolic space. We also aim to show that the relationship between space and people is telling of the political, economic and social position and power, or lack thereof, of these groups.

We depart from the work of two prolific writers: first from Lefebvre (1991), the French sociologist whose writings on the city, including its transformation, and rights to it, have fundamentally questioned the development and transformation of cities.

> At the same time, Lefebvre (1991: 26) introduces the idea that space is both social and political writing that '[social] space is a [social] product … the space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action … in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power.

The introduction of power within space leads us to Bourdieu (1986, 723–724) who writes: '[T]he social world can be represented as a space [with several dimensions] constructed on the basis of principles of differentiation or distribution constituted by the set of properties active within the social universe in question, i.e., capable of conferring strength, power within that universe, on their holder.'

To understand, space requires a critical understanding of how people construct space and how power shapes and permeates this production. We accept then that space is formed, reproduced and reimagined and that transformation and multiplicity are inherent to it. Given the migratory focus of our chapter, we also incorporate the notion of the plurality of space: that is, a conceptualisation that encompasses both imagined (transnational) and physical spaces. Here, we focus on different elements of space including religious, ethnic and imagined spaces and how it contributes to memory in urban and transnational nodes (Knott 2005). Faist (2000, 191) defines 'transnational social spaces' as:

> combinations of ties, positions in networks and organisations, and networks of organisations that reach across the borders of multiple states. These spaces denote dynamic social processes, not static notions of ties and positions. Cultural, political and economic processes in transnational social spaces involve the accumulation, use and effects of various sorts of capital, their volume and convertibility: economic capital, human capital (such as

educational credentials, skills and know-how) and social capital, mainly resources inherent in or transmitted through social and symbolic ties.

In this vein, this chapter seeks to understand the role played by spaces of religious and ethnic resemblance, in the cases of Fordsburg and Mayfair, and their physical and symbolic spaces. At the same time by demonstrating the ways in which these migrants have transformed the space, asserting their power, we aim to extend the accepted argument that space is socially constructed (Gupta and Ferguson 1992) but move beyond this to consider how new migrants interact with each other, and within established communities to understand 'the production of difference within common shared connected spaces?' (Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 12).

The Founding of Fordsburg and Mayfair

The formation of Fordsburg and Mayfair as distinct areas, like Johannesburg itself, is closely linked to the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand reef. Fordsburg and Mayfair initially were farmland belonging to Johannes Smit who had bought the land in 1859 (Leyds 1964). After the discovery of gold, two prominent men, Lewis Ford, an attorney general of Transvaal, and Julius Jeppe, his assistant, bought two areas of the farm stretching from Fordsburg (founded in 1888) and Mayfair (founded in 1889) in the west to Jeppe in the east, and named it after themselves (Brink 2008, 3). The area attracted much attention from land owners when several stands were put on auction, and given that no restrictions were placed on whether the land was to be used for commercial or residential purposes, the plots were quickly purchased and developed independently, laying the foundation of the spatial landscape of the area. Such that by 1896, there were 6000 people occupying Fordsburg (Beavon 2004).

Early Fordsburg comprised of migrants and immigrants, with a mixture of different racial groups such as Indian, Black, Malay, Chinese and mixed race (coloured) traders and workers, who lived and worked alongside poor, working-class Afrikaans speaking whites (Callinicos 1987). During the 1880s to the early 1990s, groups of Afrikaner migrants from

the rural areas were forced to move to the city as a result of drought, crop failures and the South African War 1899–1902 (Giliomee 2003). They became known as the *bywoners* (Gelderblom et al. 1994). By 1936, nearly half of the Afrikaner population were living in the urban centres (Giliomee 2003). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Jews escaping persecution in Europe came to Johannesburg (Brink 2008, 16). By 1900, there were 25,000 Jews in South Africa and 50 % of these resided in Johannesburg (Beavon 2004, 9), some of whom settled in Fordsburg and Mayfair.

The spatial proximity of Fordsburg to the goldmines (Robinson, Crown Mines, Village Deep) and to the centre of Johannesburg, made it particularly attractive to the single male mine workers. Already the trading potential of Fordsburg was identified and exploited by the early migrants in Fordsburg, which included Indian and Jewish businessmen, traders and merchants. Examples of early trade can be seen in the economic activities that the migrants engaged in, for example, most of the hawkers and pedlars living in Fordsburg and nearby Vrededorp were Gujarati Hindus, while Muslim Gujarati and Memon traders operated stores. Alongside Indian traders, Chinese merchants and horse-drawn cab drivers, secondary industries servicing the mines operated from Fordsburg because of its close access to a number of gold mines in the area (Bhana and Brain 1990). In 1891, a six-kilometre tramway was opened in the city with a key station located in Fordsburg. About a century later, the perceived economic potential of the area and its proximity to the Johannesburg central business district (CBD) drew new groups of migrants to its borders (Jinnah 2013).

Religious Diversity in Early Fordsburg and Mayfair

Religious diversity was present in the area from as early as 1900 in the form of places of worship, religious cooperation and social interaction. Not much is known about social relations between these different groups at the time, although evidence of credit systems between Indian traders

and Afrikaner customers do exist, pointing to some interaction and trust between the groups (Stals 1986).

Religious diversity was visible in the presence of members from the Muslim, Hindu, Catholic and Jewish communities. Itzkin (2000) states that Gandhi promoted mutual respect and cooperation between Hindus and Muslims and was instrumental in forging enhancing religious tolerance in the city. It is documented that Gandhi collaborated closely with the Hamidia Islamic Society, a leading Muslim organisation in the Transvaal, established in 1906 for the welfare of Muslims, and the mosque which it established was used in 1908 by Gandhi (of Hindu faith) to address a number of inter-faith meetings and political protests. For instance, on 10 January 1908, Gandhi led a gathering of passive resisters, made up of '3000 Muslims, Hindus and Christians' who burnt their passes in anger against the new discriminatory laws[2] of the government in power.

In 1936, Father Peter Alam, bought a four-storey former Dutch Reformed Church at 61 Mint Road, Fordsburg. This was later converted in a community centre. Although the Lebanese Church still stands in Fordsburg, almost all members of the Lebanese community have moved out of Fordsburg and Mayfair; the church still functions and hosts services on Sunday mornings.[3] Fordsburg also hosted another Catholic group, the Congregation of the Sisters of Mercy, who began to teach at a small school in Crown Road, Fordsburg, from the beginning of 1908 until about 1913.[4] A Fordsburg synagogue, built in 1906, bears testament to the Jewish presence. Mosques, churches of various denominations, such as Anglican, Catholic and Dutch Reformed buildings and recreation centres bear testimony to the religious diversity of Fordsburg. An obvious absence was a Hindu temple of worship (Rugunanan 2016).

The religious diversity of the early immigrant communities in Fordsburg and Mayfair in the twentieth century showed that communities choose to root themselves by establishing places of worship but also by cementing their identities through these places of worship and assert-

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[2] http://www.salatomatic.com/spc/Johannesburg/Hamidia-Masjid-Newtown/ypU7Gc0Q0g. Accessed 1 March 2016.

[3] http://www.catholicchurch.co.za/. Accessed 1 March 2016.

[4] www.sistersofmercy.ie. Accessed 1 March 2016.

ing their belonging in these suburbs, despite discriminatory legislation against people of colour (Rugunanan 2016).

Indians in Early Fordsburg and Mayfair

In the period 1860 to 1911, 152,184 indentured immigrants from India arrived in South Africa to work on the sugar plantations in Natal (Bhana and Brain 1990, 15). They were mainly from Southern India and some parts of Northern India and were mainly Telugu, Tamil and Hindi speaking Hindus. The first group of indentured labour entered into contracts guaranteeing them employment in the sugar plantations in Natal. The second group of Indians, ex-indentured immigrants, free of their contracts, were allowed to return back to India. The third group of non-indentured migrants or 'passenger' Indians arrived from 1875 onwards. 'Passenger' Indians were mainly men while women arrived as 'free' Indians and were not bound to contract labour. This group comprised mainly of Gujarati speaking Hindus and Muslims (Hiralal 2009, 81–83). The immigrants were a heterogeneous group who varied across class, gender, caste, religion and language.

The discovery of the gold fields and possibility of business and trading ventures saw groups of 'passenger' Indians making their way to the Transvaal and to Johannesburg in particular. The 'passenger' Indians consisted mainly of wealthy Muslims while the most of the 'free' Indians were Hindus (Kuper 1960; Bhana and Brain 1990). The high registration fees required by businesses in early Johannesburg excluded Indians from setting up their own businesses (Tomaselli and Beavon 1986, 182). They were forced into hawking activities including selling fruit and vegetables and flower selling, while some Gujarati Muslims and Memon traders operated retail outlets (Bhana and Brain 1990, 8; Joshi 1941).

In 1887, to accommodate the large numbers of Indian national traders lured by the gold rush and the establishment of the newly created mining camp, a six-block area to the east of Fordsburg was created. By 1897, there were 96 stands in this area, accommodating 4000 Indians (Brink 2008, 5; Bhana and Brain 1990). At the time non-whites were prohibited from owning land under the Transvaal Law No. 3 Act (Beavon 2004, 49,

77), but Indians were permitted to buy 'preferent' rights to stands on a 99-year lease in the so-called Malay section of Johannesburg. As early as 1887, areas for living and trading were segregated by race, a blueprint for apartheid proper implemented in 1948 (Rugunanan 2016).

Although Fordsburg was initially created to house working whites, it soon became home to a substantial Indian community. Given that space and accommodation were in demand in early Johannesburg, designated areas set aside for Indians such as the 'Malay Location' were congested and brimming over, such that a large number of Indians settled in Fordsburg (Brink 2008, 10). It is worth noting that during the 1920s, Afrikaner communities used the working-class areas of Fordsburg merely as entry points to other parts of the city. Stals (1986) regards them as 'transient community' moving out on a monthly basis. This movement of whites out of Fordsburg created the opportunity for Indians to move into the area. The segregation into demarcated racial and ethnic spaces was used as a form of social control by the government in power at the time. Thus in the early twentieth century, the production of space in terms of economic, social and political spaces was dictated by the power of the state who applied a racial hierarchy and ranking to the different race groups (Rugunanan 2016). The white population of South Africa was at the top of this hierarchy, with Indians, then 'coloured' and the majority of the African population at the lowest rung of this hierarchy.

This view was further supported when the National Party government came into power in 1948, based on creating a white hegemonic state and passed legislation such as the Group Areas Act, No.41 of 1950 and 1957 that effected the social re-engineering of the entire South African landscape, segregating it into separate racialised units. At the outbreak of World War II, in 1939, it is estimated that 14,000 Indians were living in Johannesburg, with close to 7000 living in the neighbouring Pageview (Beavon 2004, 191). The severe housing shortage led parliament to limit housing and land available to the Indian community through the 1946 Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, which restricted Indians to an area bordering Fordsburg, called Pageview.

According to the *Fordsburg Heritage Survey*, there was major growth of the Indian community in Johannesburg during the latter part of the twentieth century (Brink 2008, 11). Pageview and Fordsburg were

home to the majority of Indians in Johannesburg. An incremental rise in numbers from 1951 to 1980 is observed for the growth of the Indian population in Johannesburg, such that in a space of 50 years, the population grew by 32,645 people in this period.

The largest concentration of Indian diaspora outside of India exists in South Africa. According to Census 2011, South African Indians make up 1.3 million or 2.7 % of the country's population (Stats SA 2011). This figure, however, excludes the migration of Indian nationals from the sub-continent post 1994. The term 'Indian' itself is vexed as it was constructed by apartheid ideologues to categorise people from India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

For over a century, from 1890 to 1990, there existed a housing crisis for the Indian community. Forcing their way into Fordsburg as the accommodation crisis worsened brought some reprieve to the Indian community. This shortage of housing for Indians continued in Mayfair. Legislation prohibited people of colour living in areas that were designated for another racial group. The Group Areas Act (1950) declared Mayfair a whites-only area, and it served those from the lower income bracket (Brink 2008, 27). The forced removal of people of colour from Johannesburg resulted in Indians being relocated to Lenasia, a racially segregated area, some 32 kilometre south of Johannesburg, which in no way alleviated the housing crisis that plagued the Indian community.

Indicative of the crisis in housing, many Indians and coloureds lived 'illegally' in white areas such as Hillbrow and Mayfair, or from the late 1980s, under a system of white nominees, where many Indians were willing to buy properties in Mayfair. A Mayfair resident, Gladys Govender obtained a Supreme Court judgement stating that a person convicted under the Group Areas Act could not be evicted 'unless adequate alternative accommodation was available' (Brink 2008, 27). Through this ruling, Indian families moved into Mayfair, either as tenants or as buyers of properties. It is estimated that from 1983 to 1987, approximately 5400 people (or 1200 families) moved into Mayfair. This process further contributed to pressure on the government to repeal the Group Areas Act.

The type of housing also shaped the social life of the area. In Mayfair, the semi-detached homes, with narrow porches situated close to the front of each stand, were set close to each other, affording little privacy to its

inhabitants. This type of structural design, common in the western part of Johannesburg, would lend itself to the vibrant Indian community life that developed in neighbouring Vrededorp (Hermer 1978). A hundred years later, migrants have shaped this space in their own unique way by enclosing the porches and making them into extra living spaces or converting them into tiny trading places (Jinnah 2013). The proximity of the houses to each other has also helped create and support the dynamic street life, which characterises the areas today. In Fordsburg, the blurring of commercial and residential space was both a way to evade restrictions on trading imposed by the authorities and to deal with shortages of space for large and extended families. Many properties in the area have shops attached to the front or bottom of living spaces. Again in the post-apartheid period, these spaces have become highly commoditised and sub-let at multiple levels (Jinnah 2013).

Religion

Early Islam Fordsburg and Mayfair

Islam in Johannesburg was introduced largely by two groups: Cape Muslims or Malay[5] in 1860–1870 and later passenger Indians who travelled inland from Durban to establish shops and other trading activities. It was the latter group though that dominated politically and socially. Although the early Cape Muslims arriving from Cape Town or Port Elizabeth had successfully negotiated with the administration of the day to secure locations to live and worship, and had prominent legal, spiritual and political foundations, the ideological and practical aspects of Islam in Johannesburg were shaped by Muslims of Indian descent.

Charting the history of these two Islamic groups is beyond the scope of this chapter; however, what we do emphasise here is that the plurality of Islamic discourses and, by extension, the tension between and eventual

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[5] The reference to 'Malays' is associated with the 'Cape Malay' now referred to as Cape Muslim. Indians refer to Hindu and Muslim immigrants from India and blacks are referred to as 'Africans' (Brodie 2008, 136).

dominance of one over the other, was historically evident—a point that is often overlooked in contemporary studies of Islam and migration in the city today.

Islam in South Africa has been loosely organised around two main threads: Malay Muslims from south east Asia who predominantly settled in the Cape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in the interior and east coast by migrants from south Asia from the nineteenth century onwards. In Mayfair and Fordsburg, most Muslims shared a common ethnic identity, came from a similar linguistic group (Gujarati or Urdu), sect (Sunni) and followed a particular scholarly tradition (overwhelmingly Hanafi).

The fundamental difference between the two types of Islam was not doctrine based: both groups were adherents of Sunni Islam although Cape Muslims followed the *Shafi* school, whereas the new migrants from the sub-continent were *Hanafai* and subscribed to a *Deobandi* form of worship. The latter prohibited rituals such as ceremonies of the prophet's birthday, shrines, new year celebration, among others. Indeed, although the fundamental belief of both groups did not differ, their practical variances were sufficient to warrant the early establishment of different mosques. Cape Muslims built the Kerk Street Mosque in the CBD in 1906, although some records state 1918, and in 1910 the 23rd Street mosque in Vrededorp.

The establishment of formal prayer structures such as mosques or the smaller *musallah* (a specific prayer area but without a resident Imam), or religious educational institutes such as *madaris* (the plural of *madressa*, which offers quranic teaching and other religious instruction to children) is telling for two reasons: first, the ability to source and secure land from the state or privately speaks of the power, influence and resources of the group; and second, the need for a prayer space aligned to a distinct community suggests the existence of differences within the religion. For instance, when Indian Muslims began arriving in the city in the early twentieth century, they built their own mosques alongside the existing Cape Muslim ones. In contemporary times, this trend is repeated.

The differences between the early Muslim groups in Johannesburg although not overtly ideological were political. Over time, Indian Muslims gradually gained a stronger political and economic position over

Cape Muslims; this is represented in the number of mosques built by the former group and the establishment of religious institutes such as the *Jamiatul ulema* (or council for theologians) and the permeation of Sunni Tablig Jamat doctrine mainly channelled through educational facilities (Paulsen 2003). The difference eventually was also spatially represented, in part due to apartheid legislation, Cape Muslims were classified as a 'coloured' racial group and moved to areas such as Riverlea, Bosmont, Maraisburg, whereas 'Indian' Muslims moved to Lenasia and Azaadville, while some remained in Fordsburg. This gave rise to the ethnically based religious communities in the city.

Even where language is not a barrier, as in the case of Pakistani or Indian migrants, they face other obstacles to full participation in mosques. The most obvious is through differing ideological views which inform types of worship and religious practice. Islam in Johannesburg, since the weakening of the Malay Muslim structure, has largely followed the *Deobandi* movement over the last 60 years. This is a form of the revivalist traditional Sunni stream that frowns on other Sunni schools such as Sufi, and outrightly distances itself from Shia Islam. One of the most common forms of tension between migrants and the established religious order in Johannesburg is around the definition of what constitutes appropriate types of worship and what does not. The latter is known as *bidah*, literally an innovation, and thus considered forbidden to some scholars. For instance, many Sufi practices are ostracised in some of the more regular mosques and thus new mosques led by proponents of this form of Islam were established.

Most mosques have *madressa*, or religious education for children. These are private ventures governed by a parent teacher and mosque board committee and enrolment is mostly along ethnic lines. Many Somali families spoke of being rejected by South African *madressa*, while other migrants were excluded based on failing language entry tests or faced financial exclusion. In part, this led to some migrant mosques establishing their own *madressa*. A Somali mosque in Mayfair, for example, offers lessons in Somali and Arabic to Somali children.

Aside from providing a physical space for people to worship, the new mosques also fulfil other roles. Somali mosques offer crèche facilities for families in the area and hold regular fundraising drives for Somalis in

South Africa and in Somalia. This differs significantly from local mosques which largely distanced themselves from social activities, concentrating instead on a strictly defined spiritual agenda applied uniformly across most mosques.

On a practical level, the emergence of new mosques means that migrants can attend Friday services, or the Jum'uah prayer, in a language which they are familiar with. Although the core of the prayer is conducted globally in Arabic, the short sermon preceding and following it and the prayer thereafter is often done in a local language. In Fordsburg and Mayfair, established mosques have stubbornly stuck to Arabic with bits of Urdu thrown in, isolating most migrants and probably many locals too. In some of the new mosques in Fordsburg, Imams offer these services in Somali, Bengali or Urdu.

Early Hinduism in Johannesburg

Hinduism, one of the oldest religions in the world and with almost a billion followers, is regarded as the world's third largest religion. It is the majority religion in India with over 800 million followers. About 60 million Hindus live outside of India in 150 different countries with 700,000 in the United Kingdom and over 2 million in North America. Hinduism is not a monolithic religion; it does not prescribe to a unified set of beliefs or ideas, there is no single scripture or single set of teachings. Instead, it embraces many diverse traditions or *sampradayas,* each with its own philosophy, rituals and values. Common elements include accepting God or a Supreme Being, *atma* (the soul), *dharma* (the law of righteousness), *karma* (the law of cause and effect), the authority of the Vedas and *moksha* (liberation).

A discussion on the evolution of Hinduism in South Africa must be placed within the appropriate political context of the time to understand the 'production of differences' (Gupta and Ferguson 1992). Lal and Vahed (2013) provide a detailed discussion on Hindus and Hinduism in South Africa from 1860 to the present period. They point out that as Hindus arrived in South Africa, they replicated the role that religion played in India, by constructing 'simple' structures denoting a temple

for the performance of religious rituals and worship, and which became focal points for the development of community (Lal and Vahed 2013, 4). Festivals played the multiple roles of building unity, socialising, increasing devotion and as a form of relief from the drudgery of indentured labour.

A pivotal figure in the history of Hinduism in South Africa, during the years 1908 and 1912, is Swami Shankeranand, who was based in Natal. His major contribution was firstly, the 'establishment of institutional Hinduism' resulting in the formation of the South African Hindu Maha Sabha in 1912, with a firm focus on the importance of education (Lal and Vahed 2013, 6). The second important contribution was the emphasis of a Hindu consciousness, in contrast to, an Indian one (Lal and Vahed 2013, 6). This he achieved by pushing for the recognition of Diwali as the most significant Hindu festival in Natal, in opposition to the Muslim festival of Muharram, in which Hindus participated.

In the twentieth century, many Hindu religious leaders from the Indian sub-continent visited South Africa providing religious, moral and spiritual instruction and *satsang* (spiritual discourse), and guidance on religious customs and traditions. But Gopal et al. (2014) acknowledged that the learned priests propagated two forms of Hinduism, namely a sectarian and reformist approach. Despite attempts by the apartheid state to 'force Hinduism into a narrow conceptual framework' (Desai and Vahed 2007), current research on Hinduism in South Africa (Lal and Vahed 2013; Gopal et al. 2014) shows that Hindus display a strong adherence to the Hindu faith and Hindu identity.

The development of Hinduism in South Africa can be distinguished into three main stages (Ganesh 2010; Lal and Vahed 2013, 8):

1. the influence of the Arya Samaj in the early twentieth century;
2. the neo-vedantic movements beginning in the 1940s (Ramakrishna Centre and Divine Life society); and
3. the growth of guru-based sects and movements from the 1970s (such as Sai Baba and Hare Krishna).

Alongside these stages, the performance of festivals such as the Draupadi firewalking, the Mariamman 'Porridge' prayer, the Gengaiamman festival and Kavadi, which continue in present-day South Africa, purports a 'ritualistic form of Hinduism' (Lal and Vahed 2013, 8). In contrast, reformist movements such as Ramakrishna Centre, Krishna Consciousness Movement, Divine Life Society and the Saiva Sithantha Sungum emphasised adherence to religious services, refraining of firewalking and *kavadi* festivals, and engaging at more introspective and spiritual levels with religious texts. The sustained Hindu influence saw the development of various organisations around the country, for example, The South African Tamil Federation, established in 1968, with offices in KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng and the Cape; the Dravidians for Peace and Justice established in 1999 in East London. Two formative movements of Hinduism in South Africa centre on the growth of Satya Sai Baba and the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON). The growth of these organisations reflects the religious diversity and discourses among Hindus in South Africa. Furthermore, the South African Hindu community is heterogeneous with regard to class, caste and linguistic background. There are divisions between Hindi and Gujarati Hindus from North India and from Tamil and Telugu Hindus from the South.

As mentioned earlier with the history of Islam, space does not permit the mapping of the history of Hinduism in South Africa in this chapter. The development of a Hindu identity and role of Hinduism is far too complex; its growth, divergence and decline in a post-apartheid South Africa necessitates additional research to examine these trends. One such trend is the conversion to Christianity most noticeably among Hindus of South Indian origin (Gopal et al. 2014).

The Role of Education and Religion in Hinduism

One of the central tenants of Hinduism is the emphasis of education. As early as 1912, the Shree Transvaal United Patidar Society was established in Fordsburg under the guidance and counselling of Mahatma Gandhi. The establishment of the society signifies not only the integration of

migrants but also the settlement of communities and identification with a community. In 1919, the Patidar society purchased land in Fordsburg for the development of a public hall for use by the community. To ensure the transmission and continuation of the Hindu languages, cultures and tradition, the Shree Bharat Sharda Mandir (SBSM) school was founded in 1936 under the umbrella of this Patidar society (Rugunanan 2016).

The school is strongly rooted in the Hindu faith. The word '*Sharda*' means learning and 'Mandir' means temple, and thus the name appropriately means the 'temple of learning'. In 1948, the school building in Fordsburg was established under the Shree Transvaal Hindu Educational Society. With time, a nursery and preschool was set up in Fordsburg in 1976, to accommodate the changing needs of the community. The forced removal of Indian people from Fordsburg and the surrounding areas from the late 1960s led to the Patidar Society setting up a temporary Gujarati school in Lenasia (Rugunanan 2016).

The establishment of a vernacular school was important not only to preserve and instil the language but also to reinforce cultural values and religious practices. The Patidar hall was also used to facilitate wedding ceremonies as there were no spaces which Hindus could use for socio-cultural purposes. It hosted several prominent people from overseas and became a central meeting point for the Hindu community. The school and hall became an integral part of the community in terms of promoting culture, language and religious practices. The evidence of the SBSM and its multiple uses speaks to Lefebvre's (1991) production and power of space and how Hindu people in Fordsburg during the twentieth century subverted the power of state and pushed forward a Hindu identity.

At one stage, the SBSM school boasted 1800 students attending Gujarati school (Rugunanan 2016). Transport services were provided by the school to pick up and drop off children from areas like Ferrareistown and even Mayfair, Doornfontein, Denver, Jeppe and surrounding areas. The Gujarati school used to operate in the afternoons during the weekdays up until 2005. With the movement of Hindu families from Fordsburg to other areas of Johannesburg and the increase in the number of children attending private schools, limited their time to attend vernacular classes. As a result, the school now operates only on a Friday afternoon and Saturday. The numbers of the students attending the ver-

nacular classes have also dropped to 25 children. The nursery school, established in 1994 still operates during weekdays, but reflects the changing demographics of the diverse migrant groups currently in Fordsburg (Rugunanan 2016).

The nursery school, however, reflects the changing diversity currently in Fordsburg. Besides South African children, the school also caters to families from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The school is open to anyone who chooses to go there, while the school is based on a 'Hindu ethos school', it is not a religious school where Hindu religious studies are taught as part of the curriculum. A Hindu ethos school teaches Hinduism as 'a way of living'. However, the school serves the dual purpose as a container of knowledge and the transference of religious, spiritual and cultural values.

The Diminishing of a Hindu Identity in Fordsburg

One of the cornerstones of Hindu life is the emphasis placed on religious practices. This has been subject to change depending on the place and access to observe such rituals. While adherence and strict observance to orthodox practices may be declining, daily forms of practise and worship still continue and can be observed in Fordsburg. The Hindu practice and worship is conducted in the sanctity of one's home and is often an individual or familial form of worship. Daily rituals differ from one linguistic group to another, but central to those of the Tamil sects, the Telugus, Hindis and Gujarati is the lighting of the lamp in the morning and evenings. The daily worship in the form of *sandhya* (offering *puja* to one's own deity, often to Surya, the sun), lighting of the lamp in front of the image of the deity, or in front of the *Jhanda* (flag), is an important ritual (Gopal et al. 2014, 5).

While the multicultural character of Fordsburg may have changed and increased in diversity, it has also undergone a shift in identity as a 'Muslim' place. The absence of a Hindu temple in Fordsburg lends itself to the view of a 'Muslim' place (Rugunanan 2016). In research conducted from 2011 to 2014, Hindu migrants from India and Bangladesh

were in the minority compared to the number of Muslim migrants from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan and those from North and East Africa. Hindu migrants set up small shrines of worship in their businesses as is common practice amongst Hindu believers. The narratives of the Hindu migrants reveal that factors such as the long hours of work and lack to transport to places of worship were obstacles to religious practices in public spaces; however, that does not preclude the observance of religious practices within the private and intimate spaces, nor does it indicate the level of religiosity of the migrants.

The absence of a temple in Fordsburg contributes to the view of the declining presence of Hindus living in the area. In nearby Mayfair, the BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Mandir is a depiction of a traditional place of worship constructed in accordance with the ancient Vedic architectural texts. Regular and daily worship takes place at the temple. A more transient structure is a room set aside as a space of formal worship, at the Mayfair Cultural Centre. The *murtis* (deities) and images on the wall serve to enhance the sacred atmosphere and attention to worship. Prayer meetings take place once a week but regular attendance is sporadic. The prayer room is also used by several Hindu sects on different days of the week. In Mayfair, a community hall doubles up as a space of religious worship for Hindus during the celebrations of Navaratri and Diwali.

Concluding Remarks

Somali and South Asian migrants are engaged in a process of daily interaction with and transformation of the physical and spiritual spaces in Fordsburg and Mayfair. Through the expression of individual and collective identities and physical interactions, they are carving out spaces and meanings of worship alongside more established modes of spirituality and worship in these areas.

For newer groups of Muslim migrants, the ability to diversify forms of religious expression and worship and to occupy, transform and shape physical spaces to meet religious needs suggest an understanding of space as fluid. For newer groups of Hindu migrants, private space counters public spaces as a form of worship, but in economic spaces, no matter how small, a space

is created for religious observance. This chapter also points to a continuation of physical space across time; the social production of space by newer migrants, the interactions with the religious practices and spaces found in Fordsburg and Mayfair, and with the social connections made and carried from home allow new forms of diversity, plurality and identity to emerge. At the same time, these processes are embedded in the memories of Fordsburg and Mayfair as historically diverse and economical opportune spaces.

Migration is viewed not only as an 'economic' event, but also as a 'cultural event' (Gidwani and Sivaramakrishnan 2003, 190). This is particularly evident in the socio-cultural, religious, economic and political practices that migrants bring with them from their 'home' countries and actively recreate the spaces to practice them in Fordsburg and Mayfair. This chapter contributes to the literature on multiculturalism (Vertovec 2010) by showing how intra-religious diversity connects diverse migrants within bounded spaces, where the prevailing religious infrastructure makes it easy for migrants sharing similar religious backgrounds to integrate into. The particular social and spatial geography of Fordsburg and Mayfair is conducive to and welcoming of a religious plurality. While subtle tensions abound, within Muslim sects and between a predominant Muslim and a minority Hindu religious identity, there is a tolerance for intra-religious diversity. The tolerance can be traced historically when religious groups from South Asia in the early twentieth century were categorically classified by the colonial government and then apartheid government as 'Indian' collapsing the national identity of the early Indian immigrants by denying their religious identities. This forced the so-called Indians to rally together under oppressive apartheid laws, hence creating tolerance for religious diversity.

It is these spaces of religious and ethnic resemblance that draw migrants to the familiarity and a sense of memory of home. But this is where the familiarity ends. New migrants actively construct and negotiate the social and economic spaces where they can, without fear and prejudice, reconstruct spaces for religious practices. The new migrants have the political and economic will to reconstruct these spaces of public worship and by so doing, affirm their possession of the public and symbolic space, and in this way claim a right of belonging in the city. But, in doing so, they bring other newer complexities to intra-religious diversity, while

the religious space and tolerance in South Africa allow for new forms of worship, schools of thought and practices to be proclaimed. Given the diversity among Muslims in Fordsburg, social association results in a different dynamics, where, in spite of the similarity of religious traditions and practices, exclusion manifests among different religions. As Hindu migrants are in the minority, there is insufficient critical mass to hold festivals in a manner to create a sustained sense of presence. Muslim migrants however, do have the freedom and numbers to practice their Islamic culture and religion in a distinctly visible way. Thus, the position and power of migrants are able to influence and mould the physical spaces in which they live and shape the existing religious landscape to suit their needs and identity.

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7

Enchanted Suburbanism: Fantasy, Fear and Suburbia in Johannesburg

Obvious Katsaura

Introduction

This chapter mobilizes the conceptual allegory of 'enchanted suburbanism' to read the imprints of fantasy and fear on the socio-spatial dynamics and structure of Johannesburg's suburbia. By enchanted suburbanism, I refer to the charming, religionizing, ritualizing, hypnotizing, dazzling and ensnaring power of the reality, culture and idea of suburb. The study develops the argument that in urban contexts inundated with a history of racial deprivation, socio-spatial segmentation and widespread violence, desire, fear and religio-ritualism become key drivers and signifiers of suburbanity. Colloquially referred to as the 'City of Gold' (*Egoli*), Johannesburg's socio-economic magnetism and charm are known and

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Suburban wall, Troyeville Johannesburg. Photograph: Bettina Malcomess

experienced from within and far afield. The city is known to be both alluring and feared, and these two currents are inherent to its suburbs. The symbol 'Johannesburg' has come to enigmatically represent social transformation, prosperity, struggle, euphoria, poverty, violence and death. Mbembe and Nuttall (2004) have thus aptly described Johannesburg as an 'elusive metropolis'. Centred on the idea of (sub)urban enchantment, this chapter interrogates the religionizing and idolized idea, phenomenon and process of suburbanization in Johannesburg. It starts from simple questions around the meaning of suburbia in the post-apartheid city. Does suburbanism entail the idolization of (the desire for) prosperity, or does it signify social entrapment and trepidation? What modes of being emerge from, and epitomize, the idea and object of 'suburb' in the South African city?

Many recent studies on Johannesburg analyse the 'black Johannesburg' more than they pay attention to the 'white Johannesburg', or the associated fantasies of a cross-racial Johannesburg as it were. As such, contemporary intellectual inquiry has projected the 'township', the 'ghetto', or the 'inner city' as the prototype of Johannesburg. Associated with this is an intellectual binocular that selectively zooms onto black or

poor bodies and subjectivities ('black urbanism'[1]), while peripheralizing white bodies and subjectivities ('white urbanism') (see Nyamnjoh 2012; Simone 2010). This chapter interrogates the intersections of aspects of black and white urbanisms, and the emergence of racially cocktailed classist suburbanisms. It mobilizes the idea of enchanted suburbanism to unpack the contradictions of the allure and tribulations of suburban life. Enchanted suburbanism as presented here is an extension and sub-concept of 'enchanted urbanism'—a concept that I deploy to understand the role of the mystical, religious, ritualistic and routine in the making of urban moral orders, especially in contexts of insecurity and uncertainty (Katsaura 2015b).

Central to the chapter are the interconnections of fear, violence and ritual within the configuration of suburban life. The chapter contests that the fear of violence and insecurity is ingrained in, if not precursory to, suburban life. Ideally, suburbs[2] are spaces in which people seek homeliness, liberty, peace and safety outside of the bustle, grime and swiftness of the inner city or ghetto (see Fava 1956). Yet, suburbs also fail to guarantee the insulation of residents from these challenges. Given the positive perception of suburban life, it is unsurprising that in post-apartheid Johannesburg, in contexts of heightened perceptions of crime and violence, the significantly white and increasingly black middle-class population migrated from the inner and ghettoized rings of the city into suburban, outlying, areas in an 'elusive' search for safety, homeliness and community. This chapter also inspects the power of history and fear in the production of contemporary expressions of suburbanism. It relies on observations of religio-ritualistic and habitual practices that generate a sense of, or are a reaction to the lack of, suburban certainty, security, or safety. The observed dynamics are understood as constituting enchanted suburbanism—a mode of engaging with, or being in, suburbia that is characterized by invocations of religion, ritual, and routine. Suburban areas that are particularly important to this study are areas such as Bedfordview located to the east of Johannesburg, and Rosebank and Sandton located to the north of

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[1] This concept is borrowed from Simone (2010).

[2] Notwithstanding the complexities of definition of suburb in African and other contexts (see Mabin et al. 2013), I am here referring to middle-income residential areas mostly found to the North, West, and East of Johannesburg's historical Central Business District.

Johannesburg. In this chapter, I proceed from here on by laying a theoretical foundation for the concept of enchanted suburbanism. I then go on to analyse the empirical entanglements of the space, object, idea and experience of the suburban with idolization, fear, routine, and religio-ritualism.[3]

Enchanted Suburbanism: Towards a Concept

The concept of enchanted suburbanism, as I mobilize it, entails an analysis of the power of fantasy and fear as forms of suburban imagery, ir-rationality, emotion, religion and ritual. Among other things, this concept is deployed to understand the spatialities and temporalities of suburbanites' emotions, emplacement, mobilities, and routines in suburban spaces. Fantasy and fear are co-constructions of post-modern imageries and allegories that can help us make sense of suburban being (cf. Duarte et al. 2014). Imbricated with ideas of suburban fantasy and fear is the Weberian concept of rationality. The concept of ir-rationality speaks to the dialectic of disenchantment—of reason and emotion—in the production of suburban practices and socio-spatial infrastructures.

My analysis of suburbanism emerges from my characterization of suburbia as symbolizing both positive and negative charms, imageries, dreams and emotions. Suburbia, in South Africa, as elsewhere, possesses seductive power (cf. Buck-Morss 2002)—it is attractive yet entrapping. It is a positively and negatively charming symbol and reality. As a positively charming symbol, suburbia promises and encapsulates late capitalism's fulfilment of desires, aspirations, hopes and ideals for a good life. It is also a rational response to the threats of urban uncertainty and insecurity—real or imagined. For instance, the migration of urban elites into suburbia, and the cordoning of suburban spaces and lives from those deemed undesirable or dangerous can be read as a seemingly rational response to threatening urban contexts. This re-configures the suburb into a 'securoburb'—a space of heightened securitization.

In spite of the negatively enchanting urban energies, it is important to consider this city as a positively charming space. The charm of the city is in

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[3] This chapter is based on ethnographic research conducted in suburban areas in eastern and northern Johannesburg between 2014 and 2016.

the power of its promises, economy and society to lure people to congregate in its spaces. Johannesburg has from the beginning emerged as a charming city. The footprints of Johannesburg's urban charm are in its attraction of people from all over the world at its inception as a gold economy, and later as a manufacturing and financial economy. Indeed, Johannesburg is sometimes tagged as the archetype of African modernity—a gateway into and out of Africa (Mbembe and Nuttall 2004). It is because of this recognition of its urban charm that Johannesburg is projected as an aspiring 'world class' African city (Mabin 2007). Transecting the city in search of economic opportunities, Johannesburg's residents project the idea of it as a city of chance (cf. Mbembe and Nuttall 2004). This, of course, is not surprising given that Johannesburg was built on a gold economy.

Suburbia is also a negatively charming symbol of entrapment into insecurity, selfish engrossment, urban racialism or classism, inequality and evil. A whole economy of fear, characterized by the costly militarization of everyday life continues to entrench itself within Johannesburg's suburbia. This is driven by both the illusion and reality of violence. Private security and securitizing building architectures define this economy of fear. The economy of fear is tinged with race and class otherisms. 'Black' as a political category is then construed as synonymous with condemnation, poverty, thinghood and danger (cf. Muhammad 2010; Fanon 1963). This is so to the extent that being middle class, beyond skin colour, is tantamount to admission into the fantastic world of whiteness, while being poor condemns one into the impoverishing world of blackness—a world bounded, and often mediated, by racial heredities and politics. Bearing in mind the politicality of 'white' and 'black', the concepts of white suburbanism and black suburbanism, as developed in this chapter, speak to the class-race polarities, collisions and entanglements that define life in suburban contexts. An epitomization of the hegemony of white suburbanism, the 'suburb' regrettably symbolizes the recalcitrance of (neo-)apartheid racial and classist urban segmentation- and a denial, to the majority of blacks, of urban socio-spatial justice (see Chapman 2015).

The suburb, intriguingly, is simultaneously a metaphor for freedom as for fear—fear being one of the most enchanting urban emotions. The fear that drives the emergence of gated communities and the securitization of everyday life is arguably more subjective than objective. Despite this, it is important to note that fear as an urban imagination is not divorced from

fear as a reality—as the two are entangled (cf. Weiss 2002). To highlight the elusiveness of gating as a security-generating mechanism, Breetzke and Cohn (2013) used case studies of gated neighbourhoods in the city of Tshwane, South Africa, to prove that there is a 'positive association' between neighbourhood gating and increased rates of burglary. Therefore, the danger of securitization is that it is ensnaring—it begs more securitization. This increasingly polarizes urban landscapes along class and racial lines. In fact, at the extreme, securitization is ritualistic and religious—becoming embedded in the social organization and everydayness of suburban life. Such is the paradox that Johannesburg finds itself in.

With the routinization of security practices, fear continues to entrench itself as a key signifier of suburbanity. It becomes an all-powerful emotion, tantamount to an urban cosmology. Suburbanism, in the context of Johannesburg, for instance, emerged as a manifestation of racialized fear and contempt of the other, which was sponsored by apartheid. As Parnell (2002) argues 'racial segregation was an important aspect of the planner's cannon' in apartheid South Africa. Parnell (2002) shows that in-between the first and second world wars, Johannesburg saw the entrenchment of racial segregation with the relocation of more than 50,000 black people from the inner city. To date, South African cities bear the marks of this urbanism of racial fear and contempt—ones that are very difficult to erase (see Mabin 2005). This racial fear is now compounded by the rising significance of class as one of the key signifiers of South Africa's urbanism—albeit cocktailed with race. Fear, uncertainty and the overall racialization and classization of life are ritualized and routinized in suburban practices and cosmologies. This further indicates the power of fear and uncertainty in facilitating suburbanites' retreat into the world of the fantastic—of religion, ritual and routine. While suburbanism signifies human development and success, it is also a very brutal display of inequality, segregation and oppression.

Having conceptually developed the centrality of fear in the making of the concept of enchanted Surbanism, I wish to further argue that fear in itself has increasingly come to occupy the position of a foremost 'urban religion'. Since the city's architectural and spatial layouts, urbanites' everyday practices, emotions and desires owe their configuration so much to fear, as to other factors, it is conceivable to think of fear as an urban religion. In Johannesburg, for instance, this urban religion is pronounced

by the creation of the imagery of the violent criminal—the thief, robber, car hijacker or rapist—hovering somewhere in the vicinities of the realms of everyday life, residence and work, but with no known spatial or temporal addresses. This figure, somehow, assumes the image of an angel of evil, violence and dispossession, if not of death. This angel of evil needs to be avoided, captured or incarcerated. Sets of everyday rituals, routines and economies of practice are continuously generated and instituted to mediate or avoid encounters with this angel. Fear as an urban religion, therefore, parallels, interlaces and clashes with conventional religions such as Christianity, which increasingly present themselves as providing antidotes for the urban fears of evil, criminality, deprivation and uncertainty. This study formulates its analysis from the two overarching ideas of 'suburban charm' and of the 'urban religion of fear' to confront Johannesburg's suburban fear and fantasy.

The Idolization of Suburbia

Suburbs can be conceptualized as objects of desire and of consumerist idolization. Post-apartheid cities have seen the intensified commodification, if not deification and fetishization, of the idea and object of the suburb. Suburban desire is imbricated within the abject fear of insecurity, material lack, a possible retreat into the ghetto and a longing for the valuable commodity that suburb is (cf. Deleuze and Guattari 1983). A symbol of status, suburbia allures South Africa's new black middle class, while it potentially invokes the fear of loss by the white middle class that has long enjoyed 'exclusive rights' to this commodity. From the viewpoint of this analysis, Johannesburg as one of the prime urban centres of South Africa is typical. Its suburbs can be historically, contemporarily and futuristically analysed as 'fantasyscapes'—that is aspirational spaces divorced from, yet entangled with, the everyday realities of urban social suffering in the 'other town'-ship or ghetto. They are spaces of imaginary separatism in which the elite, white and black, disjunctively attempt to insulate themselves from the realities of violence, criminality and poverty while participating in a dream world of desire, affluence and security. Historically, the process of suburbanization in Johannesburg was

informed by the logic of racial segmentation of white and 'black urbanisms' (cf. Simone 2010). At the worst, white urbanism was recognized by (post-)apartheid city planners, many of the 'white city' residents and by the mostly 'envious' black city residents, as the authentic urbanism. 'Black urbanism' was imagined as fake and temporary. After all, black people were considered as temporary sojourners in the city, their authentic spaces being the Bantustans (Tomlison et al. 2003). Largely, black urbanites and white urbanites had 'separate citizenships' and 'separate freedoms' (see Mbembe 2004, 389–390). To quote Fanon (1963, 30), colonial urbanism entailed a division between the 'settler town'—a 'well-fed', 'brightly-lit', 'easy-going town' and the 'native town'—a 'place of ill-fame' and 'a hungry town'. This somehow describes the Johannesburg of apartheid, and not least that of today. Sanctioned by the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923, the fortification of white middle-class populations into suburban environments continues to haunt South Africa's post-apartheid cities (Parnell 2002; Mabin 2005; Crankshaw 2008). The suburb, and the city at large, remains the symbol of a persistent 'unjust geography' in South African metropoles (cf. Chapman 2015, 76).

Johannesburg's transition from an apartheid city into one presumed to be a space of post-apartheid freedoms, aspirations and hope constitutes a significant historical, contemporary and futuristic narrative of the city. That transition came with a complex process of suburbanization that was, and still is, characterized by intersections of white and black suburbanisms. White suburbanism can be largely conceptualized as having been a matter of attempts at racial-classist escapism—of an enclosure of the 'white town' from the 'native town' (cf. Fanon 1963). This is a separation of comfort from discomfort and of security, and prosperity from crime, grime and poverty. Lower middle-class whites, and various white businesses, migrated from Johannesburg inner-city or peri-central neighbourhoods such as Hillbrow and Yeoville. Their main destinations were the enclosed and race-class segmented older neighbourhoods such as Rosebank, Parkview, Houghton Park, Bedfordview and Parktown and the relatively newer 'edge city' of Sandton. Although there was this 'white flight' from inner-city areas like Hillbrow and Yeoville, it is important to underline that many whites already lived in the northern suburbs of the city during the apartheid era. The inner-city and peri-central neighbour-

hoods of the city were themselves already stigmatized within circles of the wealthier white communities. It is interesting to note that the heightened sense of insecurity, post-apartheid, re-inscribed older racialized spatio-social patterns. The inner-city and peri-central neighbourhoods therefore mutated into spaces of liminality pegged somewhere between white and 'black urbanisms' as far back as the early twentieth century-gravitating more towards the latter in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

In contrast, black (sub)urbanism is to be understood as a product of the intersection of the history of deprivation, and exploitation on the one hand, and present and futuristic fantasies or realities of freedom, hope, desire and aspirations on the other. Black people had sensuously escaped the shackles of apartheid. Migration into suburban spaces and life became a symbolization of the socio-economic possibilities in the new South Africa. Propelled by the aura of freedom, and government policies such as the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBEE), the new black middle class moved into formerly 'whites only' suburban areas. Often, a move into the suburbs was bankrolled through mortgage finance, most of which trapped (black) families into debt. There is rising concern about the fact that the emerging black middle class in South Africa, more than its white counterpart, is increasingly becoming indebted in its desires and attempts to reach and sustain the new lifestyle, which it was previously denied (Skade 2015). The suburb, and suburban space and lifestyle, assumed a commodity form that had to be acquired almost at 'all cost' by the upcoming black middle class. What we increasingly see, therefore, is the reification, if not the deification, of suburbia. This is inevitable in a society where consumerism has assumed the position of the ideology and ritual of middle-class lifestyle—perhaps even a new religion. The desire for and envy of the suburb is at the centre of black suburbanism in South Africa. For as Fanon (1963, 30) writes:

> The look that the native turns on the settler's town is a look of lust, a look of envy; it expresses his dreams of possession—all manner of possession: to sit at the settler's table, to sleep in the settler's bed, with his wife if possible. The colonized man is an envious man.

The post-apartheid breakthrough presented opportunity for the desiring black middle-class urbanites to suburbanize. It is important to note that even during the apartheid era, there was no complete foreclosure between the white and the black Johannesburgs. As Mbembe (2004, 387) rightly observes, 'the city was constantly marked by a dialectics of distance, proximity, and reciprocal dependencies among the different races'. Post-apartheid, the suburbanization of the black middle-class population was informed by desire and envy, as much as it was, like white suburbanism, also propelled by the fear of violence, criminality and urban degeneration in township and inner-city neighbourhoods. The Johannesburg CBD itself increasingly assumed the identity of a fearful space for some middle-class people. A black resident of Bedfordview described his relationship with Johannesburg CBD: 'I am terrified of Johannesburg CBD and I try to avoid this place as much as I can.'[4] So, even transient walks or drives through the CBD by members of the (aspiring) black middle class appear to be laden with terror—with 'schizoparanoia' (cf. Deleuze and Guattari 1983). While the majority of black suburbanites were fleeing the poor provision of basic social services in the townships, the majority of migrating white suburbanites were fleeing urban decay in the inner-city and peri-central neighbourhoods. Take, for instance, the story of Obrien[5], a white male who now resides in Sandton since 1996. Obrien indicated that he once lived in Yeoville. He explained that he left Yeoville because of increased spates of crime in the area, the incoming of new unfamiliar residents into the neighbourhood, and the decline of property prices. According to him:

> I had no choice but to let go of my property, although I loved Yeoville having spent my childhood and the big part of my adulthood there. Of course, I had made enough money and just had to look for a better neighbourhood and leave Yeoville. I do not regret investing in Sandton.[6]

Obrien's story is typical. It confirms the facticity of white flight from inner-city and peri-central neighbourhoods of Johannesburg into suburban areas.

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[4] Interview, George, 22 January 2016.
[5] All names used in this chapter are pseudonyms.
[6] Conversation, Sandton, 13 August 2014.

However, with the abolition of formal racial segregation, people like Obrien still had to live alongside suburbanites belonging to an emerging black middle class. Most of these blacks had made enough fortune to leave the townships and invest in the affluent suburbs. Thulani, a middle-aged black man who lives in Sandton, having left Soweto where he grew up, explained:

> These areas [like Sandton] were no go areas for us. Thanks to freedom and the ANC policies, we are able to invest in properties in Johannesburg's prime areas. Here, one can enjoy his or her peace outside the mostly busted townships. However, we have a big security challenge here. Criminals target our houses, unlike in the townships where people know and look out for each other. Here we pay for our own security every month. Even that does not give guarantees of safety.[7]

Interestingly, a black African middle class originating not from South Africa but elsewhere on the African continent generally views the township with trepidation, especially in light of the spates of xenophobic violence that have intermittently troubled Johannesburg. Even if some of it is a lower middle class, it seeks refuge in middle-class suburban areas of Johannesburg, if not the inner city, because of the perception that these spaces are relatively safer from xenophobic violence. Spoken to during an interview, an immigrant from Zimbabwe confirmed:

> Why would I go and stay in the townships? We all know that the rentals are cheaper there than in the affluent suburbs, but my life is not for sale. I wouldn't risk it with this xenophobia. I would rather pay higher rentals in Sandton, than be killed in Soweto or Alexandra.[8]

It appears that safety has been mercantilized in the suburbs, with the middle class as its consumers. For middle-class immigrants, the township was particularly derogatorily thought of as a marketplace of violence and a den of all that is evil. Moving from the township to the middle-class suburban areas is therefore a marker of success—of social mobility—and a form of escape from the supposedly derelict and inse-

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[7] Conversation, Sandton, 11 August 2014.

[8] Interview, Braamfontein, December 2015.

cure life of the township and inner city (cf. Cullen and Levitt 1999). Emplacement into suburbia dramatizes and routinizes the 'spatialization of fear' and uncertainty (Tulumello 2015) that has become the hallmark of contemporary times, with the gated neighbourhood as its symbol and prototype. Suburbs are considered valuable in the cultural and economic sense because of the higher property values and the importance of a 'right address' for social status and access to opportunities. They encapsulate what Bourdieu (1999) refers to as the 'capital of location'. However, the migration from the township or the inner city into suburbia comes at a cost of social capital as some or many socio-economic ties are weakened or lost, and identities are transformed.

Mobility becomes a rite of passage into the status and privileges of black middle-class life—into a society of consumerists that is (cf. Bauman 2004, 2013). It signifies an admission, albeit partial, into the social circles of the predominantly white middle class, and an escape into a fantasyland of possibilities, hope and wealth, but also of the heightened fear of loss, violence and criminality. The development of gated communities and the use of various technologies of security, by both white and black suburbanites, speak to a collision of class interests between black and the white middle-class residents. Gated communities embody the structuration of a social system of fear, segregation and segmentation, which is imprinted not only in place but also in the psyche. Hence, the relevance of Blakely and Snyder's (1997) idea of 'gated minds'. Psychological and emotional expressions of fear, suspicion and a fortress mentality have become central to the ordering of suburban life (cf. Ibid.). Herein lies a paradox. While suburbs are imagined to be spaces of security and safety, they are increasingly taking the character of fearful spaces. The securitization of suburbia has complexified this conundrum because of its twinning with an increased sense of risk (see Tulumello 2015).

The flight and enclosure of a white and black middle class into the fantasyland of suburbia has meant increasing disinvestment in, and the de-industrialization and decline of, the (old) Johannesburg city centre. It entailed a transformation of Johannesburg into a 'polycentric edge city' (Le Goix 2005, also see Soja 2000; Myers 2011). Now, Johannesburg CBD, the former commercial hub, has largely turned derelict—becoming a space for vendors, loiterers, pick-pocketers, drug dealers, slumlord-

ism, bad buildings and overcrowded living arrangements, amongst other socio-spatial vices. It has become the bastion of a burgeoning and isolated black underclass, whose ethno-structure is complexified by the increased presence of asylum seekers and economic refugees from the rest of Africa, Asia and elsewhere. The centre has been marginalized, while the periphery has been centred. As Mbembe (2004, 400) notes:

> Contemporary downtown Johannesburg visually resembles other African cities in the aftermath of decolonization: a matrix of plural styles, a striated, stripped city that concatenates the most formal and modern with the most informal.

It is an intriguing space riddled with the contradictions of ruins and regeneration—a mix of the new and old. For instance, within a context of the socio-spatial ruins that Johannesburg inner city has become, there is a new trend towards regeneration, which has resulted in spatial concentrations of relatively expensive housing units in central areas such as Newtown and Maboneng. These are spaces occupied by a mostly young, upcoming, black middle class and patronized by a white middle class. Of Maboneng, Nevin (2014) notes that it is a place to which 'white middle class Johannesburgers come'. It is a space where (post-)modern artistic forms, high-end clubs and eateries desired and patronized by the white middle class are on offer. Notwithstanding this, a great part of Johannesburg inner city remains a place of concentrations of 'black urbanisms' of deprivation, hustling, informality and criminality.

In its outlying suburban areas, Johannesburg has assumed the character of a post-industrial edge city in which consumerism has taken centre stage. The shopping-malling of Johannesburg indicates the emergence and entrenchment of a consumerist culture in which the emerging middle class are the main patrons. Among other things, this consumerist culture is also typified by the privatization of policing, a booming private security industry and the mushrooming of gated communities or security complexes that we have already highlighted above (Benit-Gbaffou 2008; Lemanski 2004; Landman 2004). Let us learn from two examples from Bedfordview and Sandton to further understand the structuration of this emerging urbanism of fear.

On the Mystic Power of (Sub)Urban Fear

Fear may shadow the most mundane of our everyday practices—our accustomed routines of child-care, travel, consumption and domestic arrangements (Sparks et al. 2001, 886). Fear is both generative and destructive. It is an enchanting emotion and force. At the extreme, fear has come to equal an ideology, if not a religion in itself. It has become a way of life—an aspect of everyday realities and spiritualities. It is therefore not surprising that fear has the potency to inform the (re-)organization of space and everyday social practices and spiritualities. History has it that cities have always emerged as zones of defence against external dangers (Ellin 2001). Likewise, most suburbs are founded on the same principle. At the same time, fear has wreaked havoc on human sociality, everyday practices and personhoods. It is an emotion so powerful. It is one of the logics behind suburbanization in contexts like those of Johannesburg. Pitifully, in Johannesburg as elsewhere in places with congruent histories and social realities, fear has come to be entangled with race and class. In this case, the fear of difference—of the other race or social class—configures suburbanism. Taking snippets of Johannesburg's suburbs that are dominated by white and black middle-class populations, I explore the socio-spatially re- and de-generative power of fear.

Let us begin from Bedfordview. This is a predominantly middle-class suburb located to the east of Johannesburg. According to the 2011 census, Bedfordview's population is approximated at 63.94 % white, 23.25 % black, 7.74 % Indian or Asian, 3.32 % coloured and 1.75 % other. Bedfordview rose to infamy for hosting dangerous international criminals such as Radovan Krejcir, from the Czech Republic, who was renowned for, and eventually convicted of, high-level crime and accumulating dirty money (Evans 2005). A spate of supposedly gang-related killings were recorded in the neighbourhood in 2014, all of which were suspected to point at the presence of international criminal cartels of the kind allegedly coordinated by Radovan Krejcir (Ibid.). South African Police Services (SAPS) statistics point to Bedfordview as a suburb inundated with crime, with a total of 2711 thefts and robberies of various kinds recorded in 2015. This paints a gruesome picture for a neighbourhood

of approximately 13,959 people (Census 2011). Located close to the Eastgate Shopping Mall, Bedfordview has come to also constitute a self-contained edge city, as is the current trend with most of South Africa's suburbs. This trend is what Crankshaw (2008, 1692) described as constituting 'totalized suburbs'. As the census data shows, while Bedfordview has the character of a racially mixed suburb, it is predominantly white and middle class, generating a sense of suspicion of 'black others' by its white residents. Now I turn to a personal story to elaborate on the latter point.

In December 2014, I drove into a neighbourhood in Bedfordview on an errand. In the car, I was in the company of two black African friends. We were looking for a house, which we struggled to locate. In order to re-route, we parked on one of the streets. Having parked, one of my colleagues initiated a phone call to get directions from the person we intended to visit. As we were parked, a muscular white male, with his head clad in a bandana came forth. We were parked in front of his house, and he apparently took offence at that. He yelled at us: 'remove your car from here!' Fearing to anger this man, I drove off. However, many questions lingered in my mind. Why was this man so harsh to us? Was it because of our race as black Africans? Did we look suspicious because we were driving an old car? My companions concluded that we were ordered to leave that street simply because we were black. This story signals the pervasiveness of racialized, if not class-based, 'constructions of criminality' in Johannesburg (cf. Muhammad 2011, 72). It zeroes into a criminalization of blackness in which unfamiliar black men presumed to be members of an under- or lower class are the subject of suspicion and negative stereotyping.

Meanwhile in Sandhurst—a neighbourhood in Sandton (in northern Johannesburg)—where I conducted field research, I noted the operations of an everyday racial-classist politics of defence against intrusion. Let us begin by highlighting the population composition of the suburb. Sandhurst, according to the 2011 census, is constituted of a population that is 47.67 % white, 39.30 % black, 8.42 % Indian or Asian and 1.94 % coloured. SAPS statistics suggest that Sandton, where Sandhurst is located, is an area under the siege of criminals. In 2015 alone, Sandton recorded 6869 thefts and robberies of various forms—a very high figure

for an area of approximately 222,415. Fear of crime was therefore common in Sandhurst. This was also reflected during field research, it was always difficult to gain the trust of the interviewees, especially security guards, who were always suspicious of us, indicating that the way we approached them could be the same way criminals would trick them into gaining access to properties. Building strong rapport was always necessary for me to penetrate the spaces, and practices in the suburban contexts.

Just like the greater Sandton, Sandhurst is a predominantly middle-class neighbourhood, reflective of South Africa's vigorous project of trying to produce a black middle class, since 1994, as evidenced by the significance of the black population vis-à-vis the white population. Suffice to say that these figures may be misleading if they are to be read in class terms. This is because in the northern suburbs, there are many live-in black domestic workers employed in white middle-class households (cf. Crankshaw 2008). I faced this reality during my field research in the area. Often, I spoke to black domestic workers and security guards on the premises of white or black middle-class households.

While conducting research in a gated neighbourhood in Sandhurst, I had the opportunity of sitting with the security officers operating an entrance into and an exit from the neighbourhood. They would open the gate for each car as it came in, sniffing out suspected cars. I particularly remember that during one of my sittings with the security guards, there was a report of a car that had entered the neighbourhood, a Volkswagen Golf driven by a black young man and carrying black passengers. The report was that the people in this car were taking photos of spaces and properties within the neighbourhood. The guards on duty had already taken the registration number of the Volkswagen Golf. In response to that, the guards at the gate called for the reinforcement of security. Then, in came a van full of heavily armed guards. They confronted the driver and passengers in the suspected Volkswagen Golf, and then forcefully saw them out of the neighbourhood. Made curious about the Volkswagen Golf incident, I struck up a conversation with one of the security guards staffing the gate of this neighbourhood. I was told that cases of house break-ins and armed robbers were common in the neighbourhood. He indicated the possibility of some criminals already living within the gates. He further narrated:

> My man. My job is very difficult. Some people come into the neighbourhood as visitors. It is hard to know the difference between a genuine visitor and a criminal. Criminals, like the genuine visitors, also drive nice cars. At least we always have an armed vehicle on call, which we can rely on for reinforcement in case an ongoing break-in is reported to us. They respond timeously.[9]

Neighbourhood gating serves to mark out the secure from the insecure. My further conversation with the security guard revealed to me that security guards did not necessarily care about what happened outside the gates. Hitherto, there was a lot happening there. He described how in the early morning and in the evening, criminals come to the vicinity of the gates to snatch handbags from women, mostly black, who walk outside the gates in search of, or after being dropped off by, public transport. This marking out of space speaks to the rampancy of territorialism as a security-generating practice that also contradictorily endangers other spaces, especially those near gated territories. The gated-ness of suburban neighbourhoods affects the modalities of mobility, with the most reliable mode being private transport. Those who use public transport may have to walk some distances outside of the gated neighbourhood; since in many cases, there are no ranks for public transport in the gated neighbourhood. This predisposes people who use public transport to crime as they navigate the outside spaces.

Nevertheless, as one moves into the gates, symbols and technologies of security increase the intensity of their presence. There were many layers of securo-technologies. From the communal gates and walls, one is confronted by a layer of house-based security whose presence is signified by walls, and a security guard at each property. Beyond the walls and the gates, the house had various forms of securo-technologies such as burglar bars, locks and alarms. Barriers and enclosures make up the anatomy of gated lives (cf. Tulumello 2015) and configure suburban socio-spatial ecologies (cf. Davis 1998). Such is the physical (territorial) and social architecture of the 'securoburb'. This observation relates to Mbembe's (2004, 385) conceptualization of Johannesburg as a 'racial city' characterized by the 'separation between the indoor world and the world outside'—a city of

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[9] Interview, Security Guard 1, Sandton, 10 August 2014.

'boundaries and contrasts'. What further emerges from this is that fear has become institutionalized as an aspect of Johannesburg's (sub)urbanism. Suburbanization itself connotes the institutionalization of fear since it can be interpreted as an attempt to escape the increased perception of risk in the ghettos. This attempt at escape is, however, also entrapping, as suburbs also become fearful spaces that are presumably targeted by criminals. This sees the entrenchment of a suburbanism of fear, or what can be referred to as a 'schizophrenic suburbanism'. Moving to the suburbs for security reasons, and the increased militarization of the suburbs, befits the conceptual tagging of the suburbs as 'securoburbs'. The need for security, however, contradictorily produces a further sense of fear rather than its decrease. Speaking to a security guard at one of the houses, he signalled cynicism regarding the effectiveness of the technologies of security relied upon in the suburbs:

> Here in Johannesburg, there is no safe place. I live in Alexandra, and it's not safe there. Here in Sandton, there is a lot of money spent on security, but that does not mean people do not suffer from insecurity. I remember I had a terrible experience in one of the houses I guarded. Criminals broke into the house and tied me up in the guardroom. They invaded the house, beat up everybody, and demanded money. When they demanded money, they abducted the child in the house, put him in an oven, and threatened to switch on the oven with the child inside, if the house owners did not surrender a specified amount of money to the criminals.[10]

Experiences, legends and narratives related to what is cited above generate and sustain fear in the suburbs and elsewhere in Johannesburg. Fear becomes the modus operandi of life. Suburbs have emerged into and are anyway founded as 'fearscapes' in which insecurity, suspicion and anxiety are habitualized as aspects of everyday life. Fear is productive in the sense that it influences the spatial and social architecture of neighbourhoods or whole cities. At the same time, it is haunting because it generates a culture of anxiety. The high level of property-related crimes, and the thefts and robberies in various spaces, speak to the entrenchment of the common

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[10] Conversation, Security Guard 1, Sandton, August 2014.

idea of Johannesburg as a city of chance—a congregation of people who are engaged in vigorous searches for opportunity. Some of these people quite dangerously attempt to insert themselves in Johannesburg's circuits of economic exchange by whatever means. That is why Johannesburg increasingly assumes the character of a 'fearopolis'—a city abounding with free-floating fear (Katsaura 2015b). Fear then becomes the 'urban religion' of Johannesburg—one that is remarkably crystallized and territorialized in the form of suburbia. The following section moves on to trace (extra)ordinary religiosities and rituals that have come to characterize suburban life in contexts of fear and uncertainty.

Worlds of the Fantastic

If fear indeed generates religion as proposed by Malinowski (1955), then the fear floating over Johannesburg needs to be also viewed in this light. Urban fear and uncertainty seep beyond the spatial or corporeal into the religious and spiritual. The world of the fantastic—of religion and ritual—is to be conceptualized as an essential element of (sub)urban life. It is a world that speaks to the spiritual, physical, economic and social needs of suburbanites. As such, a church, mosque or any other form of religious space is integral to the spatio-social ordering of suburban, as of other, lives. It is not surprising that in a city of chance such as Johannesburg, the urban elites retreat into the world of the supernatural or ritualistic, in their quest to contend with the exigencies of suburban life. Let us return to Sandton to elaborate on this.

Lying at the heart of one gated community in Sandton is a church that I shall anonymize and refer to as the Northern Church. The Northern Church is a Pentecostal denomination pastored by a white couple. The church building has a domineering presence at the heart of the gated community, sitting in a large tract of land in a neighbourhood where land is extremely expensive. Reminiscent of post-modern architecture, the building has an auditorium that can accommodate 3000 congregants, and a car park that can accommodate over 650 cars. The magnificence of the church building is meant to inspire. The church is a not just a space of worship, but a symbol of prosperity—a representation of the world

of the ideal. It is a fantasy. Beyond its fantastic and symbolic appeal, the church building also speaks to the increasingly versatile appropriation and transformation of space—of urban territory—by religious players (see Malcomess and Wilhelm-Solomon, in this volume).

Attracting white and black middle-class congregants, the Northern Church projects itself as multi-racial. Its sermons, testimonies and prayer sessions resonate prosperity—middle-class aspirations. Its composition and teachings also speak to the South African phantasmagoria of cross racialism. The church's sermons centre on principles for leading virtuous and successful socio-personal lives, business success, and how to deal with a variety of life's challenges. They are motivational to the congregants. This is so important in a context of the hardships in a Johannesburg that is characterized by economic precarity, violence and criminality, broken families, corruption and socio-political protests. Speaking of his personal experiences in another context overseas, the pastor of the Northern Church narrated:

> Listen. I have been robbed. I was tied up in my house for more than 2 hours. My wife, my daughter, and I have been held at gunpoint. They had broken into my church, murdered my staff, and stolen all my equipment. We spend 15 000 dollars (United States) every month on security in Johannesburg, but we are determined not to quit. We gonna change the nation.[11]

Some members of the church that were interviewed professed that they depended on teachings from the church in their day-to-day lives. Even when it comes to crime and violence, they maintain that prayer is central to dealing with these. One white interviewee stated:

> I always make sure that the man of God prays for me at least once a month to make sure I am under protective coverage. You know Johannesburg is a very tricky place. People die like chicken here. However, with God I am confident of my personal security and that of my family.[12]

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[11] Church sermon, December 2015.

[12] Interview, Church Member, January 2016.

This suggests that fear, indeed, has paralleled and percolated religious beliefs and practices. The above quote highlights that the interviewee could not fathom life without the assurances of protection offered by the church pastor, especially in an urban context of uncertainty and unpredictability. This suggests a 'theologization', if not Pentecostalization, of everyday suburban life (cf. Katsaura 2015a). To further unpack the theologization of everyday life, let us engage the story of Domingo. A Mozambican immigrant, Domingo, works as a security guard. When I met him, he was guarding a residential property in Sandton. He narrated some of the dangers of his work, which prompted him to turn to his religion for protection at work. He claimed that he was a member of the Zion Christian Church. According to him:

> Each time I am sent to guard a new place, I make sure to get holy water from my church to use during my first day of work. I sprinkle it in the guardroom to ensure that I will be safe during my time at work.[13]

Meanwhile, in Mozambique where he came from, his parents also appeased his ancestors occasionally to pray for his protection whilst in Johannesburg. He told me that they, frequently slaughter an animal and brew beer as part of the supplication ritual. This they had been doing religiously for a couple of years. This practice gained momentum when Domingo's brother was shot to death in Johannesburg. When the family spiritually inquired about this death, they were informed that they ought to successively appease the ancestors once every year to make sure all their children were protected. The death of Domingo's brother was blamed on the failure of the parents to perform this yearly ritual. While Domingo was not part of the middle class, the rituals of protection that he went through were for him, as much as they were at the service of the white or black suburban middle class that he served. The sense of protection that Domingo felt because of his ritualistic practices could easily translate into increased vigilance at work.

If suburban middle classes are to be viewed as believers in science, then it is interesting to note the role of the 'psychological or spiritual

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[13] Interview, Security Guard 2, Sandton, September 2014.

scientist' as a ritualist who helps the healing of psychosocial wounds. Various responses to trauma by suburbanites fall within the ambit of the ritualistic and religious. Often, following traumatic events such as robberies, deaths and injuries, families and individuals enlisted the services of councillors or psychologists in their search for healing. One white woman who lives in Sandhurst narrated:

> When our house was robbed last year, I did not know how to cope. I could not erase the image of the robbery incident from my mind. My two daughters too were not coping. We were robbed at gunpoint. Fortunately, no one of us was raped. Perhaps it was better that the robbers attacked us in the absence of my husband. I think his presence could have escalated this robbery experience in a very ugly manner. With a man present in the house, the robbers could have become more violent.[14]

Other suburbanites seek solace in practices such as yoga and attendance of self-defence classes, which are mobilized as resources to confront the frustrations and fears associated with life in suburbia. The yoga and the self-defence trainers would then be positioned as high priests who presided over their clients' search for solace and security. A yoga trainer in Sandton stated:

> Many of my clients are people from wealthy white families. Many come for our services as an attempt to cope with various stresses, including trauma. You know Johannesburg can be a very stressful place.[15]

Some, due to inexorable fear, attended self-defence classes—to acquire the skills of fighting off physical threats. One black woman retorted: 'as a woman living in Johannesburg, I have to be alert and careful. Some level of capacity for self-defense is needed in this country of ours which is infested with rapists.'[16] Self-defence classes and yoga, given their repetitiveness, become habitualized aspects of social and personal life.

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[14] Interview, Sandton, 5 August 2015.

[15] Conversation, Sandton, 15 December 2015.

[16] Conversation, Sandton, 15 December 2015.

Ancestral worship and celebratory and mourning rituals have also become important expressions of black and white suburbanisms in Johannesburg. Judin (2008) describes how rituals involving the slaughtering of cows in the backyards of township houses have come to characterize the urban ritual architecture of Johannesburg. One should not see a convincing reason why such a trend does not occur in the backyards of middle-class black suburbanites. Many such rituals take the form of particular (or 'expiatory') rites in the case, for instance, of funerals and commemorative rites such as celebrations of house purchases or weddings. Many times during my fieldwork, I was informed that funerals took place on some housing properties owned or inhabited by both blacks and whites. As expected, most funerals entail the deployment of religious rituals of one form or another that mediate the processes of discontinuation of earthly life, and of rebirth. I, however, did not have a chance to attend any of the funerals. I only managed to be at one wedding, which took place in the backyard of a house in Sandhurst, at which a black couple was joined together in 'holy matrimony'.

It is the story of Mandla that struck me most. A 36-year-old black businessman originally hailing from Hlabisa in KwaZulu-Natal, Mandla successfully obtained a mortgage to purchase a house in Bedfordview. He explained to me how, upon moving into the house, a ritual was done to introduce the house to the ancestors. This, according to him, was meant to fortify the house against any forms of evil. It was especially important given that Mandla did not know the full history of his new house—who and how many families lived there before he purchased it. Often, old houses that have had various successive owners, according to Mandla, could be haunted. Therefore, it was necessary for him not only to summon the protection of his ancestors but also to thank them for the good fortunes he was enjoying. Mandla's ritual involved the slaughter of a goat, the brewing of *umqombothi* (traditional African beer) and supplication to the ancestors for protection. This story is telling of the intersections of the objectification, fetishization and idolization of suburban housing property and of the ritualization of processes of occupation and of ownership. Without necessarily exceptionalizing the ritualistic practices of black, and white, suburbanites, it suffices to agree with Ellin's (2001) observation that cities are places that also experience (re)tribalization as

residents summon their distinctive cultural practices, as a matter of nostalgia, tradition or as retreat from urban hardships.

Conclusion

This chapter has summoned the concept of enchanted suburbanism and case studies in Johannesburg to analyse the dynamics of moving into and being in suburbia. It advances a three-tiered argument. First, it argues that suburbs, or suburban properties, have increasingly become idolized objects of desire and fantasy in a society that has increasingly become consumerized and riskized. They are also spaces of escapism from the widespread social suffering of urban life—especially that which characterizes the township or ghetto. In qualifying this argument, the chapter engages a brief visitation of the socio-spatial legacy of apartheid in the ordering of space in Johannesburg. The chapter suggests that in this escapism lies the seeds of an unsustainable urban racialized and class-based socio-spatial fragmentation that endangers the very fantasy of liberated suburbia. As such, suburbs have increasingly emerged to be spaces of fear, risk and intense securitization of social life—that is 'fearscapes' and 'securoburbs'. Therefore, as much as the suburbs are spaces of positive urban charm, they are also ones of negative urban charm. Second, the chapter advances the view that fear has increasingly become a defining force in the making and unmaking of suburbia—displaying some characteristics and potencies of an urban religion. It is so powerful an ideology or emotion, that it shapes the socio-spatial configuration of suburbia, if not of whole cities. Mobilizing some case studies of Johannesburg, I argue that fear has generated gated minds, as well as various forms of securitizing, racialized and class-based spatial emplacement in suburbs. Third, I advance the view that the pitfalls—the fear, uncertainty and much more—of (sub)urban life partly inform the retreat of (sub)urbanites into the world of the fantastic—of religion, spiritualism, ritual and routine as a way of contending with fragile urban spaces. This retreat can be construed as constituting a search for community, stability and predictability in the context of the widespread privatization and individualization of (sub)urban life.

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8

Eyes to See and Ears to Hear: Negotiating Religion in Alexandra Township

Becca Hartman-Pickerill

Introduction

Half a million residents live within Alexandra Township's one square mile, situated between two upscale neighborhoods providing opportunities for domestic employment and one minibus ride from downtown Johannesburg. When speaking about Alexandra, scarcity is a prevailing framework used in discourse among residents, scholars and the media. There is intense competition for space, sanitation and jobs. Such competition has historically contributed to violence, displacement and ongoing tension between individuals distinguished by ethnicity, nationality, economic capacity and newcomer versus long-term resident status. Within this atmosphere, none are exempt from negotiating the use of space, including Alexandra's churches. These always evolving religious institutions reflect the conditions, aspirations and the diversity of their attendants. Diverse religious communities relay distinct identities and

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Clothed series. Photographs by Simangele Kalisa (self-portraits). 2010

are reflected in the sights, sounds and movements associated with each church and its space.

Alexandra's infrastructure is as diverse as its inhabitants: grid-designed paved roads and narrow dirt paths that erode with the rain, an air-conditioned shopping mall, and dozens of tuck shops and sellers along the streets. Johannesburg's first black township is also host to ongoing government reconstruction and development projects. Yet amid its great variety, its roaming goats, overflowing outhouses and shiny cars, are distinctly demarcated religious spaces. More than differences in terms of denomination, these religious communities are distinguished by economic capacity, physical presence and perceived social status. This chapter examines these communities through descriptions of Alexandra's African Initiated Churches (AICs), Mainline Protestants and Catholics, and Pentecostal churches, focusing on how the physical spaces reflect each church's negotiations of authority and power amid intense competition.

Power, Place and People in Alexandra Township

Johannesburg has one of the highest foreign-born population percentages in the country, making up nearly one quarter of the inner-city population (Landau 2006), and 9 % of Johannesburg as a whole (Budlender 2013). When considering the province (Gauteng), over one third (38 %) of residents are internal or cross-border migrants (ibid.). Alexandra is a crowded and bustling township nestled in the middle of Johannesburg's wealthy suburbs. Famous for its anti-apartheid activists, Johannesburg's first 'native township' is also known for its periodic episodes of ethnic conflict, including the 2008 xenophobic attacks that quickly spread throughout the country causing death, damage and displacement[1] and attracted global attention. A total of 180,000 people live within Alexandra's 7 square kilometer (1 square mile) radius (26,000 people per square kilometer) (Frith 2011), although some sources have estimated the total population to be 700,000. The density of informal and formal housing, backyard shacks and hostels, when coupled with a highly transitory proportion of the population and foreign residents' propensity to hide their status as non-citizens, makes accurate and timely population statistics difficult to collect (Vearey 2012; Vigneswaran and Quirk 2012).

Alexandra's inhabitants include long-term residents as well as domestic and foreign migrants supporting families elsewhere. There is a massive minibus taxi hub at the top of the hillside that slopes downward from First Street eastward to the Juskei River, then back up again to the East Bank and Far East Bank, which is ultimately cut off by a highway. There are several major paved roads crisscrossing parts of the township, and other areas where the informal housing is so dense that one must walk on a yard-wide footpath to get to the nearly wall-to-wall corrugated tin, wood and cardboard homes with wires strung through the roofs, connecting them to the nearest power line. A few of the township's homes have

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[1] The first recorded attack of more than three weeks of national violence took place in Alexandra (Steinberg 2008). These attacks have continued in the form of 'local brigades' in Alexandra, broader Johannesburg and around the country (Duponchel 2013).

waist- or shoulder-high walls around their perimeter, an image in sharp contrast butting up against the open layout of the majority of buildings and plots. A large percentage of residents do not have adequate water, electricity or sewage. Piles of garbage and overused porta-potties dot the hillside, as do shiny and ragged cars, side by side.

While over half of its population has lived in Alexandra for more than ten years, it is not uncommon for residents to move out once they have reached a higher earning capacity. The vast majority (99 %) of residents are black African, and as a first language speak isiZulu (26 %), Sepedi (23 %), Xitsonga (11 %), isiXhosa (10 %), Setswana (10 %) and Sesotho (7 %), as well as Tshivenda, isiNdebele, English, SiSwati, Afrikaans and sign language (ranging from 4.8 to .55 %) (Frith 2011).

In conditions of resource scarcity, a culture of politicizing resources, and a dense, diverse population, it is unsurprising that there have been battles for space and authority throughout Alexandra's century of existence. In 1991–2, there was an alleged Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) 'takeover' of the southwest corner of the township, where the worker hostels are located (Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008). This politically motivated violence, mobilized around ethnic lines, claimed over 100 lives and displaced non-Zulus from the Reconstruction Area (RCA).[2] RCA was also the flashpoint for the start of the 2008 xenophobic attacks that resulted in 62 deaths (41 foreign nationals, 21 South Africans), 670 people wounded, widespread rape, at least 100,000 people displaced, and millions of Rands of property 'looted, destroyed or seized by local residents and leaders' (International Organization for Migration 2009, 2). A pervasive public rhetoric during the 2008 attacks, and which continued after them, has described a scarcity of space, jobs and even women, positioning foreigners as the scapegoats for this intense competition (Misago et al. 2010). In an atmosphere of space- and resource scarcity, where competition and the danger of being seen as an outsider can lead to violence, a perspective addressing the political economy of space allows an understanding of how churches inhabit and negotiate the area in Alexandra.

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[2] The RCA is disparagingly known as Beirut, a nickname referencing its violent past, which displaced many residents (Sinwell and Podi 2010).

A Spatial Introduction to Alexandra

In 1904, Alexandra Township was established as an area for white residents, but the sloping land proved difficult to farm, and after nearly a decade of minimal sales, it was re-designated for black residents. If unattractive a century ago, today Alexandra's direct route to the city center along with nearby employment opportunities for domestic laborers make it a convenient home for many low-income black workers. In striking contrast and relatively close proximity, Johannesburg's wealthiest suburbs are stacked 10–15 kilometer west of the township: Parktown, Houghton, Hyde Park, Bryanston, Morningside, Melrose, Atholl and finally Sandhurst, which has more millionaires than any other suburb in the country (Moneyweb 2012; IOL 2012).

Amid Alexandra's contestation for space and livelihood are a set of institutions that are part and parcel of the community, and which uniquely represent the diverse array of residents' experiences, needs and aspirations: churches. Forty-four percent of Alexandra's residents attend religious organizations; after political groups, these are the most common form of association in the township (Misago et al. 2010). The ethnicities, incomes and living conditions of Alexandra's residents are varied. So too are the histories, origin stories and methods of emplacing church buildings and communities equally varied. While religious communities rarely trace their rituals back to a specific place in the relatively young Alexandra, each has its own rituals to make a space (be it a veld, a shack or a building) sacred for worship, as well as to connect to their history through dress, song and sometimes dance, that is, in a social way that directs onlookers' and participants' attention (Smith 1987, 37). That which is sacred, Smith (1987, 104) argues, does not reflect unchanging categories, the opposite of 'the profane', for instance, but instead is a way of directing focus or attention in a particular way. A long-established Methodist Church of denominationally funded brick and mortar; the loud callings of a Pentecostal preacher on the streets; a Zulu Apostolic migrant church drumming, dancing and worshipping for hours in a small shack behind a chicken coop: the methods of the emplacement of Alexandra's Christian communities offers insight into the roles its

members play as historical, social, economic, racial residents of Southern Africa's 'promised land', as will be discussed in each description below. As migrants come to Johannesburg for work and opportunity, encircled by competition and a hyper-awareness of scarcity, religious communities are one of the places that they can turn for a sense of community, familiarity and even opportunity.

Methodology

Given the competition for space,[3] with migrants as a persistent hot button topic, my research focus was to examine how churches address and manage scarcity and diversity in the face or threat of violence. In view of that aim, I needed an initial empirical approximation of the number and description of the range of churches in Alexandra. Due to the highly mobile population and often informal layout of the Township, there was no complete, current list of religious organizations to provide a snapshot of religious life. In order to get this overview, a local research assistant and I surveyed several churches in the area over eight days spanning six weeks (September–October 2010). We walked the streets and took note of any religious community or person we encountered. This exercise started at the so-called RCA, because of its history of having been the place where the ethnic clashes of 1991–2 and xenophobic violence of 2008 started, marking this area's legacy of tension and conflict. Alexandra's church leaders estimate the number of churches in the Township to be between 100 and 400. We surveyed 13 churches within the perimeter of First Avenue and the Juskei River (listed here from largest to smallest by estimated weekly attendance): Catholic (2000), Anglican (350), Lutheran (a) (250), Pentecostal (a) (200), Presbyterian (160), Lutheran (b) (100), Pentecostal (b) (80), Seventh-Day Adventist (70), Lutheran (c) (30),

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[3] Competition over specific places beyond religious sites includes residency of state provided, or Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), houses, ownership of spaza shops and influence within the hostels where tension has turned to violence, to name a few examples. Each of these places carries significance as: a symbol of sponsored opportunity for historically disadvantaged groups, economic opportunity and a legacy of 'divide-and-conquer' apartheid governance. The scarcity of space references the general shortage of quality housing and sheer density of the area.

Ethiopian (30), Apostolic Zionist (a) (35), Apostolic Zionist (b) (20) and Apostolic Zionist (c) (15).

The churches mapped for this research are divided into three categories based on history, religious scholarship literature and self-association. These major divisions of Christian churches are mainline (Catholic, Anglican and Lutheran), Pentecostal and AIC; these distinctions continue to be debated and contested by practitioners and scholars (Kong 2001, 222), but for our purposes, they adequately represent three distinct ways of being and belonging in Alexandra.

Churches, Innovation and the Political Economy of Space

Religion, like most forms of identity, incorporates dualities of experience: an experience of inclusion built on some parameters for exclusion; a sense of home alongside a message of being *in* the world but not *of* the world; a sense of membership that crosses one boundary (nationality, class, race, language) yet seems to alienate participants from another of those very same sets of boundaries (Volf 1996). This study explores the relationship of the individual to the church and the relationship between the many and varied religious communities in the Township amid intense competition for space, authority and power.

Xenophobic Violence

On the first night of the 2008 xenophobic violence, for instance, the members of Izinyosi Apostolic Church of Zion (discussed below) called one another to keep in touch and held vigils in their own small homes, lighting candles and praying all night. As the flames flickered and the sound of crowds clamored around their homes, members were not willing to ignore or join the violence, nor could they act on the targeted residents' behalves. They didn't dare to go out. Before coming to worship the next Sunday, members communicated through their phones that it wasn't expected for people to attend, but that there would be a

service if they felt comfortable joining. The church's precarious structure itself jutted up against one-room quarters where foreign nationals lived. In the dense setting of worship, with the door closed, having chased out the evil spirits looking to cause harm (a ritual that happens every week), members preached, prayed and testified about the violence all around them.

Mainline church members and leaders also prayed in private during the attacks. After one week of the surge of violence, the Anglican priest preached a message of Christian love and neighborliness: that week they held a march through the township to the police office to demonstrate their support of the 'foreign' victims of violence. Not only was there a secure physical space in which to gather, but because the pastor and others were known within the community, they felt a comfort and an imperative to invite congregants to parade their public support of the victims of this violence following a Sunday church service. Leaders and some members displayed both that they were unafraid of attacks or reprisals *and* that they had a moral message that they wanted to claim in a very public way.

According to Burchardt (2003, 174), the 'broader context of material impoverishment, physical insecurity and social instability… defines the ways in which aspirations for belonging and success intersect with religious innovation and vitality'. In the case of apostolic Zionist churches in Alexandra, those very realities contribute to religious innovation and vitality in generating a space of authority and affirmation that is mobile, loud and marked by shared leadership. The Mainline and Catholic congregations described below do not require the same level of innovation because of their connections to national and international memberships as well as their facility in navigating bureaucratic processes. The Pentecostal church described below is uniquely situated in between the other two types—both connected to international networks and hyperlocal in their leadership, organizing and funding structures, which gives rise to more proactive tactics for growing financial resources and recruiting members along with an ability to thrive 'in flux' regarding physical spaces. These claims are further supported through thick descriptions of the three categories of churches below.

Mainline Churches

On one side of Seventh Avenue is a large brick edifice, and near its main entrance is a permanent sign that reads *Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa*. A low, sturdy wall surrounds the property with enough space for a few cars to park. The building was sponsored by international denominational funds at least 30 years ago and the one- to two-hour services are filled with spirited singing, with a preacher preaching in Tswana, an offering and announcements. Fifty people in their Sunday best line the pews in neat rows with an aisle down the middle. The road along the north side of the church is paved and the road in front of the church is made of packed dirt; both are large enough to fit two-way traffic and accommodate the many pedestrians that frequent the streets. The church sits on a small plot that presses up against other plots to the west and south. In Alexandra, few buildings can boast such abundant space and sturdy construction. Only mainline (including Catholic) churches, a few houses and yards, and government and public buildings (e.g. a museum, police station, soccer field and high school) enjoy this kind of secure construction and spacious layout along Alexandra's formally developed streets. Remember, estimates range from 180,000 to 700,000 residents in this one square mile space.

The pastor of this Lutheran church was transferred to Alexandra by denominational leadership the year before the time of our interview; he planned to serve there for six years, which is standard within the denomination. He has a degree from the University of KwaZulu-Natal and studied at the Lutheran Theological Institute, as well as a second theological institute. There are two Lutheran churches that he serves in Alexandra and a third in Midrand. This is the pastor's full-time job and he is paid by the congregational tithe, a portion of their annual income that members commit to the church. The two Lutheran churches in Alexandra, both with sturdy, brick buildings and room for cars to park, are distinguished by language; one church speaks majority Tsonga and the other speaks majority isiZulu and Tswana, although all three hold joint services on holy days and member confirmation days. This pastor, still new to Alexandra, expressed surprise at how poorly some people live. Of his parishioners he

explained, 'some of them … they've got fancy houses where they come from in Limpopo, Northwest, KZN. They've got big yards' even though they live in poor conditions in Alexandra.[4] About his members' origins, this Lutheran pastor said that some of them are from Alexandra, and some of them have done well for themselves and purchased a house in a suburb, but they still come back to worship on Sundays.[5] The Lutheran church does a lot of programming with its congregation, and they host a soup kitchen for the community. The pastor occasionally speaks in the community for public events. He said that although he wasn't present at the time, he knows that the church was a sanctuary for victims of the 2008 xenophobic attacks in Alexandra; during the violence an elder invited the police to come and speak to them about the situation and the police eventually picked up the immigrants from the church to bring them to the police station for safety. This described level of confidence and leadership during a very tense time reflects a sense of security clearly not held, for instance, by members of the Izinyosi Apostolic Zionist Church introduced above. Their building is not in the areas that experienced the most looting and violence in 2008, which took place largely in the informal, close spaces of spaza shops and homes suspected of housing immigrants. This is not to say, however, that the Lutheran Church is not fighting its own battles for space and authority.

While this Lutheran church is established in one prominent, physical position in the community, they are in an ongoing dispute over ownership of land and a building at another of the church's sites where a former pastor had all the legal documents transferred to be in his own name, leaving the institutional church without a claim of ownership.[6] An elder of the church said that he had been tasked with trying to get the deed back into the church's name but the South African Constitution states that if you remove someone from where they are living, you have a responsibility to find a place for that person to live. His explanation was slightly

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[4] Pastor, interview, December 12, 2010.

[5] When interviewed, the Anglican pastor made the same observation about several of his parishioners. None of the Apostolic Zionist pastors or members mentioned this, although they had members form Soweto and other nearby townships. That some members were economically able to leave Alexandra and chose to return for worship emerged as a marker of success for a few pastors.

[6] Elder Mark Makane Interview, November 18, 2010.

askew from the constitutional requirement, which says that if eviction will lead to homelessness, the municipality is required to provide alternative accommodation.[7] The church property, which is no longer in the church's name, also has other people living in makeshift accommodation behind the building on its land; this was a problem that landed on the elder to solve. Even as the church is a place of refuge and worship, it is also a part of the struggle for space—pursued, in their case through the country's legal system—which involves exerting power and influence in contested areas.

This church, like many of the mainline churches in Alexandra, is part of a transnational denomination, although their leadership is local and regional. From many mainline church pastors and leaders in Alexandra, we heard a clear distinction about legitimate and illegitimate Christianities; the distinction was made, not to suggest that they wished to remove groups from Alexandra, but to reinforce their own right and value in being there amid battling spiritual institutions. When asked if he interacts with other church leaders in Alexandra one Lutheran pastor responded:

> we've got those pastors of what you called the African Independent or African Initiated Churches, and we've got pastors from what you would call the mainline churches. So we've got a challenge to say, we pastors of the mainline churches, we went to school, we studied, we are educated, we can do a whole lot of things. These other pastors, you know, the people they just appoint people to become a pastor, no studying or anything. Yeah, the question of how do we bridge the gap, how do we bring each other… how do we be on the same level with them? I associate with the Methodist pastor, the Anglican pastor, I've never… with these pastors of these traditional African churches. Maybe we need to begin to… And the problem is these pastors of these traditional churches, you'll find that they grew up here. We pastors of the mainline churches, we are not from here—we come from different places—our church brings us here, you see. So they are more informed, they are well known, we are strangers here. We came here because we are sent by our church. That's the thing. (Pastor Om Gomad, interview, December 10, 2011)

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[7] CCT. Constitutional Court of South Africa Case CCT 24/07 Occupiers Of 51 Olivia Road, Berea Township, and 197 Main Street, Johannesburg versus City of Johannesburg Rand Properties (PTY) LTD Minister of Trade and Industry President of the Republic of South Africa (2008). Retrieved from http://www.saflii.org/za/cases/ZACC/2008/1.pdf

His statement reflects how this pastor believes he gets his authority for leadership in the congregation and within the community. The pastor's comments use the same language that many AIC leaders and members used to explain both what the church means to them and how the church is perceived by the broader community. As a new resident and pastor, the Lutheran pastor's greatest concern was the question of authority, that is, the right to have influence and a voice of Christian leadership in the community. While symbolic, a formal, sturdy building and the scheduled, controlled nature of worship marked, for the pastor, the deeper theological differences that make his church a more 'true', more 'legitimate' Christian church.

Pentecostal

Halfway down the hill of this dense township, on the corner of two paved roads, you'll find a large steel skeleton of a two-story building with no walls or ceiling. On Sunday mornings inside that towering frame is a charismatic man in a slightly oversized suit, preaching in English into a microphone to the *Shilo Bible Church* congregation. For two hours every week, sixty well-dressed people sing, take an offering and listen to and give testimony for all (including non-attending passers-by) to see and hear.

The founder and pastor is a man born and raised in Alexandra who studied at Rhema Bible College and the University of South Africa (UNISA). He still has connections to his Pentecostal seminary's evangelizing resources and inspirational visiting pastors. He is a full-time pastor and his salary is paid by the tithe of the congregation. The congregation takes an additional 'free will' offering every week to cover other miscellaneous expenses; this offering involves someone calling for decreasing amounts of money (R1000, R500, R200, R100, R50, etc.) and a flood of applause when people come forward to donate or pledge the amount spoken. The congregation has been working for over five years at their current site to build a formal church building that they can use. They have small wooden temporary units for offices on their land next to the skeleton of a building that they inherited. The church community was

evicted from its previous worshipping site because the city wanted to build a police station in that spot. Despite an agreement between the church and the city counselors, the church has struggled to get rights to the new land due to bureaucratic hoops and changing personnel. In telling this history, the pastor's frustration and experience of powerlessness seemed largely a description of a status quo that was unlikely to change, though they would keep trying. In his words:

> basically, when we arrived here, we have made an application with them that we want to build the church here. So unfortunately, the counsel that we were working with at that time… everything changed, there were new counselors, um, who didn't understand what was going on and they delayed the whole project and all that. So we started struggling from that time to continue the project and build our church. So we had to like try and find out, you know, which offices to go to, who were responsible for the… and um, then we also had problems with some of the guys at the counsel who had personal interest, you know, in the land, so it was a battle and then we ended up going to court and so fortunately everything was in our favor, yah, and still when we tried to continue again then we had other problems with other counselors because every time, maybe after 5 years or so they change counselors, so every time we have to start afresh—very, very, very frustrating. (Rev. Freddie Chauke, interview, January 16, 2011)

The church tried to use legal, governmental channels for establishing a space for themselves in Alexandra. They have a wide-reaching vision for their church and their membership draws not just from Alexandra but also from many surrounding suburbs. The church regularly has guest preachers from different provinces. After his own conversion to Christianity, the pastor started the church with the help of Rhema (a Bible training college). When the church was founded, parishioners took their microphones and loudspeakers and took to the streets, worshipping in public and seeking converts. Once a year Shilo Bible Church organizes a Prayer Day at the stadium in Alexandra. They invite all churches and the whole community to come and hear special guest preachers and famous singers, and the Mayor is invited to open the day followed by prayers from community leaders and traditional dances from youth clubs. This religious community is looking to know and be known throughout Alexandra.

Church members regularly go out to pray with people about HIV/AIDS and the pastor is occasionally invited to preach at neighboring churches, including the mainline Anglican church down the road. They may not have a physical deed to their name, or a full building, but they work to make their presence known in the Township.

African Initiated Churches

While the churches included in the survey outlined above span the whole Township, Izinyosi is an AIC church located within the RCA area. Izinyosi is a majority Zulu migrant church that has been established in the area for more than 40 years, and while many members are much more recent migrants, church lore has passed on the stories of how the church came to occupy its current physical space.

If you head south across Roosevelt Street and turn right past a chicken coop onto a dirt path, you will find several families' one-room tin and plywood homes crowded together on the left and right sides of a three-foot-wide dirt path. Adjoined to one such home (belonging to the bishop of Izinyosi) is a small, low-ceilinged, windowless room with a few benches lining the walls as seating for the elderly. A Bible in isiZulu sits on the table adjacent to the door, and above it hangs a felt cloth brandishing *Izinyosi Apostolic Church of Zion.* In the middle of the room are two large poles that support the roof and around which people dance for thirty minutes of the three- to four-hour Sunday late morning worship service. Fifteen to thirty people in plain clothes or some combination of white, blue and green robes, with rainbow braided rope belts, sit on the carpeted ground, stand and sing or preach, dance, and fill the whole neighborhood with song, drumming, preaching and the sounds of healing. When it rains, it is loud. When the wind blows, it is loud. When the church worships, it is louder.

The church begins around the same time each week when enough people are present (there is not a precise number of participants needed to start or a precise time). Usually, the highest-ranking male leader present starts the service, but if the male leaders are late, a woman will start. After a few announcements and the lighting of the candle, the bishop's young

adolescent son and daughter begin beating two drums in a merciless rhythm. For the next half an hour a group of people, four to ten at a time, dance around one of the poles in the center of the room. The dance is a stylized march and sometimes includes synchronized turns every couple of steps. The circle can reverse direction and dancers can shuffle sideways, but the dance always circles around the pole. This dancing, which invites the ancestors to join the worshippers, is part of the process of cleansing the room to prepare it for worship. Members believe that opening the door after this cleansing ritual gives evil spirits an opportunity to enter the space. (Given the length of the service and the nature of both children and bladders, some entering and exiting is inevitable.) Such practices and beliefs are part of the cultural tradition that leads some mainline church members to call AIC churches not 'real' Christians, and leads many academics to identify them as 'syncretic' (Kiernan 1994; Anderson 2005; Bompani 2008; Adogame and Spickard 2010). The pace of the dance is frenetic and the room is small and dense with people; when dancers become tired and leave the circle, they are often replaced by another dancer. Sometimes it is all men dancing together; sometimes all women; and sometimes men, women and children dance together. Outside the sun could be shining, the clouds pouring down rain, people selling goods or washing clothes, but inside the room is a captive audience and all present must participate in the service.

At the end of the circling, there is an expelling or exorcism of demons through laying of hands, expressive prayer and sometimes physical contact. Some days none are exempted from this cleansing ritual, not even observing researchers. This energetic opening is followed by group singing until someone feels led to share about their week and give thanks or ask for prayers. Subsequently, the pastor and then the majority of those present comment at length on that week's scripture or on the commentary that preceded theirs. Adolescents are highly encouraged to participate in this message time in order to learn, through emulation, how to be leaders in the church. This sharing is closed by a summation from the Bishop, followed by more singing and announcements before a closing prayer where all stand and face KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) (the home church). After this the door is opened, letting the refreshing air and rain, sunshine, or breeze inside. The transformation from inside the worship service to walking on

Alexandra's streets on a Sunday afternoon is so dramatic that the former seems almost other-worldly. In interviews, the members expressed that they are not looking for prestige in the community, for social standing or for leadership in a community-wide sense.[8] Every Sunday, the compact space is transformed for a few hours, after which members leave having spoken, sought help, given praise, been healed, danced, sung and gotten more than a little sweaty together. This enthusiastic worship experience is intensified by the small, sunless space that is visually mysterious to all outsiders, but, as is made clear by the sounds emanating, is a place of transformation.

The church keeps track of its 100 registered members in a small notebook, a level of informality that would not be found in mainline churches, yet which still reflects the value placed on the practice of established membership and long-term planning. The majority of attendees heard about the church through their home church in KZN. When they moved to Johannesburg for work, they moved to Alexandra or chose to go to Alexandra for church on Sundays, because of this church. As the church President (second highest leader in the church) explains, the church is 'just around because we are working in Joburg but the roots are there in KZN' (Rev. Michael Shezi, interview, January 23, 2011). For one respondent who moved to Johannesburg for work in 1995, when asked if Soweto[9] is his home, he responded, 'No, no, no, no, no, Soweto's not my home, I'm just renting—I'm just paying rent there. My home is at KZN next to Pietersmaritzburg, yes where my wife is there and kids and my mom, my father are there." This common reflection from migrants working in urban centers may explain why the church itself inhabits a small shack in the Township. While some interviewees expressed a desire to have a more permanent building, they regularly raised money to rent a van for a holiday pilgrimage to or funeral in KZN, but never for a larger or permanent place in Alexandra. If refuge and exclusion are two sides of

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[8] While we only interviewed leaders (not members) of most of the survey churches, and therefore have no anecdotal reflection on such assumptions, many of Izinyosi's members clearly articulated their own identity in contrast to what they perceived Pentecostal and mainline churches to be about.

[9] The interviewee lives in Soweto. Nearly one-third of regular members worshipping at Izinyosi in Alexandra live in Soweto; without fail they said that they chose not to live in Alexandra because it is dirty, crowded and unsafe. This interviewee said plans were afoot to start a sister church in Soweto.

the same coin, then this congregation preferred to exert their influence almost exclusively within the confines of the church; members used the church network for finding work and rooms to let.

Members of this church come to the city looking for work and as a community have no external (denominational) funding. The value of the church is not in a prominent physical stature, but its ability to serve as a place for worship. A 29-year-old pastor in the church states the reason for the church in this way:

> what normally happens is those guys that are in Alex, are the same… we come from the same area in KZN. They come here to Joburg to look for job and then they keep on coming to Joburg and then they decide that they must just form a church here in Joburg so they'll be preaching and praising the lord. (Rev. Bhengu Fakalieoshwa, interview, February 3, 2011)

In other words, creating a church community is an extension of the migration process, made possible by the large numbers of people who move from one region of the nation to one area of the city. When asked if they engage with the broader community and partner with mainline churches, the church manager (third highest leader in the church) responded, 'mainline pastors—we do invite congregations but because our service is different, they don't often turn up but we invite each other, yes' (Rev. Ephram interview, January 16, 2011).

The Izinyosi Apostolic Church in Zion is a known presence in the community. For three to four hours every Sunday, there is loud drumming, dancing, singing, healing and preaching and prayer, permeating the thin, porous walls of the church. The same applies for the occasional overnight vigil, which lasts from about 10:30 p.m. until 4:30 a.m. or sunrise. Members of the church wear a common blue and white robe and multi-colored rope sash, intended to equalize people, lest they be judged for their clothing. Some members of the church feel quite judged precisely because of their membership in the church. According to one pastor in the church:

> I can say 98 % [of church members] are poor cause like we are believed as a church of poor people, and people who are not educated. People who

passed matric, they don't even exceed 10 %. If you go to that church they'll say you are illiterate. Like for instance in my case, I've got honors in accounting with certificate in accounting—because I'm going that church, I wear that gown, like we don't want to expose whose rich, those gowns—when you inside the church, you cannot tell whose rich or poor. They saying to me I'm illiterate. … When I stay at varsity, my friends are telling me—saying, my friend, we are educated enough now to stop going to this church. Maybe going to a church like Grace or Rhema or Catholic Church, those high class people church". (Rev. Bhengu Fakalieoshwa interview, February 3, 2011)

This mode of thinking applies not only to perception of outsiders looking in, but when people may need help in the community. Speaking from an imagined outsider's perspective, the church president explains:

they can say, oh, this one [other churches] has got people who drive expensive car, maybe they can get me… but this one [Izinyosi church], eh, what can they get me? They are poor, they are hoakie, they haven't even go to church with their shoes. The way we are, the Zions are, they don't take us seriously. (Rev. Michael Shezi interview, January 23, 2011)

Many other members expressed a similar sense of feeling ostracized from the mainline Christian community, and they welcomed that distancing. Some Izinyosi members tried attending mainline churches and felt out of place with what they perceived as a show of wealth and diminishment of cultural tradition. Because they missed the drumming, dancing, singing and sweating, the offering of two rand instead of one hundred or one thousand, they found a home with Izinyosi. The absence of a dominant physical presence in the community, in many ways, reflects the heart of what the community is for—not an external, physical acknowledgment but an experience that can be built-up almost anywhere.

There is an extensive leadership structure within the church; its top-heavy leadership is disproportionate to the number of members it has, further exaggerated by its small congregation size. The leaders get no salary and work, or are looking for work, during the week. Many of the leaders contribute their own money for church expenses, and take small offerings when they need to pay for various items for worship (candles,

a bus rental for worship services with branch churches). The community is mostly inward facing, aiming to meet the spiritual and other needs of the members without an explicit desire to engage those outside of their church community through religion. This level of inward focus is in sharp contrast to both Mainline and Pentecostal churches in Alexandra. Izinyosi does not make a claim to a legal right to space nor preach and proselytize on the streets, but members do make themselves visibly and audibly recognizable to others as they walk to the cramped shack in their robes and sing and dance for hours, a sound and a mystique that emanates from an otherwise unremarkable space.

The Challenge of Physical Space in Research

In approaching this chapter's research question, the process itself revealed the very dynamics of Alexandra's physical space that the research aimed to uncover, and which this chapter has described. In mapping religious communities, we could only identify institutions and individuals that were public and visible or audible. There was no problem in identifying large churches with a cross on them, however, while most of the mainline churches worship in buildings, it is common for several different religious groups to use the same building at different times throughout one Sunday. One group may worship in the church at 9:00 a.m. and another at 1:00 p.m., another altogether on Sunday night. Based on our mapping process, we largely learned about communities that worship on Sunday morning. The research guide (who was also the translator) occasionally asked pedestrians about a church by type (e.g. Church of Zion) or practice (e.g. the church welcomed *sangomas*, traditional healers, which is a marker of AIC churches) that they had heard of in the area, and then following their directions. On several occasions, a person in religious clothing walked by and we asked them who they were, where they were going, and if we could join them. Most of the AICs do not have their own buildings and instead meet in schools or in open areas, with pastors who work at paying jobs during the week. Both Pentecostal and AIC churches are committed to starting branches and occasionally visit their branch churches around the city or make pilgrimages to a home

province, and therefore may be absent in Alexandra on any given Sunday. This is why we spread the mapping survey over several weeks and various non-holiday times (when people are more likely to return 'home' to the province or country where they are originally from). For these reasons, we walked around throughout the day on Sundays when churches would be meeting, because if we did not find them while worshipping, we had no way of confirming that they even existed. There was nothing permanent about the act of worship itself for most Pentecostal and AIC churches—the consecrated space was first created and then deconstructed by worshippers every week. This required flexibility that did not rest solely in creating a place in time to worship, but even adapting to the work schedules of pastors and other leaders any given week. This is a sharp contrast to mainline buildings and pastors whose claim to space is fairly clear and uncontested.

Conclusion

In Alexandra, each mainline, Pentecostal and AIC church represents the area's diversity not only in the act of worship, but also in the varieties of identity, experience and aspiration of its members. There is a physicality to worship. In Alexandra, space is at a premium; church members are worried about their safety or move away to leave behind tough living conditions; and the visibility of wealth displayed in fancy cars, homes and clothes is contrasted against visible poverty. Visibility and invisibility influence residents' perception of who has what, what is fair and where they themselves fit into this Township. Amid the variety of ways that the diverse institutions use space is Izinyosi, a community like many others in the township, known not by its physical authority but the way that it exists in the image of its members and the sounds of its worship.

AICs are the most economically marginalized of the churches described here. By and large, Apostolic Zionist churches (which fit under the AIC umbrella) comprises internal migrants who occupy small one-room homes; the distinct sights and sounds of their worship identify them. AICs may also utilize a schoolroom or an existing church during

off hours. Their history is not of global networks but of a line of leaders, self-defined and self-funded, and in the 2008 flash of violence, members did not feel that they were able to play a public leadership role amid the many individuals and groups competing for power and space. Those who did make public statements, in the form of marches and inviting the police in to speak, were Mainline and Catholic churches housed in large brick-and-mortar buildings in part supported by their national or global denomination. While these members seem most likely to be upwardly mobile, leaving Alexandra once they have the opportunity because of economic gain, but occasionally returning to worship, parishioners and leaders defined themselves in part against the informally educated leadership of AIC churches. The Pentecostal churches interviewed for this research follow bureaucratic processes to acquire and maintain their space and host internal and international migrants as well as locals. The few leaders interviewed were marked by a notable sense of resilience and vision, the communities appear to be both thriving in numbers and finding unique ways to have a public presence despite having no permanent physical space.

The use of space and process of emplacement for Alexandra's distinct Christian communities does vary, both impacting and being influenced by the migratory, economic, social and aspirational experiences of their members. While space and other scarce resources are one factor in the competition, tension and even violence in Alexandra, for at least a few hours each week, anyone can have a place.

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Key Informants

Freddie Chauke, Pastor, Shilo Bible Church
Ephram, Pastor and Manager, Izinyosi Apostolic Church of Zion
Bhengu Fakalieoshwa, Pastor, Izinyosi Apostolic Church of Zion
Om Gomad, Pastor, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa
Mark Makane, Elder, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa
Michael Shezi, Pastor and President, Izinyosi Apostolic Church of Zion

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A Man Spoke in Joubert Park: The Establishment of a Transnational Religious Movement in South Africa

Bjørn Inge Sjødin

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Introduction: The Territorialization of a Travelling Religion

In 1996, a man called Cohen Shaul[1] returned to South Africa after almost 20 years abroad. Cohen Shaul left Johannesburg in 1976 as a musician touring with a band, and returned alone to South Africa as a priest in a group called the African Hebrew Israelites of Jerusalem. The African Hebrew Israelites are a Black Hebrew group that originated in the ghettos of south side Chicago and left the United States in 1967 after their Messiah, Ben Ammi, then known by the name Ben Carter, had a vision in which the angel Gabriel spoke to him and told him that he was to return his people, the children of Israel, back to Africa. The group, consisting of approximately 300 individuals from Chicago, first left to Liberia, where

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[1] All names used here are used with permission and are names that were received after becoming an Israelite.

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Selepe Restoration Village, home of the African Hebrew Israelites of Jerusalem, North West Province, 2012–2013. Photograph by: Bjørn Inge Sjødin

they stayed in the wilderness for less than a year before eventually settling in Dimona, Israel. In Israel, they believe to have established the Kingdom of God in their commune, the 'Village of Peace'. The group has for a long time had ambitions to spread into the rest of Africa, or Eden as they call it. And this task was, amongst others, given to Cohen Shaul.

As discussed in the introduction to this volume, religious movements and ideas travelling transnationally to and from South Africa are not something new, for example, Zionist churches arrived from the United States in the early nineteenth century (Chidester 1992, 125). Terms originally introduced by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari like deterritorialization and assemblage (1972, 1980) have been appropriated and given new meaning by anthropologists and other globalization theorists. These terms are very useful in analysing the globalization of people and ideas, and how through de- and reterritorialization cultural objects and

ideas can leave a specific locality and travel. As the sociologist Veronique Altglas points out, ideologies, information and people are deterritorialized through travel, indicating that deterritorialization involves reterritorialization, meaning that 'globalization incorporates locality itself' (Altglas 2010, 2).

The sociologist Peggy Levitt (2013) has appropriated the term religious assemblage to delineate how religion moves. She argues that religious assemblages 'made up of actors, objects, technology, and ideas travel at different rates and rhythms across the different levels and scopes of the social fields in which they are embedded' (Levitt 2013, 160). Also, as Stephan Lanz points out in *Global Prayers*, it is important to note that what arrives in one place meets with what is already there and forms a new assemblage of 'material, social, symbolic, and sensuous places, processes, practices and experiences where the religious and the urban are interwoven and reciprocally produce, influence, and transform each other' (Lanz 2014, 30). Assemblages are therefore not only used to describe 'practices of formation', but to describe 'actualizations of the new' (Mcfarlane 2011, 209). This view of territorialization as the movement of an assemblage accords with the view that deterritotialization means that the assemblage becomes unstable. As the religious assemblage leaves one place, it becomes unstable, and when it transfers to a new place, as in the case of the Israelites in Johannesburg, it becomes deterritorialized when it meets with local traditions, spaces, politics and so on, forming a new South African Israelite assemblage which is thoroughly different but similar to the assemblage that left Israel. Over time, as I will show through this chapter, it becomes more territorialized, or stable, but it does maintain its fuzzy borders and is still in a process of becoming, and of constant change (Mcfarlane 2011, 208–210). Some of the aspects of de- and reterritorialization I want to take a look at are how the African Hebrew Israelite ideas and practices became detached from Israel, spread to South Africa and became localized there, as well as why South Africans were receptive to these ideas and practices.

As shown throughout this book, migration is central to how religion moves. But, as Peggy Levitt and Diana Wong point out, missions are another 'key driver' moving religion over borders (Wong and Levitt 2014, 349). In the case of the Black Hebrews, it was not the migration of

a big group of people to or within South Africa that contributed to the spread of this specific religious movement. It was the fact that one man, Cohen Shaul, was sent on a mission to spread the Black Hebrew gospel to the different ethnic groups already existing within South Africa.

One very important factor for the Israelites success in establishing a following in South Africa has been the sacralization of urban spaces. The sacralization of urban spaces takes place through performances and rituals. The book *American Sacred Space* defines a sacred space like this:

> we can identify sacred space as ritual space, a location for formalized, repeatable symbolic performances. As sacred space, a ritual site is set apart from or carved out of an 'ordinary' environment to provide an arena for the performance of controlled, 'extraordinary' patterns of action. (Chidester and Linenthal 1995, 9)

As I will argue, the performances Cohen Shaul held in Joubert Park, and the Sabbath classes held by other Israelites elsewhere, were rituals helping to create sacred spaces in and around the city. Furthermore, I will show how these spaces became social venues, offering a place for support, networks, advice and help in a process of 'self disciplining' (Schiffauer 2014, 60).

What I try to look at is how a transnational imagined community (Anderson 1983) once again becomes territorialized, findings its places and spaces in Johannesburg and the rest of South Africa. Using the above set of analytical concepts, I will attempt to show how the Hebrew Israelite assemblage reterritorializes and localizes itself within the city, and similarly in the rural location of Selepe, after being detached from its spiritual centre of Dimona, Israel.[2]

Cohen Shaul's Journey

After joining the community after his arrival in Israel, Cohen Shaul, originally from BelaBela, Limpopo in the Northern parts of South Africa spent almost 10 years, from 1977 to 1986, living with and being trained as a priest of the African Hebrew Israelite community in 'the Village of

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[2] This chapter is based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted during 2013.

Peace'—Dimona, Israel. The 'Jewish' background of the Israelites was very controversial in Israel, and in 1986, the Israeli government began arresting and deporting many Hebrew Israelites to the United States. Cohen Shaul was one of these. Fearing the apartheid regime if he was deported to South Africa, he refused to tell the US government where he was from. He therefore spent a few years imprisoned in the United States before he was deported to Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in the early 1990s.

By 1996, the apartheid regime of South Africa had been replaced by a democratic government led by Nelson Mandela, and the conflict between Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda had trickled into the DRC. Cohen was then asked by the leadership in Dimona to return to South Africa to spread the message of the Hebrew Israelites there. He returned, living in Atteridgeville outside Pretoria for a short while before settling in Soweto from where he commuted to Joubert Park to preach and play his guitar under a specific tree, soon collecting a small following.

The Brotherhood Tree

Cohen Shaul explained how during his first months in Johannesburg, he had approached Zionist and other churches in downtown Johannesburg to spread the gospel. He made some friends and was allowed to speak in some of the churches, without really gathering a following. It was not until he began speaking in Joubert Park that he had success. He explained how he gathered under what he called the brotherhood tree:

> When I come up in Joubert Park I will find them already waiting for me under the tree, you know, and I gave them the name of the tree, this is the Brotherhood Tree, this one. We belong here; this is where we sit every day.

Joubert Park was built in the late 1890s, when the area was inhabited by mostly wealthy people. These people later moved out of the city, and the single houses on the edges of the park were torn down and replaced by art-deco housing. The area then became popular amongst migrants coming from Europe (Marais 2013, 147). One of the reasons Cohen gave me for deciding to speak in Joubert Park was that it was there that the poor and the destitute gathered, and that those people needed to be

saved. Looking at the history of the park, it has been like this for a long time. During the 1950s and 1960s, homeless people, both black and white, began gathering at the park (Marais 2013, 145), something that continues into the present.

Although the park was home to many homeless and drug addicts, it was also a green lung where the many neighbours of the park could escape the city for a short time. It was also the gathering place for several religious communities. In addition to Cohen, the Shembe, or the Nazareth Baptist Church, and the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God, were both much more established churches in South Africa and gathered in the park as well (see Malcomess and Wilhelm-Solomon, this volume).

For his talks in the park, Cohen prepared many big placards with newspaper cuttings regarding religion, politics and articles on public nudity, which he said proved the moral decay of South Africa. There was one cutting referring to a protest where the protesters had undressed, and another about homosexuality in South Africa. Both nudity and homosexuality were referred to as European imports used to ruin the African people. Additionally, the placards included maps of Africa with arrows pointing from Israel into Africa presenting the journey of the ancient Israelites from the holy land of Israel to Africa. The placards also carried an article from local newspaper, *The Sowetan*, recounting Cohen's own story of his Journey from South Africa to Israel and back. He had also written his own phone number in big block number for people to contact him when he was not in the park. During his talks, he referred to the different cuttings and articles, and discussed these, using the Bible to find proof for his message. Cohen also brought a guitar along, playing it for his listeners. He sang, among other things, songs with a Hebrew Israelite message he had written himself. These songs were also recorded unto cassettes which he sold to people interested.

I only saw Cohen Shaul speak almost 15 years later, but I was told by those who had known him the longest that his style of speaking was still the same. A typical example would be to begin with one of his followers reading from a newspaper article, making a few small comments before having the same follower read an excerpt from the Bible. After this he would launch into long, repetitive tirades attacking the Western, ungodly civilization, the fall of man, or how Christianity is a satanic invention.

This way of speaking bore many similarities to the way the leader of the Hebrew Israelite movement, the recently passed Ben Ammi, spoke on the situation in the United States for African Americans. The Israelites also used to listen to Ben Ammi's speeches on loud speakers throughout the day, and were very familiar with these. As mentioned in this book's introduction, transnational religious movements create 'transnational networks of belonging at the same moment as re-inscribing orders of exclusion (gendered, homophobic and anti-secularist)'. While creating a space for Israelites and the curious to gather, they have also created orders of exclusion, through the attack on more liberal values that are viewed as European imports.

One of Cohen's first followers in the park was Malekh, a young man who had come from Umtata on the Eastern Cape to Johannesburg to study theatre. I have chosen to tell his story because at the same time as it is unique, it is also exemplary for many Hebrews. They joined the community during one of their first semesters of university, as they were new to the city and did not have a big social network yet. In addition to being a student, Malekh was on a spiritual search. He had been to many churches trying to find answers to his questions. He had also been a Rastafari, finding that it did not fulfil his spiritual hunger. No one seemed to be able to answer his questions, and his friends often told him he was too serious about his spiritual search. One day his friend told him he had seen a man talking in Joubert Park, and suggested that Malekh should go there and listen to what he was saying, thinking that this man maybe could provide Malekh with some answers. A few days later, Malekh got up early in the morning, packed his bag as if he was going to school, said goodbye to his flatmates and left for Joubert Park. Malekh explained to me how he left for the park, looking for Cohen, and repeated what his friend had said 'there will be a tree, on that tree the man use to come and sit, carrying lots of books. You're gonna see, he's different from other people.'

Malkeh then tells me what met him when he arrived at the park:

> Bear in mind, it was known as the place whereby the homeless people stay. So, I'm going there, carrying these books and saw all these homeless people, unemployed people, street kids, and everyone, so it was famous about those things, you know, but, I told myself, eish, let me go there.

When Malekh arrived at the tree there was no one there, so he sat down and waited for a while. After some time he saw a man wearing 'African garments' carrying a bag full of books. Cohen Shaul arrived at the tree, throwing his big bag of books to the ground greeting Malekh as if he was an old friend saying 'aay my brother' before quickly launching into a monologue. After one of his monologues, which Cohen is famous for amongst the Israelites, Malekh was finally able to introduce himself and ask the questions he wanted to ask Cohen. Questions regarding the predicament of Africa, colonialism and similar subjects, and if there was an explanation taking both God and politics into account. Cohen told him enthusiastically; 'We need soldiers, my brother, I'm here for soldiers my brother, you know' before going on to explain the main points of the Israelite ideology and at the same time answering the questions Malekh had been pondering for so long. Malekh continued telling me about his first experience with Cohen:

> While he is talking, he's not like, talking soft, as we are having the conversation now. It is like he's addressing lots of people around, so some of the people passing would come over and say; 'Ay, what is the problem of this old man, why is he so angry? Is he mad or what?'

Malekh continued to tell the story of how he was observed by some classmates, and how people started asking questions and speculating if he had become mentally ill after they saw him sitting under a tree in Joubert park, profusely taking notes while an elderly man was screaming and yelling at him.

Malekh only stayed in Johannesburg for a short period. During that time, he dropped out of school, and went to the park every day, and attended the more formal Shabbat classes in Soweto on the weekends. The word about his situation reached his parents, so when Malekh was home for Christmas they refused to allow him to return to Johannesburg. Nevertheless, Malekh stayed in touch with Cohen by post and telephone, and eventually he started studying at a college on the Eastern Cape, where he made friends who he converted to the Israelite belief, being responsible for spreading the movement's message and gathering new members there as well. Today there are very active Israelite communities in both Port Elizabeth and East London.

Cohen Shaul continued his activities in Joubert Park for many years after Malekh left to go back to the Eastern Cape. As the movement did not have a building downtown to congregate in, the appropriation of space through activities such as holding speeches, praying, discussing and singing was central to the creation of a sacred space for the Israelites to gather and to recruit new members. It was the activities of the Israelites and the onlookers that created the Israelite space by the brotherhood tree.

Following the definition of sacred space from the *American Sacred Space,* it is easy to see how Cohen Shaul's daily speeches, using Hebrew Israelite symbolism and myth, and the other activities are 'formalized repeatable symbolic performances' (Chidester and Linenthal 1995, 9) that helped create a sacred space in Joubert Park. This sacred space was a locale that the Hebrew Israelites and others could come to find both spiritual and material security. They formed friendships with each other and Cohen—friendships Cohen said were absolutely crucial for his success as a proselytizer. Furthermore, the speeches Cohen held, and the answers he gave Malekh and the others gave them spiritual security in an uncertain time in the history of South Africa. In the example of Malekh, it gave him answers and a social network, as well as a role in the building of a Hebrew Israelite movement in South Africa.

The Ban of Religious Activities in Joubert Park

The Israelites used the park as a place of worship between 1996 till 2002, but efforts to 'clean up' the urban areas by the municipality were set into action in 2002. As mentioned, The Israelites were not the only religious movement using the park to proselytize. Mikaiyahel, a migrant worker from Zimbabwe, also went to the park in his spare time. He explained how at the time he started attending the meetings of Cohen, around 2001, several other spiritual and religious communities were using Joubert Park to preach and recruit members. Mikaiyahel remembered how the Shembe church preachers used to warn against a man playing the guitar and talking in the park, saying he was a dangerous person, later realizing they were suspicious of Cohen. Cohen also claimed that

the Shembe leadership sometimes sent people to listen to him and report back to them what he was saying.

Mikaiyahel also explained how the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God used the Park as a venue for their gospel, saying that they were putting on a big show, bringing loudspeakers into the park. When the municipality eventually enforced by-laws that banned these kinds of congregations from forming in the park in 2002, Mikaiyahel blamed the Universal Church because they used such a large space and were very loud. I contacted the Parks Department of Johannesburg, and they confirmed Mikaiyahel's theory, saying in an e-mail that the park rangers had to enforce by-laws on the use of 'public open spaces' after receiving complaints from residents in the area who spent time at the park (Moodley 2014).

The examples from Mikaiyahel's story show how the religious contestation of space in Joubert Park evolved in such a manner that it eventually came into conflict with the general population of Johannesburg and the secular municipality, clashing with their ideas regarding public spheres, or what they call 'public open spaces'. Laws were being enforced[3] banning the use of 'municipal property in a way that unfairly restricts or prevents other users of the public open space from enjoying that municipal property'. This example shows how the development of a movement like the Israelites also happens in the meeting between the Israelites and the rest of the city, and how their development is not independent of each other, but strongly linked.

A sacred space had now lost its function because of government interference and important aspect of the Israelite assemblage was gone—contributing to its change once more. However, at the time of the departure of the Israelites from Joubert Park, the Israelite assemblage had already become more stabilized, or territorialized. Cohen Shaul had developed a message that combined the Israelite ideology and theology with the challenges a post-apartheid South Africa was facing. Furthermore, they had a more or less stable group of members, and they had a house in the town-

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[3] "The 'public open spaces by-laws' state that "(1) No person may within a public open space—(a) use municipal property in a way that unfairly restricts or prevents other users of the public open space from enjoying that municipal property; or (b) except within a public open space or part thereof, which has been let to a person by the Council for that purpose, sell, hawk, offer or display any goods or articles for sale or hire; (2) No person may undertake a special event, except in terms of a permit issued in terms of section 22." See http://www.joburg.org.za/bylaws/openspace.stm [last accessed 12 December, 2016].

ship called Alexandra (see Hartman-Pickerill, this volume), where many of the members stayed. They went on to rent venues, like a space at the train station, and a house next to Joubert Park, so that they could continue to organize meetings downtown—but there was a marked difference from the very public days of the gatherings at the Brotherhood Tree. Among other things, recruiting changed its form, as more members came into the group through other channels, for example, through family and friends.

Establishment of the African Hebrew Israelites in South Africa

Many believed that they had finally become decolonized in 1994. However, many generations of suppression had alienated South Africans and 'broken traditional human ties of decency and everyday morality'. Believing that a 'truer' Africa was somewhere else on the continent they looked elsewhere for inspiration (Hansen et al. 2009, 189–190). Furthermore, when discussing why and how Cohen was able to recruit members and create a still evolving Israelite community in South Africa, it is also important to consider the fact that the Hebrew Israelites have a universal message in the sense that the explanations they originally used to explain the trans-Atlantic slave trade and years of suppression, the Jim Crow laws[4] and the like also could be used to explain the apartheid regime and other instances of colonial oppression on the African continent. Furthermore, American cultural influence is as strong in South Africa as many other places in the world and many Israelites grew up with a fascination for African-American urban culture, with hip-hop and the like, and pointed out that the fact that the group was originally American made it more appealing. One argument Knott and Vásques make, quoting Hansen, is that South Africa is viewed by many as a 'somewhat deracinated and damaged society in need of salvation and cultural cleansing by people rooted in purer and more authentic cultures, making the foreign preacher particularly compelling' (Hansen et al. 2009, 192 in Vásquez and Knott 2014, 335). This argument is relevant for the

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[4] Segregation laws in the Southern states of the United States between 1890 and 1965.

Israelites, because Cohen symbolized both Israel and Jerusalem, something many of the Israelites only related to as a metaphysical, biblical place before they were exposed to the idea that many Africans actually hail from the physical land of Israel. But also, because the group hails from the United States, a country many Israelites looked to for inspiration. In other words, the messages made South Africans open to the Hebrew Israelite lifestyle, and the cultural capital Cohen Shaul held because of his connections to Israel and the United States, made people receptive to his message.

As many Israelites pointed out, the first book by Ben Ammi, *God, the Black Man and Truth*, a book which is almost as important as the Bible to many Israelites and originally targets African Americans also found resonance amongst the South African Israelites, and some of them pointed out that the book just as easily could have been written about South Africa. Both countries share a history of Black Nationalism, and found inspiration in each other. A great ideologue amongst Black Nationalists is Marcus Garvey. He is known to inspire both Black Hebrew Israelites and other religious and political groups in the US groups, and the so-called Ethiopian churches in South Africa.[5] Furthermore, he was a great inspiration to Black Nationalist groups as, for example, the more hard-line offshoot of African National Congress (ANC), the Pan African Congress (PAC), which was led by Robert Sobukwe. The South African Israelites were often quite negative regarding Nelson Mandela, who they considered a sell-out. At the same time, they regarded Robert Sobukwe a hero, who stood for more radical policies, like land rights only for Africans (Chidester 1992, 223–243). The Black Hebrew Israelites in the United States was a child of the black power movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Similarly, the black consciousness movement in South Africa, which was promoted by Steve Biko and his organization, South African Students' Organisation (SASO), was also inspired by the American black power movement. The message of SASO and Steve Biko was defined by their

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[5] The term Ethiopian churches was used in earlier Anthropological studies to describe African Independent Churches which did not originate from mission or mainline churches. The term *African Independent* was later replaced with *African Initiated*.

criticism of capitalism, and how black liberation was also a psychological and bodily process (Chidester 1992, 223, 247).

The post-apartheid era marked a change in South African politics in many ways. Before the ANC came into power black civil society organizations had been very active and influential in the work against apartheid. These organizations died out to a large degree after the regime change, and their leaders often became a part of the ANC system. Where people earlier had been occupied with revolutionary politics, they were now busy reinforcing the ANC party structure and with state building. At the same time the radical socialism of ANC became to a degree replaced with neo-liberal reforms. The socialist utopia some South Africans dreamed of faded, and unemployment rose quickly. This led to growing disillusionment among South Africans during the 1990s and the 2000s (Hansen et al. 2009, 187).

Cohen Shaul was vocally very critical towards the development in South Africa—and towards Nelson Mandela. There were—as in the example of Malekh—several reasons for joining the Israelites, but Cohen Shaul definitely tapped into a disappointment in some South Africans, when he explained how neo-liberalism was just another satanic Western import, and that whites were still in control of most of South Africa's resources. The Israelites therefore often viewed themselves as continuing the battle against apartheid. Cohen Shaul's wife, Emmah Tikvah, a migrant worker from the north of South Africa, was one of the persons who became an Israelite after meeting Cohen in Joubert Park. She explained how she at first thought it was a radical political group having an event in the park, and for that reason became curious and went over to the tree to have a listen. As with many of the other Israelites I spoke to who met Cohen in the park, she too explained how she was interested in politics, but how nobody before she met Cohen, really hit her with their political message. Similarly to Emmah Tikvah, many of the Israelites from the park had decent jobs. None of my informants from the park were completely unemployed. Some had precarious employment, but did make a living, some were students and some had good jobs as in the example of Immah Tikvah who worked in an office. What they did share were a political interest and commitment—and this was a part of what made them so susceptible to the message of Cohen Shaul.

Even though the Israelites even now do public events every now and then, the end of their period in Joubert Park marked a change to a new period in the development of the group. They went from public gatherings, to having more meetings indoors, for example, at a rented room at Park Station, Johannesburg's major station, and at a school where Cohen Shaul worked, and less people came by themselves to the Israelites. The group became more inwardly focused. Now, most new members seem to have come through friends and family.

Over the years, the Israelites had several spaces they gathered. Even before they left Joubert Park they were living and meeting in other places as well as Joubert Park. These spaces functioned as centrals, or as gathering points, where they met for meetings or where they lived. At most times, there were several places at once. For Shabbat meetings they often met downtown and, for a while, they returned to the Joubert Park area where they also rented a space to hold meetings. After a while they rented a house in Westgate the suburban periphery of Johannesburg. Today, the Israelites continue to rents a house close to Westgate, in an area called Florida, Roodeport. During my fieldwork, this house functioned as both a meeting place for Shabbat and other gatherings and as a housing collective for several Israelites.

The State House in Roodepoort

After a few years of Israelite existence in South Africa, the Israelite leadership in Israel understood that they had a thriving diaspora community. The Israelites have a complicated regimen of bodily practices, including fasting once a week and keeping a strict vegan diet. The belief is that if you follow these strict rules you can gain physical immortality, and actually live forever. At the beginning of the Israelites existence in South Africa, there were a lot of misunderstandings regarding these practices, and many were performed incorrectly. The administration in Israel learned this, and took action to teach their followers in South Africa. They began visiting South Africa to hold classes, help them organize and to form closer transnational bonds. Many formed friendships and contact via post, mail and, later, connections through social network sites

like Facebook became common. Cohen Shaul began regular trips to Israel to become updated on theological and ideological developments. A prominent leader in Israel came and lived with the Israelites at their State House, at the time in Alexandra. Even when not in South Africa, the leaders in Israel followed the South Africans closely. They received weekly letters from South Africa giving them updates on the activities there. They also provided advice, and gave, or denied, the South Africans permission to start larger projects. When Israelites from South Africa went to Israel, they often came back with books, pamphlets and information for the South African Israelites, which helped to shape the community in South Africa. The State House became an important space in the transnational network and a sacred space for the Israelites.

The house is called the 'State House' because it refers to a political or governmental symbolism as the Israelites believe they will take over the earth after the collapse of capitalism. The Israelite Organization in Israel is therefore organized as a government with both Royalty and ministries. The 'State House' is the main house in South Africa where they receive international visitors while they are in Johannesburg—hence, the administration symbolism of the name. This house is today situated in Florida, Roodepoort, a middle-class suburb about 30 minutes by car from the Johannesburg CBD. Formerly, an Asian family had resided in the house. This was noticeable as there were large Chinese letters adorning a few of the mirrors in the house, and they still received letters in the mail for the former occupants. It was a brick house, with four bedrooms, a big living room and a few other rooms. During my stay, four or five families and a few single Israelites resided at the State House. The house was rented, and paid collectively by the Israelites living there. Sometimes if needed, other Israelites would also help by paying some of the rent, and as several people living at the house were unemployed, the ones with income bought food and other necessities for everyone at the house.

During one of my first days staying at the State House, I was told that people would arrive to attend *classes*. The house had a large room in an extension of the house. It was only used for when there were many visitors coming to stay, or, as I learned, for the regular Sunday meetings. People began arriving, greeting each other in the traditional Israelite manner— the men bumped chests lightly before they hugged, or bowed if they

were greeting a female—and the females curtsied before hugging, while exchanging pleasantries in Hebrew. Happy to see each other, people small talked, either in English or a native language, with some Hebrew words being used, and had a good time, before getting seated in the main room, where the walls were adorned with posters with pictures of or quotes by Ben Ammi. While waiting for the classes to start they began singing. A woman took the lead—singing in Hebrew, and the others repeated what she was singing. They also sang in English—a song written in the Village of Peace in Israel, and some traditional South African songs. After the songs, it was time for classes. They discussed everything from a newspaper article about a woman who drank large amounts of Coke each day, and about overweight kids, remarking 'these children are nothing but the byproduct of capitalism'. They went on to discuss Cape Town, as one of the Johannesburg leaders was about to move there, saying it was a sinful city, 'a city of Homosexuals'. After class most people stayed, and just hung out, having discussions stretching from personal matters to more ideological discussions. An Israelite took the time to explain to me how the ancient Israelites had left Israel during the Roman occupation—and therefore spreading into Africa, and how you could still find signs of this, so-called Hebrewisms in the South African culture. Outside of these Sunday classes, there were larger events when the house would be packed with people.

The book *The New Ship of Zion* by Martine Konighofer (2008, 36–39) describes what the author calls 'The manifestations of the kingdom of Yah'. The Israelites believed that heaven had been re-established on earth, as these manifestations showed. While at the State House, I sat down with one of the saints residing there, Odayd, a talkative and bright man in his late 20s, to ask him about the concept of the 'Manifestations of the Kingdom of Yah' and how it relates to the State House. Throughout my stay in South Africa, the Israelites reiterated the belief that in the years after the fall of Adam, God has been trying to send anointed personages to humans to help them back on track to live by the law of God. The first successful anointed person was Ben Ammi who established the Kingdom of Yah in Israel. Odayd goes on to expound what this means for the Israelites:

> So the kingdom of yah basically represents the Adamic civilization in its state, in its highest state of consciousness, as it was in the garden of Aden, before they were fallen. So that's what the community in Israel represents, where this idea was perfected, where this governance was perfected.

The Israelites believe that in the time before the fall of Adam, there was a time where people were living together in complete peace, without the knowledge of evil. As a result of the biblical fall, the human mind has been polluted with secular and satanic ideas. However, after the return of the Israelites to Israel, they have established a new paradise, where people once again live in peace, and the state of mind is getting cleaner and close to what the state of the human mind was before the fall of the humans. It is this model that the Israelites in Johannesburg are trying to copy.

I ask him how this fits in with the State House, and he explains:

> We have extensions in different places, and places like the State house, in the context where we are, in the city setting would be the place, would be the hub, sort of a hub for that culture … where you can come and experience the life of the Hebrews, the culture and the practices they do have, outside of the classes that we have… Places like the State house serve that purpose, you know, to have high holidays, a place where saints could gather, and observe high holidays, observe, Shabbat cedars, where we come together. So that's what the State houses serve in the absence of a community, like a miniature community village, that's what places like the State house are.

The State House was in other words a small piece of heaven on earth—or at least that's what the ambitions were. It was also a safe haven away from the city. Even if some of the Israelites found the city exciting, and went downtown to shop or hang out, there was always a apprehensiveness about the city. Some even avoided it as much as possible, and only stayed at the State House while in Johannesburg. When I expressed my joy about walking around downtown, one of the Israelites shacked his head and laughed, obviously disagreeing. He said that the human body was not made for the fast life of the inner city. He referred to the focus on health among the Israelites, and emphasized the fact that stress was bad for the body, and that the city would make you stressed. Another Israelite

blamed the city after he got a cough, and said the stream of different people in downtown Johannesburg was a breeding ground for diseases. Also, the Israelites often would describe the world outside of the community as 'hell' or 'the world' while they would refer to the spaces where Hebrews would gather as 'heaven'. The State House was a space to get away from the pollution of the city, and of the society in general. In other words, the State House was a *clean* area contrasted to the dirty or polluting city.

Referring to the discussion concerning networks, Manuel A Vasquez describes how Brazilian migrants to the United States 'sacralize their domestic spaces, turning them into "bits of heaven"' (Vásquez 2008, 170). This is a very similar process to what could be observed at the State House, where they turned the State House into a sacralized miniature version of what they viewed the 'Village of Peace' in Israel to be, and wanted Selepe to be. It creates a kind of a home away from home inspired by the idea of the perfect society they strive to create. The State House as a sacred space provides the Hebrew Israelites with spiritual security through classes where they learn about the Hebrew Israelite message. The State House also offers the inhabitants and visitors material security through the friendships and the network they become a part of. Furthermore, the house functions as a centre of people and information arriving from Israel and the United States, and other places in South Africa. The State House in Johannesburg is therefore an important node in the transnational network of belonging that the Black Hebrew community constitutes. The Israelite assemblage has in other words become territorialized in the spaces and by the people who constitute it in Johannesburg.

Selepe Restoration Village

For some of the Israelites, a safe haven away from the rest of the spiritually dangerous city is not enough. As their messiah, Ben Ammi, points out in one of his books, their biblical ancestors were not people of 'science and technology'—they were rural farmers. In order to pursue full salvation and physical immortality, the Israelites are encouraged to leave the cities and settle in the rural areas. So in the late 2000s, some Israelites

made a decision to go in the opposite direction of most migration and flows of urbanization, and left Johannesburg.

After receiving encouragement from the leadership in Israel, the Saints started preparations to leave Johannesburg. By 2009, Cohen was already living with Imma Tikvah, who by then had become his wife, in Selepe, after relocating there from Johannesburg to take care of his sick father. Cohen Shaul had family in Selepe, a village in Limpopo province five hours from Johannesburg. He was granted a piece of land to settle with his family, and Cohen let the other Israelites move in to use the land to establish the restoration village.[6]

Today, Selepe Restoration Village is a small but thriving community. It is situated in a small street in the Selepe village. Most neighbours are cattle farmers, retired or commute to work in the nearby villages. The area where the restoration village is situated is not much larger than a football field. It contains a main house, built in the local style with bricks and a metal roof, and a few so-called earth buildings, a concept invented by an Iranian American architect called Nader Khalili, which are made to be very easy and cheap to build, using easily sourced material. The Israelites found drawings online after discussing them at a meeting at the State House, and only spent a couple of weeks building them.

While interviewing Odayd, I asked him about Selepe Restoration Village and if it is meant as a miniature model of the village of peace in Dimona, Israel. He pointed out that it could even be bigger, and said 'That's the vision of the father,[7] that wherever the kingdom is we can make it as big as possible.' In the case of the South African Israelites, they do believe that they historically belong to the land of Israel, but the interest of migrating there, is, in contrast with American Israelites, low. This has several reasons, and as one Israelite pointed out, they already live in Africa, and their object is not to leave, but to re-create all of Africa into 'heaven on earth'. When discussing these 'heavens,' some Israelites likened them to a jig saw puzzle, and said that every manifestation of sacred space was a puzzle, and that in the end, the puzzle would be complete,

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[6] The Village leadership thought Cohen Shaul would bring his family. As he brought other Israelites in addition, there has been some conflict regarding the area they were given.

[7] When he says father he refers to their messiah, Ben Ammi, who usually goes by the name 'Abba' which means father in Hebrew.

and the whole world would have realized that they were right and begun following the law of God.

Life in Selepe was much more basic than in Johannesburg, where the State House had most modern amenities like a shower, a nice kitchen and a toilet with plumbing. Shabbat, beginning on Friday evening and lasting to Saturday evening, was the most important day in the Israelite week. Around sunset on Friday, dinner was served—the last meal for 24 hours as Shabbat is spent fasting. The body had to be clean, 'holy' and presentable for God, as the next 24 hours was spent in his service alone. Big pots of water were boiled over the bonfire—and while it was heating up, the Israelites got out their nicest clothes. Bodies were washed using a small water tub—and everybody was waiting patiently for their turn. After dinner, we sat down either outside or in the main house and read out loud from the Bible or from a speech by Ben Ammi before an early night. The whole Saturday was spent in prayer, and keeping different classes where the Israelites taught each other Hebrew and had discussions regarding spirituality and the state of the world and South Africa. While most things were different between Johannesburg and Selepe, it was very evident on Shabbat, as the ritual of cleaning and 'sanctifying' was done more or less collectively. At the State House, people more often than not withdrew into their rooms, though sometimes they also socialized on Friday evening.

In general, the communal lifestyle, which was important to the Israelites was much stronger in Selepe than in Johannesburg. The city was believed to be polluting both bodily and spiritually. Stress was also rampant, polluted air and worldly temptations were closer. Such a communal lifestyle was preferred as people kept an eye on each other, and actions that went against this lifestyle were heavily frowned upon. The Israelites told me they felt much safer and calmer in Selepe than they did in the city. They hoped to be an imitation of the Village of Peace in Israel, but there was something distinctly South African about it. The general life in the Selepe was very basic—and the life of the Israelites living there was likewise very simple. The area in Selepe that belonged to the Israelites was a sacred space, connected to the Israelite network. It was a part of the South African assemblage and definitely showed how unique the South African project was when compared to the American or Israeli way of life

for Black Hebrews. The ideas, material and some people had come from Israel and the United States, merged with South African ideas and practices, and evolved into something unique in South Africa.

Conclusion

Globalization, with the increasing flow of people and information it entails, has helped promote the spread of new religious movements such as the one I have just described. As Manuel A Vásques argues, there is a difference between diasporic and transnational migration, where he defines diaspora as the 'forced, often traumatic dispersion from a homeland' (Vásquez 2008, 161) and goes on to quote William Safran who writes that the people of a diaspora might have 'a spiritual, emotional, and/or cultural home that is outside the hostland' (Safran 2004, 10 in Vásquez 2008, 161). While diaspora concerns 'ritualized and momentary fusions of past and future and connections with the homeland', the transnational entails day-to-day activities. For example, in the case of the Hebrew Israelites, the decisions of the leadership in Israel often have a direct influence on the Israelites in South Africa. As Vásques shows, these two categories are in no way separated in day-to-day life, and often meet. The South African Israelites feels they belong to an historical Israel and maintain links with Israelites at the 'Village of Peace' in Dimona through social media sites like Facebook, visiting each other, or the writing of reports. The South African Israelites therefore belong to a transnational imagined community and a mythic diasporic community at the same time as they belong to a transnational network of belonging.

As I have shown throughout this text, the South African Israelites belong to a transnational Israelite network in which different Israelite assemblages contain both people and objects who are central in the transformation of spaces. These assemblages transform as objects take on new meanings and as people take on different roles. The South African Israelites see themselves as a part of the Israelite diaspora which you can find all over Africa and, at the same time, they maintain a strong transnational tie to the Israelites on many continents. There is a constant movement between Israel and South Africa, which helps to main-

tain and develop the Israelite community. The Israelite assemblage first expanded into South Africa with Cohen Shaul in 1996, and through rituals and performances Shaul and the Israelites sacralized urban spaces and recruited new members contributing to establishing a strong and vital Israelite community in South Africa. This shows how mobile and ephemeral a sacred space can be. The Israelite assemblage has become territorialized in Johannesburg as their space, form and expression has become much more stabilized over the years.

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10

Angels and Ancestors: Prophetic Diversity and Mobility in the City

Matthew Wilhelm-Solomon, Melekias Zulu, and Eric Worby

Introduction

On almost every block of inner-city Johannesburg, there is a poster advertising a "Prophet," most often said to come from a distant region of Zimbabwe or further afield. The phenomenon of prophets selling their services has spread rapidly in the post-apartheid city and it has come alongside a resurgence of new evangelical and neo-Pentecostal prophetic movements in the city, even while older Zionist and Apostolic traditions persist, their adherents gathering on the mountainsides and beneath the bridges of the city. The Nigerian Pastor Chris Oyakhilome hires the

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'God's Land', Yeoville Ridge. Photograph by Eric Worby

Soccer City football stadium for his sermons, and local prophets such as Prophet Radebe of the Revelation church of God have crowds gathering in the streets and also pack stadiums over Easter. Even when one progresses through international arrivals at the airport, there is a sign announcing that the "Prophetic Channel" welcomes you. The multiplicity and diversity of prophetic forms, their relations to different spaces of the post-apartheid city and to diverse media, is the focus of this chapter.

Why are we trying to understand two arenas of analysis—prophecy and the urban? What, if anything are the connections between these, other than the empirical fact that there are those who are proclaimed as prophets in the city? Can a study of prophecy tell us anything about the post-apartheid city?

Religious sociology and anthropology from Weber onwards has attempted to establish an ideal type for the prophet, one that stands in contrast, for instance, to the healer and priest. However, in the African context and in our fieldwork in Johannesburg, this definition cannot apply. There

is a constant slippage of the use of the term prophet between the healer, sorcerer and the priest, and in fact this can be traced historically.

Our question here is not what a prophet is, *but what do prophets do*?[1] And in particular, what do they do in the city? What forms of capacitation, evasion and mobility do they cultivate, and at what cost?

Prophets have visions. They incarnate the word of God, or sometimes of angels or spirits. They heal, or claim to do so. They touch the bodies of their followers. They post signs on lamp posts or make pod-casts; they also produce objects and substances—DVDs, shards of bottles, mucous and blood in buckets, ash. These substances are amplified as forms of evidence: evidence that the blocked passages to freedom have been opened, and the obstacles cut away. The prophetic in the urban involves first diagnosing the presence of evil and impediment and then expelling it, thereby making visible an unencumbered future. Prophetic visions and incarnations also are primarily channelled through the bodies of men, and the bodies and experiences of women are made peripheral or not given the full status of prophets.

Prophecy in its various forms operates through vision and surgery—cutting away the waste which blocks a prosperous and mobile future. This waste is not only the hauntings of a disturbed past—malevolent spirits and relatives who inhabit the flesh of the living—but also objects and substances which must be discarded and left aside. These discarded objects, or other waste matter, provide evidence of what has been cleansed or cleared away so that one can now access a future freedom—they provide the proof that physical and social mobility is now possible. If, as Appadurai (2013) argues, the future is a "cultural fact," then it must also have its artefacts. Prophets mediate disjunctive temporalities, distant spaces, plural social and moral orders (see also the introduction to this volume). In doing so, they create an assemblage of artefacts, substances and practices that bear the traces of diverse histories, ontologies and divinatory or healing traditions; they provide empirical evidence that a provisional freedom can be achieved—indeed that it can be made visible as an accomplished, if evanescent, fact.

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[1] In this move, we mirror Deleuze's (1990) analysis of the body in his reflections on Spinoza, in asking, not what a body is, but "what can a body do?"

This chapter is based on ethnographic fieldwork and narrative interviews conducted by the authors, both individually and collaboratively, in Johannesburg between 2013 and 2015. We analyse three dominant strands of prophecy in the city: prophetic evangelism and neo-Pentecostalism, Apostolic and Zionist prophets, and commercial prophets who assimilate diverse traditions.

Defining Prophecy

The foundational sociological definition of a prophet derives from Weber (1978, 439–441) who defines the "prophet" as "a purely individual bearer of charisma, who by one's mission proclaims religious teaching or divine commandment." A prophet, in contrast to the priest who relies on sacred texts and religious institutions, foments a rupture with tradition through the declaration of new revelations. Weber also distinguishes the prophet from either the priest or the magician: he or she is a figure outside of economic exchange who cannot accept fees for his revelations. Both the prophet and the magician rely on divination and displays of charisma along with "special magical or ecstatic abilities" as a testament to their powers: however, unlike the performance of a magician, "prophecy is free of charge." Nonetheless, the prophet may establish a community of followers who help them in turn with housing and food. The Weberian notion of prophecy however has little application to how prophecy has come to be understood, both in scholarship and colloquially, in the African context.

As Anderson and Johnson (1995), in their seminal study of prophecy in East Africa *Revealing Prophets* argue, very rarely do those characterised as prophets in Africa and elsewhere represent a radical break from tradition solely based on the power of charisma. Rather, prophets often work within prophetic idioms and traditions which are very diverse. While the Christian tradition of the prophet is linked to that of predicting the future (in particular forecasting the coming of the Messiah) and is linked to eschatology, empirical studies of prophecy in Africa show that these traditions are much more complex. Anderson and Johnson (1995, 14) define prophecy in terms of three characteristics. Firstly, it

has a "mantic" dimension which "refers to the possession, cultivation and declaration of knowledge, whether of the future or of the commonly unknown present or past." By this definition, prophecy can also encompass the practices of diviners, healers and seers among others. Furthermore, prophecy is characterised by "inspired speech" that is enacted through "prophetic idioms" that often draw upon diverse religious traditions. In this respect, prophets often work within traditions that may be distinct from those of diviners or healers. Finally, they argue that (2014, 15) "there can be distinct idioms and traditions of spirit mediumship, of divination, or of healing, as well as those of prophecy; and that internal definitions are likely to be more helpful than externally imposed categories in differentiating between them." In this respect, they challenge any reliance on the Weberian ideal type of the prophet and call attention instead to the local histories and languages that define prophecy. Nonetheless, they try to distinguish the prophet from the diviner, seer or spirit medium by arguing that "a prophet must be concerned with the wider moral community at a social or political level" and significantly, that "the prophet is also a barometer of social and political behaviour" (2014, 16).

The emphasis on situating prophecy within local idioms and traditions, and concrete historical situations, is critical for this chapter. However, distinguishing prophecy from forms of divination and healing based on its appeal to a moral community, whether future or present, is not meaningful empirically, precisely because many religious functions, performed by traditional healers and priests explicitly do address a wider moral community, a matter we will address below.

Prophetic Traditions in Southern Africa

It is unclear when the term "prophet" came into use in relation to African religious practices. The conflation of the term "prophets" with indigenous religious leaders and traditional healers goes back to at least the late nineteenth century. For instance, the cover of Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1873 had on its cover an image of what appear to be

isiZulu traditional healers with the title "Old Heathen Zulu Prophets."[2] However, even while the semantic labelling of African healers and religious leaders as prophets may be part of colonial discourse, its contemporary usage is not simply a product of colonial mislabelling but reveals an important part of the historical formation of African Christianities in response to the colonial encounter.

African prophetic traditions have stemmed from forms of vernacular divination, but also from religious innovation brought about in the colonial encounter (see Sundkler 1961; Comaroff and Comaroff 2009). As Jacob Olupona (2014, 100) notes, the emergence of prophecy was an important part of the emergence of the African Independent Churches (AICs), whose leaders often considered themselves prophets, and which "take African cosmology seriously and make great efforts to root their theologies in terms and practices that make sense to Africans." Nonetheless as Olupona (2104, 101) notes, many of the AICs rejected African indigenous religious practices, resulting in a "striking ambiguity towards African religions' textures in prophetic churches." This ambivalence remains key to understanding contemporary forms of prophecy. Contemporary understandings of prophecy in Africa arise from the colonial encounter, but are formed through the mediation of Christian and African indigenous cosmologies. In the late nineteenth century, black resistance to white missionaries, and the emergence of black prophets, laid the basis for the formation of twentieth-century prophetic movements and influenced the emergence of an incipient black nationalism (Chidester 1992; Comaroff and Comaroff 2009; Kiernan 1995; Villa-Vicencio 1995).

Of particular concern to the missionaries were the new prophets who "applied the idiom of Revelation to their historical conditions" and used "biblical rhetoric against the evangelists" (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009, 97). Many new prophets rejected the work of missionaries and vilified white invasion; they "forged a new style of worship, taking charge of a flame kindled long ago in another wilderness of the human spirit" and in doing so heralded "the rise of a vitally transformed, Africanized Christianity" (ibid., 100). The most powerful form in which these move-

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[2] This cover is on display at Museum Africa in Newtown, Johannesburg.

ments continued into the twentieth century were in the Zionist prophetic movements. The power of prophets also lay in their mediating role: "as messengers and intermediaries of God, they enabled him to dwell among them in human form, and so made real the Christian promise" (ibid., 111). It is noticeable that while a number of the early black visionaries and prophets of the nineteenth century were women, most of the prophets of the twentieth century were men, a tradition that still continues today.

The major prophetic traditions of the twentieth century developed from the Zionist and Apostolic traditions. Zionist prophetic traditions extend back to the early twentieth century in Johannesburg, stemming from an evangelical movement in the USA. Its exact origins are disputed (see Sundkler 1961; Kiernan 1995; Anderson 1992), but the movement was established in Johannesburg in the early twentieth century with a particular appeal to migrant workers on the Witwatersrand. The most powerful of these was the Zionist Christian church; however, numerous branches of Zionism spread throughout the country and region. Other prophetic movements notably include that of Isaiah Shembe—founder of the prophetic Nazareth or Nazaretha church (also known by variations of isiZulu *Ibandla lamaNazaretha*, or simple as the "Shembe") in the mountains of Kwa-Zulu around 1910 (Cabrita 2014). As scholar Liz Gunner (2004, 7) has documented, he spoke of "national exile, poverty and alienation." Finally, in Zimbabwe, there was the emergence of the Apostolic prophetic movements. Of particular relevance for this chapter is the prophet Johane Masowe who founded his church in 1933 in Salisbury in what was then Rhodesia (Engelke 2005). In describing himself as the African John the Baptist along with encouraging followers to burn their Bibles, Masowe initiated a radical break with colonial religious tradition. Masowe inspired several apostolic sects that followed his teachings, which involved distancing themselves from the colonial administration rather than active rebellion. The case of Masowe, according to Engelke (2007, 93), provides insight into the characteristics of prophets more generally: "Prophets are not always possessed, and when they are not possessed they are no different from other people and can (in theory) make no claims to an inherent authority. In a strict sense, then, Johane Masowe was not a human but a spirit sent by God who spoke

through the body of Shoniwa Masedza. As humans, prophets are always learning, subject to their own desires, and forced constantly to negate their roles in a religious community with their relationships in the spirit world." Nonetheless, prophetic possession is bound up with embodied and gendered authority, as Mukonyora (2007) notes; the dominance of male prophets and preachers among the Masowe Apostles has been a way in which men reassert dominance over female bodies, and over marginal spaces. Hence, prophecy as incarnation has often been implicated in contestations over bodies and land.

The history of prophecy in Southern Africa over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been shaped by responses to broader processes of discrimination and dispossession. Zionist and Apostolic traditions—loosely categorised as AICs—have often arisen during times of social transition, particularly as a result of the dispossessions caused by colonialism and apartheid (Anderson 1999; Engelke 2007; Olupona 2014). Pentecostal prophetic traditions were to significantly inspire the black consciousness movement. As Magaziner (2010) documents, student leaders in the formation of black consciousness adopted prophetic idioms, and were themselves self-styled prophets. In the latter half of the twentieth century, black Pentecostal churches and black theology and their prophetic traditions began to play a powerful role in the formation of black consciousness and resistance to apartheid. The most overt statement linking prophetic traditions with liberationist theology was the 1985 (revised 1986) Kairos document written in Soweto during the time of the state of emergency. Although its authors were unknown, it was signed by a wide interdenominational set of churches. The key tenets of a prophetic theology, elaborated in opposition to a state theology which supported white totalitarian rule were that prophetic theology is a "call to action"; that "prophecy is always confrontational. It confronts the evils of the time and speaks out against them in no uncertain terms." The prophetic theology of the Kairos document does not speak specifically about divine mediation of the word of God, but is part of a longer prophetic tradition in South Africa in which prophets diagnose forms of oppression and resistance and offer visions of hope to overcome these. However, as Chidester (2012, 97) notes, the term "prophetic" itself was contested, as the Calvinist Dutch Reformed church, which provided

the theological legitimation for apartheid, also claimed it was serving a prophetic mission. Chidester documents how this dispute was raised between the Zion Christian church (ZCC) and the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and notes that the "different constructions of the prophetic role—critical speech, powerful silence—were left unresolved at the hearings" (2012, 98).

This overt strand of liberation prophecy has however more or less disappeared in post-apartheid and post-colonial period where prophets are far more oriented to individual salvation and prosperity than overt challenges to the state and capitalism. In the post-colonial and post-apartheid period, prophecy in Southern African has taken on a less political and strongly economic tone, and also become indivisible from many forms of both faith and traditional healing. The conflation of the prophetic and diagnostic, along with the prophetic and economic has been addressed by Richard Werbner (2011) in his study of Apostolic prophets in urban Botswana. Werbner characterises youthful Apostolic prophets as "holy hustlers." Not to be confused with mere charlatans, Werbner foregrounds how these prophets combine in their very personhood seemingly contradictory qualities. "They are, paradoxically, selfless and yet also self-willed; they are highly individualistic and yet engaged with deliberately confronting the risks and dangers as subjects who are not merely individuals but also permeable individuals" (2011, 2). At some moments, they appear to be nakedly "materialist" in their acquisitiveness—extorting payment for the performance of exorcisms. Yet in such performances they endanger themselves, sharing the vulnerability of their patients to witchcraft or attack by occult forces that use hidden material objects, substances and commodities that are suffused with evil. The intimate relation of these "Holy Hustlers" to commodity circuits—as both consumers and destroyers of desirable, if dangerous, things—is also related to the contemporary material manifestations of witchcraft in the urban environment. The link between evangelical forms of prophecy and finance capital has also been noted by Jane Guyer (2007) who argues that both forms focus on the immediate present, and long-term vision, but evacuate the near future. This will be important for our conception of prophets in the city who are required both to provide immediate physical and

material evidence of their powers, and at the same time to demonstrate that a future of freedom and social mobility for their clients is possible.

New Prophetic Spaces in Johannesburg

God's Land

On an empty hillock, between the water towers and Ponte City, just beside a once-elegant 1930s-era apartment complex and the concrete frame of a half-built two-storey structure, a patch of land has been seemingly left aside in the hustle and trade of the city's speculative property market. Atop this grassy hill, and among the exposed outcrops of reddened stone and yellowing brush of the land that falls away below it in the shadow of the Ponte tower, religious congregations of all sorts gather alongside solitary supplicants, most of them turned towards the cement structure in the east, where the words "Hold Hands—God's Land" are scrawled in white paint across the side of the never-to-be-completed frame of the second floor. The structure's form mirrors the half-built theologies that unfold beneath it, inviting visions and reconstructions, incantations and song, fuelled by holy water and fire. God's Land is a site in which the plurality of prophetic forms and forces coalesce in the urban space, their voices blending and mixing with smoke and traffic, dissolving into the leaden pall that falls across the evening sky. It is here that Apostolic, Zionist and Pentecostal prophets gather their clients and evanescent congregations. The space reveals, perhaps more than any other, the radical diversity of prophecy in Johannesburg, the ways in which the sonic, moral, material and dramaturgical debris of creolising religious traditions take seed and flourish in the wild grass and charcoal-stained soil of the urban landscape.

The prophets range in age from very young adults to grandparents. Some have no congregation of their own, but seize the opportunity of unclaimed land to poach clients from more established churches through continuously reinvented practices of prayer and faith healing. Some prophets accompany clients to the hill in order to pray with and for them, or to ritually cleanse them, sometimes erecting temporary structures for steam baths, but more often blessing water brought in buckets

from a tap that flows from the reservoir beneath the water tower. There are also individual pastors of Pentecostal churches who come to rehearse their sermons on top of the unfinished cement structure, while homeless men and addicts idle away the time below. As one of the daily pilgrims to God's Land told us, here in this open space, unlike in the dense residential areas of Yeoville and Hillbrow nearby, no one listens to, or cares about what you are saying. "People must not hear of your needs, otherwise they will perpetuate your suffering," he elaborated. "But here, you can open up your heart to God without fear."

In addition to prophets ministering to large congregations of white-robed Masowe Apostolics, and colourfully robed Zionist prophets seeing to smaller groups, there are also traditional healers who frequent the area to carry out ritual cleansings of their clients, most often in the partially hidden enclaves among the clusters of bushes that pocket the broken land, sloping unevenly down towards Joe Slovo Avenue and Ponte City from the hilltop. There are also individual worshippers who visit the space to pray by themselves or to carry out a ritual in isolation that has been recommended by a prophet or traditional healer. The mountainside is littered with spiritually contaminated objects that they have left behind—the ejecta of ritual purification or exorcism—which other sojourners along the slopes must take care to leap over lest they too be contaminated with umnyama—bad luck (Zulu and Wilhelm-Solomon 2015).

From dawn to dusk, and even into the night, God's Land is inhabited by voices: by glossolalia, gospel and gossip; by shouting, chanting, wailing and singing. Those who come there also casually socialise, speaking more mundanely with one another of the latest news from distant homelands, the triumphs of getting a job or the suffering of unemployment, the scandals in the churches and the advertisement of exceptional powers by prophets. Many of the Apostolic and Zionist prophets who gather in God's Land serve as both visionaries and diagnosticians. They understand themselves, and are understood by others, to be people who have a divinely granted power to "see" the revelations of God that account for the situation or complaint of the enquirer, whether it be a run of bad luck or a debilitating illness. If you were to ask a church member "What is a prophet?", the answer would be that

a prophet is a person who is able to see not only *what* it is that is troubling you, but who also sees the *reasons* for those troubles, and how they may be addressed or resolved. This last attribute is often given greatest importance: members of a wide range of Zionist churches have told us that a prophet's primary function is to heal. For this purpose, they give holy water, cords of power for protection, and prescribe ritual uses for powerful material objects that aim towards healing. Prophets are also seen as people who give direction and counsel for all kinds of problems. They are understood to be the moral compass of the congregation; they instruct the congregation on how to live a Christian life, how to maintain a proper marriage and how to raise children. They encourage members to try if possible to be self-employed so as to have time for regular prayer. In what follows, we describe our encounter with one such prophet in detail.

One morning in February, 2014, as two of us (EW and MZ) chatted next to the concrete structure beside God's Land, we noticed a young man wearing new black lace-up boots, stylish jeans and a tight-fitting Barcelona football jersey performing a curious ritual around a white Suzuki hatchback parked along the curb. The car was not in very bad shape, although it wasn't a recent model. All four of its doors were opened wide and as the young man walked around it, he cast coarse salt inside through the door openings as well as on the tires and roof. We greeted him and introduced ourselves, saying that we wanted to understand what he was doing. The car, he informed us, belonged to a woman who lived somewhere down the hill in the direction of Ponte City who had been consulting him about her troubles. He had asked the woman, "Isn't it that you feel tired when you get in this car?" She agreed that this was the case and after further divination, he diagnosed the presence in the car of a snake—one that only he could see with the aid of the Holy Spirit—that was making it difficult for the car to start and causing other problems. So, he explained, he was now using the salt to drive out the snake and to cleanse the car of other evil things. He was not using ordinary salt, but rather holy salt that he had previously prayed over. After the salt cleansing ritual, he said that he would drive the car back to the woman (who was not present during the ritual) and they would then pray together over the car.

Siphiwe (pseudonym)[3] is typical of the many young prophets found on the hill. He is vibrant, enthusiastic and very confident in the powers that he deploys. Born in Insiza District in western Zimbabwe, he completed Form 2 in Bulawayo, and then worked for a time herding cattle in Botswana before coming to Johannesburg to live with his uncle in Berea. He said that he had no permanent job at present, but had worked recently on a short-term contract as a builder's assistant at the University of Johannesburg. He was now looking for work of some kind. Indeed, he argued that it was very important for one to work for oneself, not simply rely on others for money. But this was difficult for him, because he was called to a life of prophecy. "If you have a call," he said, "God won't allow you to work because you won't have time to help people." Much of his theological position, as he came to explain it, was organised around ideas related to the obligation to work hard, to share what wealth one has and to help others in need. He insisted that he would never take money in exchange for his prophecies or his prayers, citing the relevant biblical passage from Mark 10 about the difficulty a rich man will have gaining access to heaven.

Siphiwe is now a full-time prophet, mainly operating from God's Land, although he belongs to a branch of the Twelve Apostles church that worships nearby in Hillbrow. When we asked him how he had discovered his gift of prophecy, he described several key events. On one occasion, he woke up as a person who had been dead for about 30 minutes, and while he was in that state, he had a vision that he was trying to enter the gates of heaven, but was turned away and told that he must go and help others. When he woke, he phoned a relative of the dead person and after praying for him, the dead person came back to life. He went on to tell us about the next miracle that he had performed. A woman he knew was attending to her dying child in hospital in Bulawayo. The doctors had effectively given up on the child and told them to leave. The woman called Siphiwe who was far away, but Siphiwe told her to put the phone on the child's chest and then he prayed for the child over the phone. Soon after, they left the hospital and the child recovered. He followed this story with another about a woman who came to consult him because her husband had been

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[3] Pseudonyms in this chapter are acknowledged in-text. Otherwise names are used where interviewees requested or are in the public domain.

missing for four years. After only four hours of prayer with Siphiwe, the husband had suddenly called her again and soon returned to her.

For these prophecies and miracles to work, Siphiwe explained, it was necessary for the supplicant to have faith. Only then could the Holy Spirit work through Siphiwe in order for him to "see" inside a person and determine how it was that they were being "blocked"—whether by a demon or some other bad force. Then he could pray for the person and the Holy Spirit would work through them to take away the blockage or drive out the demon that was standing in the way of their ability to achieve their goals or to solve a problem. When we asked what he thought about those who used traditional medicines, he said that they wouldn't work and could even be very bad or dangerous. For example, someone might give you some herbs to burn or a small stick that could turn out to be a tokoloshe (a malevolent spirit, often represented in the guise of hairy dwarf). He said that sometimes he could sense the presence of such evil objects during the church service. He reasserted that the only way to heal effectively was with Holy Water. As he was explaining this, the three of us observed a group dressed in white, gathered around a woman who was kneeling and screaming loudly, shaking her head. Others were holding a stretched out square of white cloth over her head like a canopy, while others poured what looked like water on top of the cloth which was being held above her. We asked Siphiwe whether it was just water, and Siphiwe replied that it probably was but that sometimes people used other substances such as milk. These were not as effective, he asserted. "She has a demon inside her that they are trying to drive out," he said.

As we were saying goodbye, Siphiwe asked if we would allow him to pray for us. We agreed and walked with him towards the western side of the hill, passing many other groups of Zionists, Apostolics and individuals in prayer. Two people—a man and a woman—rose to greet him. We were asked to remove our shoes and then to kneel facing east, the direction where the sun rises, which we did. Then the three of them began to pray in tongues. This went on for perhaps only two or three minutes, and then he said that he was going to pray for each of us individually, in turn. One of us (EW) remained kneeling beside Siphiwe, who put his hands on EW's head and stomach and again prayed intensely, mostly in tongues. Then he told EW that he could tell that there was something wrong in his belly, probably ulcers, but that also there was a man who wanted to

do something good for him. He said that he wanted to assist in making that good thing happen more quickly but this problem with the ulcers was acting like a block to those good things being realised. So he wanted EW to allow himself to be healed with holy water the next week. Then he repeated the same procedure for MZ, except in this case he took a bottle of water and sprinkled it on MZ's head. He prophesied that MZ was in danger of having a car accident that would disable him and put him in a wheelchair, which he promised to prevent if we purchased holy water and returned next week.

MZ did meet Siphiwe again for a consultation, and affirmed the ways in which telecommunications technologies formed a key part of his rituals, with recordings being used as a means of testifying to his powers. Siphiwe played him a recording on his phone of a women named Sihle, who had been possessed by the malevolent spirit of a jealous relative. The name of the relative, whom Siphiwe had divined to be a witch, was later identified when the recording was played back to Sihle. The possessed woman was instructed to burn the evil objects through which the dead relative had bewitched her, thereby blocking her life opportunities. The anecdote once again reveals how "prophecy" as practice involves a plurality of roles, including speaking with the dead, exorcism and healing, and that the visions, voices and invisible forces involved are transmitted through everyday technologies and through objects charged with moral power.

One noticeable ritual which reveals the materiality of prophecy on God's Land is "bombing." In this ritual, supplicants write their needs and desires on pieces of paper, submerge them in holy water that they have poured into a specified number of beer bottles of varying colours, and finally smash the bottles against a rocky outcrop. "Bombing" is a ritual that encompasses other rituals of protection, success, deliverance and fortification. The act of smashing the bottles is meant to attack the agents of one's misery, misfortune and illness. It is also a confrontational ritual, as we will go on to describe. There are two prophets—Dube and Ncube—that we (EW, MZ) met who conduct the "bombing." Like Siphiwe, they belong to branches of the Twelve Apostles church. A typical worship service begins with people coming to the hill in the morning around 9 am. People come individually, in pairs or in groups and wait for the prophets. The prophet usually comes late—his authority augmented

by his capacity to make people wait—and as soon as he arrives, the service begins. The prophet or one of his associates usually introduces the message for the occasion, leading to the opening prayer when each individual is asked to pray for his or her needs. They pray facing the sunrise in the east. There is no rigidly gendered seating order here as there is in the Masowe Apostolic churches. Usually women sit on the eastern side and men on the western side, although often they intermingle. In the service, the prophet prays for each individual present and sprinkles holy water on them. Water is blessed in 20 litre buckets and each person is prayed for by the prophet and told the number of empty beer bottles needed. Then the bottles are bought for R1 each from a woman who readily supplies them near the congregation. The prophet also makes predictions, noting whether the omen is bad or will bring the person affliction. Then the person is told what prayers they must perform, or rituals of cleansing or protection they must undertake, as well as the materials and substances they must purchase in prophylaxis against whatever evil may befall them. But beyond preventing misfortune, the bombing event is meant to bring to fruition the wishes of the person, whatever these may be.

The theory of bombing is based on the belief that the act of throwing and breaking the bottles destroys afflictions and predicaments foreseen by the prophets, breaking bonds of witchcraft, disease and illness. It opens opportunities for employment, and restores good family relations and good health. Because the water that is poured into the bottles is blessed by the prophet, the shaking of the bottle has the effect of shaking off the bonds of affliction, of loosening whatever has been a hindrance in one's life. The blessed water washes these bonds away and leaves a person free to realise their desires. The breaking of the bottles similarly signifies the breaking of binding ties and the freeing of the individual from blockages and inhibitions. The bombing ritual illustrates an important dimension of how prophecy works. As much as it involves supernatural vision and incarnation, it also uses everyday artefacts to solve day to day domestic struggles—the shards of demolished bottles bearing material witness to a freedom created through ritual action.

But of course these prophets are not accepted by everyone without cynicism. One of our key informants, Lindelwa (pseudonym), described the prophets as wise counsellors and hustlers; people who earn a living by

deciphering other people's problems through everyday wisdom and then giving them iziwasho—salts, herbs and water as a means of effecting solutions. She said that the consultation fee depends upon what the prophet deems to be the client's ability to pay. It could be R50 per consultation or more. According to her, the clients pay up to R15,000 for the total cost of healing. She believed that healing is primarily transactional—a matter of selling a service of dubious authenticity for profit—and argued that the prophets are seen by many as capitalising on people's vulnerability, ignorance and fear of witchcraft to earn a living from them. Although she is perhaps vindicated when one considers that prophet Dube drives a BMW, it is clear enough that her disparaging moral sentiments are not shared by the numerous people who come to consult with the prophets, and willingly pay money to do so.

God's Land is imbued with spiritual significance for those who worship there. But it is equally a site of primarily aesthetic value for middle-class people from the suburbs who stop by to view the cityscape or to shoot advertising films, and one that holds utilitarian values such as dumping or recycling for others still. Privately owned, but accessed by a diverse public without restriction, it is also a space of synchronicity and conflict. Diverse prophetic narratives intermingle and are contested in this space, and leave their traces—the burnt rubber from fires and charred ground, the broken glass and the litter from passers-by. But it is also a space of temporary solace and synchronicity—most of the congregants of diverse backgrounds face the east to pray, giving homage to God as the source of the sun and warmth. God's land, like other sites of worship, is also a space of passage, of thoroughfare, connected in many ways to the city beneath and around it, as the story below shows.

Of Mountains and Mine Dumps

Prophet Tshabalala came to South Africa via Botswana in 2002. While in the city, he started his solitary wanderings along its ridges, mine dumps and highways, looking for a place of prayer. As a teenager in Zimbabwe he had followed the Zionists to the mountains of Plumtree, where he took part in their steaming rituals and prayer—it was here where he had

discovered his powers of prophecy. When he arrived in Johannesburg, he sought to find a spiritual home in the city. He lived six months in Yeoville and started praying with others at God's Land. However, after their worshippers were harassed by "tsotsis" (criminals), they moved to a place beneath the N1 Germiston freeway near Edenvale, in the east of the city.

Eventually, Tshabalala found a job in Booysens in a factory manufacturing pressure valves where he worked for four years. He moved to Rosettenville where he continued his searching along its koppies and hillocks. He found Zionists conducting steam bathing alongside the mountain and joined them. These high and hilly areas, which call up associations with Biblical landscapes, have particular power for churches and prophets in the city. "I was always watching the mountain. When I was off I went on top of the mountain to pray by myself. I saw smoke and went to investigate whether there were people steam bathing. I went to them," says Tshabalala. "I did not tell them that I am a prophet, I just prayed with them and said that I wanted to be prophesied. They only saw when we were praying that I am a prophet," he says.

We (MWS, MZ) asked him to explain what a prophet is. "A prophet speaks directly to God," he explains. "He hears the voice of God. It will be in tongues. You will be asking what the problem is. It changes the language … It also changes my language when I am talking, exchanging words. It's like when I am talking to this man; it can take my vision back from his birth, background and show me when the problem came. I am praying for this man and it changes my vision … I will see the problem."

The role of the prophet, he explains, is also to tell the future, or at least possible futures, and also to advise on the better paths. The prophet hence serves several roles: a conduit for God, a healer and an oracle.

"I have prophesised many people and in most cases, I have been correct," explained Tshabalala, "Sometimes prophecies take time to happen. Sometimes people remind me of some prophesy that I had long back given. A prophecy can happen today, tomorrow or next year. Thus prophesying comes … It's not a must to prophesy. If you come to me, I have to find a way to speak honestly of what I have been told. Speak not to impress someone. If someone comes for good news but there is a problem I have to tell them. Fix the problem and then your life is going to be OK … I am not supposed to impress people and say that you are going to be

a millionaire when the spirit is not saying that … You see our church is for poor people who are suffering. When you read the bible, for someone to be a prophet you need to be chosen by God."

Tshabalala does not make money from his prophecy and continues to work helping his brother transport goods back and forth from Zimbabwe. He explained that his church The Church of Christ in Zion is a church for the poor, mainly migrants, whose congregants are in search of good-health and prosperity.

The church holds rituals of steaming in tent-like structures on the mountainside of Rosettenville. The steaming is a purification of misfortune, understood in Southern African world views as a form of contagion often caused by witchcraft (Ngubane 1977; Thomas 1994). As one of the members, whom we shall call Samuel, explained: "Tshabalala is a prophet. A prophet is someone who speaks directly to God. People have misfortune. We can't be healed by one thing. People will be faced with different problems. The steam bathing helps to sweat out impurities from bewitching … In the home are you are not looking for employment. In the city, you can face stagnation, so you look for a prophet."

The church, however, does not claim to cure all diseases and those thought to be suffering from illnesses such as HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis are encouraged to go to clinics. Tshabalala wryly acknowledges that even though it is a church of the poor, those who succeed in the city will move on to other, wealthier churches. "Zionists made many people to move from one step to another. I know that as I have friends who now have buses whom we used to steam together. He has seven buses. But now you cannot see by the Zionist church," he says. He says that it is mainly migrants who seek prophecy, both those from Zimbabwe and from within South Africa. "Joburg has many challenges of job," he explains. "People need luck to get jobs. That's why there are many false prophets … When we're in Joburg we are all foreigners."

The personal narratives of prophets are a key dimension to the prophetic role. Their own personal journeys, like the prophets of the Old Testament, are integral to their insights and discoveries. However, the prophetic act is still aimed at advising on pathways into the city and fos-

tering upward mobility. This requires clearing away the detritus (cf Chari 2013), stagnation and ghosts of the past.

The Prophets of the Masowe

One of the authors (MWS) met a woman called Ella (pseudonym) in an unlawfully occupied building in inner-city Johannesburg. She had come to Johannesburg to look for work. While wandering the city she had noticed a woman wearing a white robe, which she identified as the Masowe. The women guided her to the site of the Masowe on the old Village Main Mine (See Malcomess and Wilhelm-Solomon, this volume). Other residents of the building explained that Ella was a prophet and often had a line outside her room for her services, for which she charged. She told MWS though that "I don't prophesy," she only had "prophetic dreams." She explained that women could not be prophets among the Masowe, even though they could speak directly the word of God. The prophets in her congregation gave people stones, which were blessed with the waters of the often toxic streams running through the city.

In their ceremonies, they communicate directly with the Holy Spirit—"We are living the word. We don't have to read the word" she explained. "The holy ghost is teaching, the holy ghost is inside us, he preaches fresh things from God, not rotten things." She says now there are many prophets in the church and no hierarchy as everyone wears the same things. The use of stones—*muteuro*—is because Moses received the Ten Commandments on stones. Prayers do not have the same meaning without stones. She notes that you can take any stone, but it is better from the streams: "if you take a stone from the street where somebody was killed, it might have blood on it, but in the water it will be clean." The blood can be a cause of misfortune. Ella explained that Prophets speak about the challenges facing migrants, and she said that prophets warned about the xenophobic violence of 2008. Now they warn people about being deported. Her story reveals that while Masowe prophets have a long tradition and engagement with the conditions of migration and dislocation, particularly among urban dwellers in Zimbabwe (Engelke 2007; Mukonyora 2007), their roles and structures evolve with a specific

context. Prophecy aims to enable freedom and mobility—evading violence, crime and deportation, clearing the rot away. Nonetheless within these evolving diasporic forms there are still attempts to exert authority over women's bodies, as well as to adapt to the economic needs of the city.

In one Masowe ceremony in Wemmer Pan area of the Johannesburg that one of the authors (MZ) attended, the economic dimension of prophecy was apparent. Prophet Ncube (pseudonym) is a Masowe prophet who belongs to a Masowe branch called Jerusalema who gathers to worship along Wemmer Pan Road and the M2 highway at the old mining site in Village Main (see Malcomess and Wilhelm-Solomon, this volume). He uses the veld for ministry. The area is well away from the road and has huge gum trees which provide good shade against the sun. His clients start queuing around 5 am because it is "first come, first serve!" He attracts about 50 people a day. He arrives around 10 am or 11 am, and usually works without any assistants. As he begins the service, he announces that men should roll up their trousers, remove shoes and empty their pockets: no money, no coins, no watches or cell phone. The prophet was dealing with a man who had lost his job. The prophet pronounced:

"I want you now to call your employer and tell him that you want to have your job back. The company needs you. How can a class A journeyman be fired? *Imimoya* (spirits) disturbed you and intervened so that you were included the firing list. Call him now," said the prophet. Then the prophet knelt and prayed in tongues in loud voice. The young man went to the area where bags are left out of the praying space, took out his phone and called his employer. There was utter silence in the crowd. "Hallo sir, it's Mark. I am well. I would like to have my job back sir… I am at Rosettenville now and I can be there in an hour. Thank you, sir." This is the part of the conversation that we heard. The prophet shouted, "Amen! Alleluya!" Some people shouted the same, while others clapped hands.

The young man, Mark (pseudonym), was prayed for and given two *muteuro*—small blessed pebbles; one to keep in his pocket while the other he was to drop at his workplace. Mark was overjoyed and he gave the prophet R200, putting the money in the collection dish which circulates before the service. The prophet said to the crowd, "This is what happens when you believe!" This event boosted the image of the prophet as a miracle worker and left the crowd elated—here again, ritual and

technology provide evidence of mobility in the city. Prophetic journeys themselves are evidence that this is possible, as the story below reveals.

Of Angels and Ancestors

We (MWS, MZ) met Prophet Mzilani in his flat in Berea, near the long avenue of plane trees that joins Hillbrow with Yeoville. In the lounge, his wife and children sat watching cartoons on television. On the floor was Mzilani's altar place made of red, white and blue. White and blue are symbols of Zionism (of the Southern African, not the Israeli, variety), and red stands for ancestors. Across the flag lay a knife and small steel staff.

Mzilani's city is inhabited by both angels and ancestors. Mzilani was a security guard, who in the 1990s started receiving visions while working in the parking lot of a casino. His journeyings through the city had, like many migrants, been defined by constant itinerancy, a search for well-being and prosperity. He had arrived in Johannesburg from Bulawayo in the early 1990s where he worked in Killarney Mall and Linden Spar, before training as a security guard in Krugersdorp and working a series of different jobs, his hopes for the city eluding him.

Mzilani's life was troubled and he kept getting into arguments. He went to another sangoma in Booysens who told him: "You, don't continue working, you have got a call to help people, I can see that you see things, you are helping people, just take that call." Shortly afterwards, he had a dream that he had to go to Filabusi, an area of Matebeleland in Zimbabwe, but could not catch the exact name of the place. He went anyway, and found a sangoma, but it was the wrong person. He returned to South Africa, but his problems continued.

"I was having a big problem, so I went to a lady next to the Spar in Hillbrow. She said, no, that's not the person, that's not the one. Just keep on asking, you will find the place," he says. "I was like, ah, if they're sending me to the wrong person, it's their fault, they're the ones calling me."

However, Mzilani returned to Filabusi and following the directions of men on the roadside, offering them calabashes of beer, he found his way, guided by a young boy, to a woman in a remote village.

"When I arrived there that mama was praying using herbs. The mama came to greet me," he explains. "She said, 'I'm relieved, because I saw you in my dream coming straight to me, but today it was difficult for me to work, but I felt someone was still coming.' We went to the 'surgery.' She said, 'You have been sent to me by your ancestors. But I'm not Jesus. I can't solve all of your problems. But I can take those I can manage. If I finish, you can proceed somewhere.' That night she took me to the river to clean me. The night was dark. I was not feeling scared because I was expecting that if I get washed all my problems that I'm facing will be over."

She gave him some medicines and he returned to the city to work in a factory receiving containers. But he continued having difficulties in his life. He decided to return to Filabusi once again, where he stayed with Zionists conducting steaming rituals—purificatory ceremonies using hot stones and steaming in tents—and prayers in the valleys and mountainsides. "I started to prophecy seriously by that time, and healing people. So a lady says now you can prophet and heal people, so just go back to Johannesburg," he says. He explains the experience of prophecy: "When you pray a vision will come and open everything to you, and this person will have a problem … sometimes its a vision, sometimes its a voice. It's a voice that tells me, just a silent one." He returned to Johannesburg to find his first wife had left him. He had to take care of his son and continued working in security, but giving more prophecies, while still struggling with his own problems.

In Johannesburg, he met an inyanga who taught him how to use herbs. Mzilani's practice is an integration of the principles of herbal healing with the prayers and rituals of Zionist Christianity, though he is not part of any church. He claims to have both angels and ancestors speaking to him. Over the years, his reputation grew by word of mouth and so he no longer has to work in security. He has subsequently remarried and had more children. Most of his clients are migrants to Johannesburg, both from other parts of South Africa and from other countries.

"Here they find difficulties, so they look for someone to cleanse them to have good luck," he says: "You know, most of the people coming to Johannesburg expect to get a job and get paid, but when somebody finds that I was employed in insurance, I was employed in security, I have this

and this but can't find a job, they just want to check why he or she can't find the job they want. So we check."

He will also refer those whom he thinks he can't heal to the clinic or doctors, as in the case of HIV or TB: "Myself I tell people the truth. Sometimes I tell them, you, you don't have bad luck. It's only that the time we are living in now is challenging time, because a lot of people are educated, a lot of people have academic certificates, they've got diplomas, you see. Some of the people need experience when they employ you. So, it's difficult. It's not that you have got bad luck. Just continue looking for a job and one day you will have the luck to get the job you want."

Mzilani will also refer those who he believes are suffering from bio-medical and not spiritual ailments to clinics. However, not all have such pragmatic difficulties: "The biggest problem is that people have demons, because demons are working very hard to block somebody's way." Through the mediation of both angels and ancestors, Mzilani endeavours to clear away the blockages to mobility in the city.

Blood and Ash: Occult Economies of Prophecy in the City

Many prophets have adverts about their services posted all over the city: seeing your enemy in your mirror, cleansing misfortune and restoring fortune, keeping your wife or husband home and curing infertility. One of the authors (MZ) made contact with one of these prophets whom we shall call Prophet Tofara, through one of his advertisements. He met him attending to a number of people who were gathered in the bush, in search of good luck, solutions to family problems and jobs in the city. One woman had come to retrieve her husband who had abandoned her. Chickens were sacrificed and the prophecy-seekers were made to smear themselves with a mixture of blood and the ashes of herbs. They were then washed and blessed in water after which they were wrapped in white cloth, given a lit candle, given blessed water to drink and then prayed for. Some were cut with razors and had herbs and ash smeared into their skin. After the prayers Prophet Tofara circled those who had gathered singing.

MZ was asked to allow Prophet Tofara to make cuts in his skin with the razors they had purchased and then to smear the concoction of blood and ash over himself which would be washed away with the water. He refused and thereby incurred the displeasure of the prophet. Towards the end of the ceremony, the prophet called upon a man who had been possessed by a spirit sent by his mother-in-law. The man acknowledged that his mother-in-law had given him a root to bring to Johannesburg from Zimbabwe. He drove off with Prophet Z's assistants to collect the root. After 30 minutes of waiting, the man arrived carrying a plastic bag. The prophet jumped up and immediately began sprinkling the man with water and muttering some inaudible words. The man fell down, rolled on the ground and began screaming. One of the assistants grabbed the plastic bag from the man and tore it open. A bundle of roots fell out. The roots measured about ten centimetres and were nicely tied together. The prophets said that these were not roots but would soon turn into a goblin.

The remaining people stood in awe and fear. MZ was nervous especially because the man seemed to be in frenzy and in a state of possession and was now mumbling some words. The prophet and his assistant formed a circle around the man on the ground and prayed, rebuking the evil spirit. One of the assistants then fetched water which they sprinkled on the roots and on the man. The prophet instructed the driver and two of his assistant to fetch firewood. There was dead silence. Some minutes later, they brought firewood and lit a fire. The roots were thrown inside and the prophet made sure that they were burnt to ashes. Then all ashes from the fire were thrown into the stream. After the ceremony, the man's seizures quietened and he seemed very weak and lost. He was sprinkled with water and told to go home and sleep.

Although other practices, such as animal sacrifice, are a feature of more secretive prophetic traditions, it is rituals of cleansing and purification such as those just described that are common to diverse prophetic traditions across the city. For prophets and those who seek their help, a healthy future relies on purifying the malevolent forces at work in the present that can be caused by the bad intentions of others, by unhappy ancestors, or by demonic forces. Prayer and prophecy are ways of reading

the invisible in the visible, and then of taking appropriate measures to deal with what one now sees and comprehends.

Neo-Pentecostal and Evangelical Prophets

While Brazilian and Nigerian evangelical movements are vast in scale and reach, in South Africa they are only beginning to take hold. One of the largest new evangelic churches in the city is the Revelation church of God led by Prophet Radebe (introduced in Chap. 2). The appeal of the Revelation church certainly has a lot to do with the personal charisma of the Prophet Radebe and the sophistication of the operation of the Revelation church. While members of the church do not support ancestral worship, neither are they wholly antagonistic to it; in particular, they stress reverence to African tradition. While Radebe denounces sangomas, he certainly integrates much of their symbolism, in particular that of the spear. One sangoma we spoke to was sure that Radebe had been trained as a sangoma. While this is purely speculative, it does indicate the degree to which certain traditions have been internalised. Another significant difference between the evangelism of the Revelation church and that of the Universal church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG) is the former's very explicit engagement and attack on witchcraft. Much of the church's sermons and commodities are aimed at protection from witchcraft. The church also adopts a kind of localised ecumenical approach, with members of other churches welcome. We witnessed members of Zionist congregations, in their dress, in attendance. Several congregants we (MWS, MZ) spoke to also attend other churches in addition to Revelation. As the self-proclaimed "prophet of all nations" Radebe has a transnational and cross-class membership. He directly speaks to the formation of a new moral community that is not rooted in nationalism. The overt cross-ethnic, cross-national, stance makes the church quite politically radical in some sense; yet, at the same time, it is anti-Constitutional in its views of gender roles, for instance, proclaiming that women should be subordinate to men in the household.

The prophet is dressed in a long blue-patterned robe and carries a spear. The spear bears resemblance to that carried by sangomas in ceremonies.

However, one of his close followers explained that this is a reference to the spear Gabriel used when fighting the angel (although the Bible makes no mention of this). Hence, the role of the prophet is one of mediating and translating between different times and different idioms, between the living and the dead.

In one ceremony, we witnessed a woman go up to the stage and start speaking, but suddenly fall over writhing and shouting. A group of blue-robed men (the ushers/assistants) seized her and held the microphone out to her. She spoke in a gruff, terrifying voice—that of her dead mother calling her daughter to die and return to her. The mother's voice kept crying out, "My child, 'umntana wami'." The prophet invited the woman's lover, her twin sister and her baby child to the stage. The lover explained that the stricken woman had been working at Spar supermarket, but kept on fainting. The mother responded, speaking through the possessed woman, by saying that her daughter should not be working; instead, she should be caring for her.

The prophet asked the lover if they were married—and when told they were not he said that is one reason the mother is returning to haunt her daughter. Another reason, he said, was because the daughter had never accepted her death. The lover then agreed to marry the daughter. Eventually, after the marriage promise, the possessed daughter fell down and came to rest. When she got up again, she said she was very tired, and then burst into tears and tenderly embraced the prophet.

The song and euphoria around prophecy is not simply a gift of knowing futures or speaking with the dead; it is a way of making peace with the dead—allowing those who are silent to speak. The atmosphere of the ceremonies is trance-like. In the rituals of exorcism, in which demons are hurled out of their human hosts, many possessed members fall into the aisles in fits, some speaking in tongues, others crying out. Some of the congregants sometimes seem to go into epileptic-like fits, while others try to run away or fight having to be forcefully held. On another occasion, one of us witnessed a woman coughing up blood: the bloody spit and vomit was showed to all on the screen above the pulpit.

While the prophet claims to heal illness and offer protection from witchcraft (once we witnessed a dead owl—an animal associated with witchcraft—being shown around the crowd), many of the testimonies to

the prophet's powers are more concrete: finding piece-work, for example, or successfully raising money for a laptop. The church's congregants seek healing for an array of ailments: infertility, problems with pregnancy, and physical pain and HIV/AIDS. While the Revelation church did not want to be interviewed for this chapter, referring us to its public materials, a senior member of the church noted via email: "we never claim that we heal or cure TB or HIV and we never even claim that we heal people, the power of Jesus is the only one that is at work at Revelation church of God." Nonetheless, an edition of the church's newspaper *Isambula* contains a testimony of a woman who claims to have been healed of HIV after participating in one of the church's rituals involving "deliverance through the use of the black cloth." The article claims that the woman, who it notes was also on antiretrovirals, "received a miracle of her life and tested HIV negative. She is healed from HIV and is an example to many people that when you believe in God nothing is impossible." It should be noted that stopping taking antiretrovirals can lead to viral rebound, drug resistance and death. Claims of curing HIV, if they lead to congregants going off treatment, could pose significant dangers.

We (MWS, MZ) spoke to an unemployed Zimbabwean man whom we shall call Samuel. He came to the church struggling with family problems and suffering from a heart condition. We met on the ramparts of Constitutional Hill where we could speak quietly. He was thin and his health seemed fragile. "People through the prophecies can get jobs, healing, their problems are being solved through prayers," he said. His sickness is of a constant concern. "First time I went to Hillbrow Clinic, they said there's a growth inside my heart, and they referred me to Joburg hospital, and they said they did not see anything through scanning, but the way the heart beats is not normal. It rises and falls, rises and falls." He has managed to get treatment for his heart condition at Johannesburg Hospital but often feels regarded as an outsider there. "If you are a foreigner, they don't take you as if you are a patient, but as if you are foreigner. I don't feel good at the hospital."

There is of course the hope that Samuel will be healed. But there is something more immediate that prophecy offers, and which is so critical for many in the city. It fulfils the need for a sense of acceptance and

belonging, and a public space to speak, in a city where so many other avenues—those of the media, the state, society-at-large—are foreclosed.

"When I'm in church, I feel I'm suitable. I've got that confidence and faith that I will be healed. Even if you've got any kind of sickness they don't laugh at you. They show humble to those who are sick. I think the church is my home. My second home."

The View of the State

In its vast and labyrinthine metropolitan headquarters, MWS met with staff in the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Muncipality's department of health under the department of social development to discuss the matter of prophecy. The question of who exactly prophets are was up in the air. The City of Johannesburg is at present trying to engage with alternative healers, including faith healers and prophets, using the Traditional Health Practitioners Act as a basis. The Act itself however makes no mention of prophets or faith healers. The City does not view "prophets" as a distinct group, but rather as part of the traditional healers.

"It's rare that you find a person working according to the classifications," says Dr. Abe Mavuso in the Management Support and Development unit of the city's health department:

> "For example, a herbalist may double up as a prophet. You find that people do all classes because the practice is not controlled, for instance nurses or doctors who require recognised qualifications and registration in order to practice. The training for all classes of traditional healers is not regulated by government. So if a person puts up a board advertising a traditional health service, people just believe it and the authenticity of the person's qualification is not an issue. Thirdly, there's been a lot of influx of so-called prophets from African states who use our print media to advertise their services. They are prepared to pay to advertise themselves. You don't know who among them is a herbalist, prophet etc. They list conditions from which most people suffer such as erectile dysfunction, high blood pressures, diabetes etc. How can one practitioner offer a single remedy for so many diverse conditions?"

The city's department of health is also concerned about the large new prophetic and evangelical movements. According to Mavuso, this branch of faith healing may be "thriving on the gullibility of people offering quick remedies that may result in sufferers not complying with clinic medication," and making large amounts of money.

The department of health is concerned that some traditional healers, including prophets, may deter people from seeking orthodox treatments for conditions like cancers or HIV and TB. They have therefore been engaging with them in order to encourage them to refer people to health facilities for these conditions. The city also runs training sessions for traditional healers on prevention of disease including HIV/AIDS and TB in order to encourage referrals. This discussion was telling. The role of prophets of diverse orders cannot be understood easily in the view of the state, which requires clear classification. They are primarily viewed as a public health concern that comes along with migration, and not as legitimate religious groups in spite of the long prophetic traditions in the city. However, in some sense, prophets compete for the same role as the state and property developers: they must provide visions of the future and evidence that these visions are possible. The documents of the city of Johannesburg are full of visionary declarations, always with a receding horizon of success—as the Executive Mayor Mpho Parks Tau proclaimed in 2011 in the forward to the city's "Joburg 2040: Growth and Development Strategy": Johannesburg "is a city of colliding worlds and visions; a city divided and a city that still bears the spatial scars of the unjust and immoral system of Apartheid. However, this cannot be Johannesburg's only story and it cannot be the story that prevails into the future."[4] Prophets contest the terrain of the future not only among themselves but also with others, like those in the state, who offer visions and evidence that freedom and mobility are possible in the city.

Conclusions

The narratives above show how prophetic journeys are a form and means of navigating the city, of finding pathways to better lives which are both material and allegorical. The voice of God, angels and ancestors are incar-

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[4] http://www.joburg.org.za/gds2040/pdfs/joburg2040_gds.pdf

nated to serve as guides to those seeking better lives in the city—to capacitate the freedom that post-apartheid Johannesburg offers. But prophecy itself produces the city as material practice. It requires materialised ritual involving technologies, such as Powerpoint projections of bloodied vomit, broken glass on the mountainside and telephone-recorded exorcisms—these are the ways in which prophecy becomes enveloped in the forms and assemblages of the urban. Prophets are also surgeons—they must clear away the rot of the city, the waste and detritus of traumatic pasts. They must clear the way for freedom.

In this chapter, we have argued that the plurality of semantic meanings of prophecy viewed in relation to urban space speaks to the radical diversity of Johannesburg. This diversity is not only of ethnic, racial or national groups but also of diverse ontologies, and disjunctive spatio-temporal orders. Prophets serve in their various manifestations as mediators of these diverse orders. Nonetheless, they are also destabilising figures, providing not only calm and healing but also distress and disquiet about who is or is not a true prophet. Furthermore, while prophets speak to the contemporary conditions of joblessness and migration in the city, they also re-enforce hierarchies of gender and attempt to control public spaces. The multiplicity of prophetic traditions in the city, and their reconfigurations in relation to contemporary economies, particularly those of informality, reveal both the historical depth of prophetic traditions and also their constant adaptation to new environments.

Prophecy promises a new order for people in a disordered world. However, the phenomenon of prophecy is never free from the push and pull of socio-economic and political life. The enfolding of prophecy into contemporary commodity circuits represents the close intertwining of the spiritual and economic in the city, but it also exacerbates insecurity, presenting difficulties for those who do believe in distinguishing true prophets from false. Prophecy is no longer a pure idiom (if it ever was) but a form of speech and ritual permeating diverse domains of the city and the lives of its residents. Prophecy, while not mobilised in a collective liberatory politics, continues to articulate the pains and dislocations of migration and economic marginalization, but in doing so it increasingly mirrors and interpenetrates contemporary market logics, and offers little

evidence of rupture with contemporary forms of inequality in the city. It remains to be seen whether prophecy in the city can offer visions of an alternate urban future, or whether prophets will merely aim to allow the voices of the dead space to speak, while consoling those who suffer the derelictions and sorrows of urban life.

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11

(Un)Rest in Peace: The (Local) Burial of Foreign Migrants as a Contested Process of Place Making

Khangelani Moyo, Lorena Núñez, and Tsepang Leuta

Introduction

There is a rich corpus of literature focusing on death, funerals, cemeteries and burials in Africa (Ademiluka 2009; Dennie 1992; James 2009; Droz 2011; Jindra 2011; Jindra and Noret 2011; Lee 2011, 2012; Lee and Vaughan 2008; Maloka 1998; Van der Geest 2006; Geschiere 2005; De Boeck 2008). Such literature includes references to funerals and burials of people that have moved from their places of birth and died in places

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Church and Burial Society Badges, Joubert Street Trading stall. Photograph: Olivia Shihambe 2014

other than their villages or towns of origin. For example, providing an approach to understand funerals and burials in cultural and social context, Geschiere (2005) argues that burials among the Maka and Ewondo people of Cameroon are used as occasions to reaffirm and entrench a sense of belonging to the home village by urban dwellers. To be buried in one's home village is seen as an obligation rather than a choice (Geschiere 2005). Among the Kikuyu of Kenya, dignified burials are perceived to be those that take place in one's plot of land in the rural village (Jindra and Noret 2011). However, these occasions to reaffirm belonging are not uniform across the African continent. For instance, De Boeck (1998) notes that, in Kinshasa, the outbreaks of Ebola and civil war in the 1990s altered the performance of funeral rites and deprived death of its emplacement function within societies.

In general, the literature on Africa broadly discusses the importance of place and the notion of home in the burial of dead bodies (Gardner 2002; Gardner and Grillo 2002; Whyte 2005; Geschiere 2005). The place of burial is seen as reflecting the complex relationship between humans, territories and belongings; it draws analogies from the notion of *home* as a place where the deceased spirit or soul would ultimately reside. A burial place also marks a final point of someone's biography, the end of someone's life in a specific territory—as such it becomes a definite point

of reference for the living. For some writers, the place of burial reignites a sense of identity and belonging, and attachment to the territory where a person was born or lived and where death was encountered (Geschiere 2005; Gardner 2002; Whyte 2005; Fontein 2011). Fontein (2011) further attributes agency to graves, gravesites and ruins as important in the affirmation of belonging and autochthony within specific ancestral lands. He also highlights the importance of bones of the dead in Zimbabwean mythology, as "rising" in the context of the liberation war and "resurfacing" from mass graves after heavy rains and erosion in post-independent Zimbabwe—in doing so they convey instructions to the living (Fontein 2010).

The South African literature resonates with the general African literature on the handling of death and the meanings attached to the burial place; however, in historical issues of racial segregation, a focus on international migrant labourers has been dominant. For instance, Maloka (1998, 25) contends that due to extremely high accident and disease episodes affecting African miners at the turn of the twentieth century, "the Chamber was obliged to approach municipal councils along the Witwatersrand to consider establishing cemeteries for black workers". However, the practice of burying African miners in mine cemeteries did not receive universal acceptance as miners opposed the idea of burial away from home on the grounds that such burial did not guarantee the deceased safe passage into the afterlife (Lee and Vaughan 2008). Other discussions have highlighted the disaffection of African migrants due to the handling of corpses by the mining authorities, who treated African corpses as a matter of waste disposal (Maloka 1998). The literature points to this disaffection as the reason for the formation of mutual aid associations that collected money for the repatriation and burial of migrants in their home countries (see for example, Maloka 1998; Lee and Vaughan 2008).

While the issue of foreign migrants' burials dates back to the discovery and commercial mining of gold in Johannesburg, more recently, a number of researchers are beginning to ask engaging questions about the journeys of dead foreign migrants in Johannesburg (see for example, Kwigomba 2013; Núñez and Wheeler 2012; Núñez and Wilhelm-Solomon 2013). This comes on the back of unprecedented migration flows to South Africa, particularly from neighbouring countries such as

Zimbabwe, Malawi and Mozambique over the last decade (Bloch 2010; Crush and Tevera 2002; Hammar et al. 2010). For instance, Núñez and Wheeler (2012) have discussed the intricacies of the organisations responsible for the movement of dead migrant bodies to their countries of origin. Núñez and Wilhelm-Solomon (2013) ventured into the onto-logical implications and the fear of "burial out of place" and engaged in the exercise of tracing the treacherous journeys of dead foreign migrants back to their countries of origin. In sum, the interest has been tentatively focused on tracing the journeys and the final destination of those who die out of place in a foreign land(Núñez and Wheeler 2012).

However, academic writers that have looked at mobility and death have considered the desired burial place as immutable and the village or town of origin as the legitimate and desired place to inter remains. Consequently, there is less attention given to the changing dynamics of the place of burial and the meanings attached to decisions about where the remains of migrants who have died far from home are interred. Using the case of South Africa, this chapter focuses on this neglected aspect of foreign migrants' journeys and engages in pertinent issues such as, the circumstances surrounding decisions about the burial place, the signifi-cance attached to the place where the remains of dead migrants are bur-ied as well as the multilayered consequences of being buried in a foreign land. As such, we focus on foreign migrants that are buried in South Africa. We discuss the existing norms and regulations employed by the City of Johannesburg in dealing with the burial of foreign nationals on its burial grounds. We are mindful not to make the claim that migrants belong to a particular territory or cannot find a place in a foreign city. As we see in local burial places, there is the possibility of asserting or con-firming belonging. Instead, we call for an awareness of the predicaments of migrant journeys that do not stop in death. We ask questions about migrants' choices of burial place and the form that these take, using the concept of place making in this interrogation. We argue that place mak-ing is a variegated issue: it is a material, legal, socio-cultural and spiritual process. In interrogating the concept of place making, we ask questions to the living regarding the choices of a burial site and cemetery as well as what it means to navigate the economic and legal bureaucracies imposed on the burial of those who were born outside the national territory.

Burying *Out of Place:* A Contested Process of Place Making

Burial place, in the specific sense of a particular location of human remains, has been identified as a fundamentally important category in African cultures. In the southern African region, the need to return home to be buried and be reunited with the ancestors seems to persist in spite of the influence of Christianity in Africa, a doctrine that generally does not attribute validity to the practices of revering the ancestors.[1] For members of other religious denominations such as Judaism, Islamism and Hinduism, the place of burial is not as relevant as the manner and time lapse between death and burial. For example, in the case of Muslims, together with the performance of body rituals such as bathing and cleansing, "it is important for bodies to be buried as quickly as possible because the soul is not thought to leave the body until it is put into the soil" (Gardner 2002, 195). In this work, we explore the use of the concept of place making in decisions around the burial place of foreign migrants in Johannesburg. The concept of place making and emplacement has been discussed in the literature in relation to that of movement and people's journeys and as central to issues of migration and identity: [This] "movement has become fundamental to modern identity, and an experience of non-place (beyond "territory" and "society") an essential component of everyday existence' (Rapport and Dawson 1998, 6). Yet clearly, movement is not smooth, nor singular; neither is dwelling static and fixed" (David 2012, 450).

Adogame (2010, 166) emphasises the public aspect of place making, arguing that it is "a strategy towards public representation and self-positioning … a mark of location in local-global maps". In the sense indicated above, place making relates to movement, location and belonging. In an analysis of the place of burial, issues of location and belonging emerge more centrally. We anticipate that what confirms as belonging

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[1] African initiated churches such as Zionist, Baptist and other Apostolic variants do not explicitly accept ancestral reverencing practices, but are tolerant towards them and in many instances do not object to their observance by grieving families. There is often contradiction between the theological position and actual practice as the pastors themselves do take part in some cultural practices.

to a particular burial place is the biographical relation of the deceased to that particular locality. We explore here whether it is possible to talk about place making when the burial of foreign migrants takes place on South African soil. The concept of emplacement, as proposed by Englund (2002, 267) highlights the spatial anchoring involved in the process of place making, it "refers to a perspective in which the subject is inextricably *situated* in a historically and existentially specific condition, defined, for brevity, as a "place". Emplacement draws attention to experiential and lived praxis, in line with the basic phenomenological insight that "the body is our general medium for having a world" (Merleau-Ponty 1962, 146).

In this understanding, the historically situated subjects and their sensorial experience of place and presence refer to a *living body*. In light of this, we pose a question about the subjects of this experience when analysing the social and metaphysical consequences of a burial in a foreign place. We explore the process of place making through, and for the living, in light of those processes and rights associated with local burials of migrants in Johannesburg. The subjects through which we know the implication of local burials are the *living*. We are mindful that the living will die at some point and, as such, they have perspectives on what it means to be buried in places where they are not ancestrally connected and are our only source of information in the absence of the voices of the dead. When speaking about the emplacement of dead bodies from a phenomenological perspective and having the living as subjects, we need to attend to the ontological power of the dead body to understand the influence that it exerts on the living.

The Ontological Power of the Dead Body

Attending to the persistence of the African beliefs around the ontological power of the dead body (Lee and Vaughan 2008, 355) and to the complex relationship between death and place of burial, we interrogate the consequences of being buried in places where there is little ancestral connection. Cultural conceptions of the dead body provide the corpse with power to affect the living. We understand the attributes given to

the corpse as the ontology of the dead body. Descola (2013) offers a framework of four ontological orders that are suited to our understanding of the ontology of the dead body. He refers to an animistic ontology and defines it as "the attributions by humans to nonhumans of an interiority identical to one's own" (Descola 2013, 129). We argue that, a number of southern African traditions put emphasis on the need for the dead body to be buried at home on the basis that, when burial occurs anywhere other than the migrant's home village or town, it is considered a burial *out of place*, tantamount to physical, social and spiritual disconnection. Such states require interventions, which are central to the process of *place making* in these African traditions. To die away from "home" or to die an ungrieved death without proper burial is, for many African migrants, to risk "metaphysical itinerancy"—to risk remaining *ad infinitum* in the place of death (Núñez and Wilhelm-Solomon 2013). In Johannesburg, as noted by Núñez and Wilhelm-Solomon (2013) and Núñez and Wheeler (2012), this fear gives rise to extensive economies of death, economies based on the need to deal with bodies and their spirits. This involves burial societies, repatriating funeral parlours, transporters, families—a host of agents revolving around the risks involved in a death out of place (Núñez and Wheeler 2012). The role of funeral parlours has been identified as central in the business of providing funeral services and transport back to their villages to internal migrants (Lee 2012) as well as to foreign migrants by offering repatriation (Núñez and Wheeler 2012).

City Regulations on Burial Space in Historical Perspective

Place making around the burial of migrants can be analysed at various levels. One level has to do with the city regulations and dispositions around burial space, what Vasquez and Knott (2014, 326) define as "the spatial strategies that the state and its apparatuses deploy in order to manage the migrant's presence, visibility and invisibility". To explore the process of place making of foreign migrants in the city through burial

space and the effect of the physical location on the social and metaphysical world of migrants' communities, we refer to the spatial regimes of burial space in post-apartheid South Africa. These are "relatively stable but always contested modes of spatial organization, which give rise to and regulate distinctions between the religious and the secular, the public and the private, the visible and the invisible and the native and the stranger" (Vasquez and Knott 2014, 327).

Spatial regimes accompany different forms of "governmentality" as Vasquez and Knott (2014) remind us, drawing from Foucault, in a system of regulations that are historically organised in colonial and postcolonial orders. We ask here: What orders and regulations are operating in the administration of burial space for those who die in South African soil? Have foreigners in South Arica obtained the right to place upon death? Do they, in death, obtain the right to reside (forever) in South African soil?

South Africa's History of Segregation

South Africa has a history of racial segregation and its cemeteries have historically followed racial divisions in accordance with specific places where different racial groups lived. In Francaviglia's words, the cemeteries speak more about the living than the dead, "in the cemetery, architecture and town planning display of social status, and racial segregation, all mirror the living, not the dead" (1971, 509). Indeed, the current dominant design of cemeteries in South Africa reflects the socio-political history of the country (Christopher 1995). In the nineteenth century, religious ascription and racial segregation determined place of burial, and according to Christopher (1995), the black population were segregated from other races virtually from the establishment of towns. Religious selection continued into the twentieth century, and during the apartheid years, race and ethnicity became the predominant criteria that determined an individual's place of burial, reflecting the imposition of segregationist and apartheid laws. For instance, Christopher (1995) tracks the history of cemetery development in Port Elizabeth where the African population were segregated into separate cemeteries for almost the entire his-

tory of the city, whereas the other races occupied separate sections within cemeteries, and this spatial order remained until the 1950s. This pattern was emulated across South African cities. For example, in the City of Johannesburg, segregated cemeteries were established in the early 1900s with the cemeteries of Newclare and Lenasia allocated for Coloureds and Asians respectively, and cemeteries in Alexandra and Soweto allocated to black population.

The Braamfontein cemetery was the first regional cemetery located in the city of Johannesburg and its configuration serves as an illustration of the racial segregation that characterised the country historically (Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo 2008). Within the cemetery, there are different sections allocated for different religious faiths such as Judaism, Islam, Zoroastrianism and Roman Catholicism and racially designated spaces for Coloureds, Blacks and the Chinese. In a literary genre, Gevisser (2014) highlights the place Braamfontein cemetery has in the history of the city of Johannesburg. He describes the different religious allocations of the graves, notably, the southern section being consecrated for Christian denominations and the northern being more of a contradiction, especially with labels such as "Christian Kaffir". His argument is that the distinction was primarily about race rather than religion. Gevisser further indicates that, by 1907, the cemetery was racially mapped and that the black sections described as "slum of the dead" were separated from white sections by blue-gum trees.

The Post-Apartheid City: Is There a Rainbow Nation in the City's Cemeteries?

Historically, the development of cemeteries followed the racial politics of apartheid, and this history endures within these facilities: "The end of legal apartheid with the repeal of the Population Registration Act, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act and the Group Areas Act, in 1990 and 1991, theoretically freed burials from racial zoning" (Christopher 1995, 43). However, as Christopher further indicates, in the early 1990s racial equality in the provision of land at death had still not been achieved. A representative of the City of Johannesburg asserts that in the new

South Africa, cemeteries are no longer developed along religious or racial lines.[2] An example of this spatial desegregation process is found in the new cemetery, Diepsloot Memorial Park, where racial segregation is no longer emphasised. It is in this cemetery where the City tries to infuse the principle of equality through burying the poor and the rich in the same setting. Contrary to the City's vision though, there are indications that spatial segregation along religious lines may continue to happen in the newly created cemeteries. Currently and based on their religious beliefs, communities that ascribe to the Jewish, Hindu and Muslim religions are allowed to bury separately within existing sections of municipal cemeteries. This ordering of burial space along religious lines has precedents in older cemeteries such as the Westpark Cemetery, which has a Muslim section managed by the Muslim community. In new cemeteries such as Waterval Cemetery, established in 2006, a section was set aside for future Muslim burials owing to the 99-year renewable lease agreement signed by Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo (JCPZ) with the Mia Family Trust.[3] As per the conditions given by the Waterval Islamic Institute, 20 ha of the cemetery will be allocated to a Muslim burial area, which will be privately run by the Mia Family Trust. Similarly, at Olifantsvlei Cemetery which is currently under development, JCPZ has already started receiving applications for privately managed sections within the cemetery.

Migration Context and Local Burial of Foreign Migrants

According to the 2011 census, South Africa is home to two million foreign migrants, with half of them residing in Gauteng. Unprecedented migration flows to South Africa during the post-apartheid period have been observed, especially from neighbouring countries (see for example, Crush and Ramachandran 2010; McDonald et al. 1998). In the con-

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[2] Interview with Mr. Moloi from JCPZ, Johannesburg, 06/03/2014.

[3] The Mia family owns the land between Woodmead and Midrand, where the Waterval Cemetery is located. They have agreed with JCPZ that they will develop and later on manage a Muslim section within the Waterval cemetery.

text of high numbers of foreign migrants in South Africa, our research, conducted in Johannesburg, shows a growing trend of immigrants that have begun to bury locally, in the city's cemeteries. During the course of this research, we interviewed key informants from each of the following countries: Ivory Coast, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Cameroon and Mozambique—all of them occupy leadership positions in their respective country organisations and have a close knowledge of issues related to death and burials. We also interviewed three repatriating funeral undertakers, who deal mainly with burials of Zimbabweans, and one based in Diepsloot, who handles local burials of both South African citizens and some foreign migrants. The common perception is that burial of foreign migrants in Johannesburg is a practice that involves religious and cultural considerations as well as has practical, logistical and financial or economic implications.

There are two ways of viewing place of burial considerations from a religious or cultural beliefs' perspective. The first is the decision of Muslim immigrants whose burial in Johannesburg is not subject to individual consideration but to the laws of Islam concerning the burial of Muslim bodies. According to Mr Gbaffou, a representative of a federated organisation that represents African migrants in South Africa, there is no time to prepare the bodies of Muslims for repatriation, since in terms of Islamic customs, it is imperative for bodies to be buried as soon as possible, usually within a day after death.[4]

The second way of viewing considerations based on cultural beliefs is the more widespread one and is based on African cultural traditions, which indicates the attribution of agency and ontological power to the dead body (cf. Lee and Vaughan 2008). Mr Soto[5], leader of the Mozambican community in South Africa, recounts why in the area of Inhambane, a city in Mozambique, it is imperative to wait for eight days before the burial. He explains it in the following terms,

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[4] Interview with Mr. Marc Gbaffou who is an Ivorian community leader and chairperson of the African Diaspora Forum (http://www.adf.org.za/), Johannesburg, 15/06/2015.

[5] Mr. Soto is a representative of the Mozambican Migrants Association (MMA).

We think that when the body of a dead person bursts, then the dead is at peace. [We wait] while the body is still expanding to then burst … for a period of 8 days, which is a time of great sorrow that we call a period of suffering and it is a waiting period … we wait for that body to gain that size, that is why we only bury the person on the 8th day … we don't cook, we stay inside the house.[6]

This vignette reflects the attributes given to bodies after death and the connections that remain with the living. Often that connection does not stop after burial. The continuous presence and influence of the body, beyond death, in the life of the living is what informs the common reluctance among southern African communities to bury in a foreign land. This is also, what underlies the importance attached to place of burial, choosing the right place averts the implications of burial away from one's ancestral roots. These views are entrenched to the extent that some communities exhume the bodies of dead relatives when moving permanently from one place to another even within the same city. Statistics from the Gauteng Provincial Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) and the National Department of Health support this assertion and show significantly high numbers of exhumations and reinterments within the City of Johannesburg cemeteries and the Gauteng region. For example, 85 % of the 162 bodies exhumed in 2014 were re-buried in Gauteng. More significantly, this also happens regionally within South Africa, especially in cases where people return to their ancestral lands after periods of living far from home.[7] Our fieldwork data confirm the prevalence of these beliefs beyond the southern African region and show that among the different immigrant groups (except for Muslims and refugees from the DRC), repatriating bodies to their home countries is the first consideration. Statistics show that, for the previous 15-year-period (up to June 2015), the Gauteng Provincial Department of Health has issued 35,226 permits for the exportation of remains to migrants' countries of origin. Data from Stats SA and the Department of Health shows that the size of the repatriation of expired migrants from

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[6] Interview with Mr. Soto, Johannesburg, 12/06/2015.

[7] Interview with official from the Gauteng Provincial Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs, Johannesburg, 07/08/2015.

Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Malawi has been decreasing over the years. In 2010, 91 % of the deceased migrants from those countries who died in Gauteng were repatriated (2439 bodies were repatriated out of 2662 deaths from these 3 countries registered in Gauteng). In 2011, the percentage of repatriation to these neighbouring countries was reduced to less than half (42 %), and for the years 2012, 2013, and 2014, the percentage has stabilised to around one fourth of the total deceased migrants being repatriated each year (26 % for 2014). This leads us to conclude that currently 75 % of migrants who die in South Africa from neighbouring countries are being buried locally. While the percentage of repatriation is overall decreasing in some cases, the repatriation of remains is an imperative, for instance, for the Akan tribe from Ghana and Ivory Coast, burial should take place in the tribal cemetery and nowhere else.[8] Such individuals, according to Mr. Gbaffou, do not bury in South Africa and whenever they die, members of the community contribute resources to repatriate the body back to the village of origin. Similar beliefs also exist among the Bamileke tribe from western Cameroon who, for cultural reasons, cannot bury a family member overseas (in a foreign land).[9] According to our Cameroonian key informant from the Bamileke tribe, there are rituals that are performed 3 years after the interment of the body where the family elders exhume the body and remove the head, which is then kept in a safe place together with the heads of other deceased family members.

The example of the Akan and the Bamileke tribes reinforces traditional belief systems that persist in many African countries of reverencing the dead and allocating them a place within the social lives of the living. As such, we argue that, because of the ontological power attributed to the dead body, African migrants such as those from the Akan tribe feel compelled to adhere to cultural demands for the repatriating of remains in cases where they die away from home. However, the emerging point from our research is that while the repatriation of mortal remains is desirable and achieved for different migrants' groups, there are situations when

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[8] Interview with Mr. Gbaffou, Johannesburg, 15/06/2015.
[9] Interview with Cameroonian key informant from the Bamileke tribe of Western Cameroon, Johannesburg, 15/06/2015.

burying in South Africa becomes the only practical possibility and, in some cases, preferred. In the following section, we outline the various circumstances and reasons leading to a local burial, in view of examining whether and under what circumstances decisions around burial places qualify as processes of place making.

Failure to Return the Dead Body Home Due to Lack of Financial Resources

The first and major factor is economic, whereby the relatives of the deceased immigrant do not have the financial resources to pay for the repatriation of the dead body. In most instances, this is due to the dead immigrant not leaving behind sufficient financial resources to self-repatriate or not being a member of a burial society or other resource-pooling arrangement to enable the repatriation of their remains after death. This happens across different migrant groups. For instance, among migrants from the Ivory Coast and Cameroon, older migrants' advise the newly arrived to register with home country associations and make monetary contributions to a mutual fund reserved for resolving problems such as repatriation of remains.[10] In the absence of such introduction into the community and the subsequent financial contributions, the migrant risks isolation and failure to return home when they die in South Africa. Explaining the consequences of isolation, the Ivorian key informant stated that, "people come to the funeral but cannot contribute the amount of money that we need for us to send the body back home, then that body will be buried here [in South Africa]".[11] A representative of a funeral parlour, who has handled situations where relatives end up burying locally, noted that financial constraints are a major reason for local burials. He explained that:

> You find that the family cannot manage to finance the funeral back home because you find that maybe burying local will cost them less, they will be

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[10] Interview with Cameroonian key informant, Johannesburg, 15/06/2015.
[11] Interview with Mr. Gbaffou, Johannesburg, 15/06/2015.

able to raise few 100 Rands and say is it possible to help us with the coffin and then we bury this person here. So it will be cost effective and then at a later stage there will bring other family members from home to come and see where their loved one is buried.[12]

The failure to return home due to lack of financial resources is therefore an important consideration as it speaks to a disconnect between what the migrants believe and would prefer and what is practical at the time of death. Many of the migrants prioritise a return to the home soil and their place making is in accordance with a desire to be buried in their ancestral lands. Thus, burial in South Africa due to lack of resources is not considered as a stacking of rights or implanting an indelible end of one's biography in foreign soil but a practicality that many migrants are not voluntarily inclined to consider.

Migrants Without Documentation Buried as Paupers in Local Cemeteries

The lack of identity documents also emerged as a factor in some foreign migrants ending up being buried in Johannesburg as "paupers". Paupers comprise individuals whose bodies remain unclaimed in government mortuaries. The law assigns the responsibility to the municipalities to bury as paupers any such bodies that remain unclaimed in government mortuaries for over 30 days. The difficulty is that in the absence of documentation, research on the migrants who are buried as paupers is hamstrung by the inability to ascertain the numbers of non-nationals that are classified as paupers. According to a JCPZ official, as much as 400 hundred unclaimed bodies per annum end up being given pauper burials and a significant proportion of them are presumed to be foreign migrants.[13] The South African Police Service processes the bodies of paupers before passing them over to JCPZ who allocate graves at the Elandsfontein Cemetery, which is the designated cemetery for the interment of paupers.

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[12] Interview with NK, who is a funeral parlour representative, Johannesburg, 14/05/2015.
[13] Interview with Mr. Alan Buff from JCPZ, Johannesburg, 18/06/2014.

The City has contracts with undertakers who perform pauper burials. According to Mr Moloi, the procedure is such that in one grave up to three corpses are buried, and each of the bodies is placed in its own body bag.[14] Each body bag is numbered and a record is kept indicating the level (1–3) at which each body is buried: proper records are kept indicating the deceased's date and place of death and the exact location in the cemetery and the grave which will make identification possible should families claim the remains in the future. When families claim the remains, permission is sought from the Department of Health while an undertaker and the South African Police perform exhumation.

The paradox of many foreign migrants without documentation is that they only obtain legal documentation at the moment of death (Núñez and Wheeler 2012). Funeral parlours become mediators in the relationship with the state through their specific role in obtaining the documentation to process a death and specifically that of an undocumented migrant. By assisting in acquiring legal status, parlours are instrumental in obtaining the right to "reside" for the deceased migrant—or the right to eventually be buried in South Africa. Paradoxically, it is with death and at the point of burial that the undocumented foreign migrant finally "belongs" to the South African state. The bodies of paupers present a complexity from the perspective of place making as physical place ceases to be an important factor in the burial decision and the State takes responsibility for deciding where and how such bodies are interred.

When Home Is at War: Refugees and Asylum Seekers

Another emerging aspect of local burials of foreign migrants speaks to the presence of large numbers of refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa. These include people from countries such as the DRC whose countries are experiencing civil strife and is unsafe for those who would otherwise undertake a return journey. For them, burying in South Africa is the result of the fear of persecution when returning to their home countries,

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[14] Interview with Mr. Moloi, Johannesburg, 06/03/2014.

along with poor road infrastructure in the DRC, which makes it impossible to reach some parts of the country. One of our key informants from the DRC expressed this point in the following terms:

> Another thing for instance like the east of DRC, you find that there is no transport going there, it is a bit complicated, there is no direct flight that leaves Johannesburg to go there. You have to connect going through to these other places, and imagine going with bodies like that, and it's stressing. I think another thing is economic reasons. You find this economic situation of immigrants in this country especially I think refugees and I would say of all migrants sometimes you find it is not suitable for them, it's not allowed for them to transport bodies. So they do their burial here mainly, though it's stressing, it is stressing in the sense that burial at home and burial out of the country is actually I think makes them uncomfortable due to cultural absence.[15]

Complicated transport logistics and the fear of home emerge as considerations for burying refugees and asylum seekers on South African soil for people from the DRC and Burundi. Further explaining this point, our key informant from the DRC mentioned that he has attended funerals for migrants from Burundi in Johannesburg and they have security concerns related to bringing a deceased body back home, similar to those of refugees from eastern DRC. These include the fear of revealing one's whereabouts and persecution, for example:

> In Burundi there is ethnic conflict, if the deceased was a Hutu for instance and the people who are ruling the country are Tutsis, you find that this person, they would not want to say how you were in this place because if you have another relative who is here it would be like revealing the status of this person to say like oooh so these people are in South Africa.[16]

While logistical complications have greater significance in countries that have wars, some issues involve the desire to remain anonymous and

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[15] Interview with key informant from the DRC, Johannesburg, 08/05/2015.
[16] Ibid.

untraceable, especially for individuals who left their countries due to ethnic conflicts.

Here, we see that decisions around burial place are due to constraining circumstances rather than statements of intent. In other words, beliefs persist about the desirability of burial in one's country of birth rather than on foreign soil. Nonetheless, there are emerging inclinations towards choosing burial in South Africa, in cases where migrants begin to connect with place and, on the balance of scales, consider a burial in South Africa as acceptable. We discuss some of these instances in the following sections.

Fading Connections with Home

Migrants Whose Dead Bodies Are Not Wanted Back Home

In some cases, migrants are buried in South Africa because relatives in the home country are not willing to receive the body. This presents a different dynamic to the preceding sections and is often the result of family disputes or other events that happened while the deceased was still alive. One of our key informants from Ivory Coast spoke generally regarding the importance of consulting with the family of the deceased:

> Because when a person passes on, the first thing that we do is we speak to the parents, it has happened also that, we saw cases of people maybe before leaving their country they were not in good terms with their own families, or maybe they left the country while there was still war. The cases are very different, so you have to consult the family back home and the family have to agree that this body has to be repatriated back home.[17]

Consultation with the family of the deceased back home is an important step in cases where a body needs to be repatriated, as some families are forthright regarding individuals that they do not want to receive. Another

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[17] Interview with Mr. Gbaffou.

key informant from Cameroon shared an experience regarding the body of a Nigerian national whose family refused to allow repatriation.

> A Nigerian man was killed here, they called his family, and I was there. His family, you know what they said, they don't want to see him because when he left Nigeria he stole his father's money to come to South Africa and he stayed here in the country for seven years without calling his family. So the father said whatever happens to him he doesn't want to see him and so he was buried in Soweto.

While place making is a process that culturally situated individuals often reinforce by deciding where to be buried and which connections to keep, it is important to underline the role of the living in this instance. As noted earlier, in the absence of the voices of the deceased, we can only gain information regarding the meaning of burial place through the voices of the living.

Migrants Who Actively Disconnect with Home

In rural areas of Mozambique, people are aware of the many risks and uncertainties migrants go through in their journeys to South Africa. Mr Soto tells us how people who are leaving home without papers are asked to leave a piece of clothing behind, upon which a ritual is performed in order that "they can call people with a shirt … especially the parents when the youngster disappears and there is no sign because they want to know if they are dead or alive".

While in this case the connection is experienced when the person is alive, it exemplifies the relation between the person's body and home and it also shows how families, through ritualistic practices, actively try to maintain the linkages with the migrant who left home.

The Ndebele people of Zimbabwe use the term "umgewu" to refer to people that leave home for South Africa and never return. Such people cut all communication with the home country and actively ensure that relatives do not know their whereabouts (see for example, Worby 2010). Similar situations exist among Mozambicans in South Africa where an

immigrant leaves home and on arrival in South Africa, takes up South African identification, marries a South African woman and cuts all communication with people back in Mozambique. When such an individual dies, relatives are often reluctant to take responsibility for his repatriation and burial in Mozambique and it becomes the responsibility of his South African family to inter his remains.[18] In discussions with representatives of funeral parlours, we gathered that the "umgewu" is an emerging segment of foreigners that end up being buried on South African soil. One of the funeral parlour representatives described this emerging segment in the following terms:

> Aaahhh some people left home a long time ago, it becomes pointless to take that person back home because apparently no one knows him back home, and you find that this person has lost his entire family back home so the nearest surviving family members will prefer to bury that person locally. It is the same procedure with conducting a local burial for a local person.[19]

While some people do not express the intention to be buried in South Africa and as such leave the decision to those who remain behind, there are others who indicate before they die that they want to be buried in South Africa. For instance, our Cameroonian key informant shared the following:

> I know of a Cameroonian man, he has been here in South Africa for the past 70 years. He said to us if he dies, he has to be buried here in South Africa because when he was in Cameroon nothing was working for him, even the family was not there for him. He found his family here in South Africa and now he has four children. He is married to a South African and he says whenever he dies they should not worry to take him back to Cameroon. They should just leave him here.

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[18] Interview with Mr. Soto, who is a Mozambican community leader and representative of the Mozambican Migrants Association (MMA), Johannesburg, 12/06/2015.

[19] Interview with NK, Johannesburg, 14/05/2015.

The preceding discussion reinforces the voluntary aspect to some decisions regarding local burials. However, these cases are more of an exception rather than the norm, as various migrant groups indicate a preference for home country burials rather than burial in a foreign land.

Foreign Migrants Connected to South Africa Through Marriage

In addition to children and those that face financial difficulties, there are situations when burial of foreign migrants in Johannesburg is related to the length of stay of that particular immigrant. Such situations include the burial of immigrants that are married to South Africans (especially men) as well as people that have little or no connection to their countries of origin. Discussing this point, Mr Soto stated that: "Aaaah well that 'one' in most of the cases is when we find Mozambicans that are married to South Africans, whether it is a white wedding or a traditional one. In most of those cases, they are the ones who are buried here".

As stated by Mr Soto, some foreign men who are married to South African women end up buried in South Africa at the request of their spouses and children. Such situations ignite contestations between the South African spouse and the relatives of the deceased immigrant based on practical and economic considerations for the spouse and religious and cultural implications for the relatives. The impression created by our key informant regarding Mozambicans is that, South African spouses insist on burying the deceased in South Africa to ensure that they can claim work related benefits of the deceased. For instance,

> One could have a girlfriend and ask the relatives of the girlfriend to help you get documentation and then you become part of that family or group. If you marry someone around here then you are considered a South African. So the wife of course there are two things involved here, first obviously your wife wants to benefit from all the benefits from your work place you know, especially if you are working for a good company.[20]

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[20] Interview with Mr. Soto.

A representative of a Johannesburg based funeral parlour expressed similar sentiments more generally, stating that:

> …you find that some people when they get here, they get married to local women. When death occurs the family will say no we do not want our father to be buried back home we want him to be buried here. So according to any law the wife has the final say. So eventually, the body is buried locally. So those are some of the reasons why people end up being buried here.[21]

The foregoing discussions demonstrate the complexity of decisions regarding burial place and reinforce the arguments we have made in earlier sections that burial place and place making are complex and riddled with contestations. For instance, decisions concerning migrants married to South Africans are seldom without contestation between the different sections of the deceased's family.

Children Who Were Born and Die in South Africa

The other common situation where foreign migrants are buried in Johannesburg is when the deceased is a small child. This happens due to interplay between economic considerations and cultural beliefs. A representative of one of the funeral parlours indicated that, foreign migrants mainly bury their children in South Africa in order to avoid high costs associated with repatriation.[22] Connecting the funeral parlour representative's comments with the reasons discussed in earlier sections for repatriating immigrant bodies, a young child does not appear to have the same connection with home as adults who undertake the migration journey from their home countries to South Africa. In other words, a child is seen as having little or no ancestral connection to the village or town of origin of the immigrant. As such, there is no strong rationale to spend

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[21] Interview with NK, 14/05/2015.

[22] Interview with Mr. Sibiya, a representative of a Diepsloot based funeral parlour, Johannesburg, 03/07/2015.

a lot of money repatriating the body to a place where the child in some instances is not physically known or connected. Another funeral undertaker summed this situation in the following terms:

> I think the largest numbers of people who are buried locally are children because in most cases the parents would be resident here; they would be working here, so they see no point in taking their child back home. They would bury, maybe say weekend, they would leave here on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday they get back and leave their child there. It does not give them the much-needed closure but if they bury locally, when there is need they can always go to the graveyard. I think the other thing is the cost associated with repatriating a little child because no one knows that child at home and you just bring a stranger and say people come gather here for the burial.[23]

In the preceding excerpt, the child is described as a stranger who is unknown in the home of the immigrants. While the child may not be as unknown as described by the undertaker, the comments do make the point that it is considered a common occurrence that immigrants are not always motivated to repatriate bodies of children. Therefore, there is an acceptance by parents that South African soil can be made a final and permanent resting place for their offspring.

Legal Requirements for Burial in the City of Johannesburg

The position of the JCPZ as expressed by its officials is that in the post-apartheid period, the City of Johannesburg has adopted practices that accommodate all who reside in the city, and in the case of migrants, the requirement is that they should be in possession of permits that give them right to reside in the Republic of South Africa. The words of one of the city representatives are categorical in this regard, "If the Department of Home Affairs deems an individual desirable in South Africa, the City of

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[23] Interview with NK, 14/05/2015.

Johannesburg has no legal grounds to deny such an individual the right to be buried in South Africa" (Mr Moloi 2014).

In general, the documentation required for a burial to take place in the municipal cemeteries includes an identity document, the registration of the death, the death certificate, burial order and the payment of a grave fee. However, according to JCPZ officials, proof of residence must accompany all documentation (e.g. monthly municipal bill) where burial takes place in the City of Johannesburg. It costs approximately R1300.00 to bury an adult and R650 a child in most Category B cemeteries in the City.[24] An official from the City of Johannesburg indicated that one would have to produce proof that they were residents within the city's boundaries failing which, the grave fee would have to be triple that of the local residents, approximately R3700.00. However, the interviewed undertakers indicated that the City of Johannesburg seldom enforces this fee and they were yet to encounter such a requirement for the burials that they have handled.

Where in the City Are Foreign Migrants Buried?

The choice of cemetery for burial depends on the cost consideration by the family of the deceased as well as location and convenience. According to one of the undertakers dealing mostly with cross-border repatriations, non-nationals who buried in the City commonly use Slovoville, Westpark, Avalon and Waterval Cemeteries.[25] Apart from the requested documentation, the family chooses the cemetery based on the location and thus proximity to the deceased's home. They choose a cemetery closer to where they live and for the funeral day so that it will be easy to arrange for transport requirements to and from the cemetery.[26] As such, clients

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[24] Westpark, Braamfontein and Brixton are graded as A because the City offers grave closure, whilst the rest are graded as B. Waterval and Diepsloot are flagship cemeteries. Meaning due to their location they could not be graded as A. Hence they hold the grade B status.

[25] Interview with Mr. Ndebele, a representative of Kings and Queens funeral parlour, Johannesburg, 08/06/2015.

[26] Interview with NK, 14/05/2015.

in the inner city areas of Hillbrow, Yeoville and Berea prefer Waterval Cemetery because it is affordable and is located closer to where they stay.

Although other private cemeteries like Memorial Hill have been used before, several funeral undertakers interviewed agreed that they preferred to use Slovoville Cemetery. Apart from the fact that this cemetery is private, their decision to bury here is influenced by the family's decision to inter as soon as possible. Although it is located farther from the City, it is easier to bury there. While adult grave bookings have to be made before Thursday at JCPZ, private cemeteries such as Slovoville are flexible as an undertaker can make a booking while driving to the cemetery to bury, as long as they have paid for the grave. Most foreign clients therefore prefer to bury at Slovoville Cemetery because of this flexibility.[27]

In some instances, the undertakers choose the cemetery, while families who can afford high grave fees often choose a cemetery. In cases where the families lack financial resources, the undertaker is forced to find a cheaper cemetery outside the boundaries of the City of Johannesburg. One key informant from the DRC however, was of the thought that most families had no choice but instead left the responsibility to the undertaker to decide the best cemetery to inter the remains of their deceased. On the one hand, he believed that those who had a choice opted for and could actually afford expensive cemeteries such as Westpark. On the other hand, the majority relied on the undertaker to find the most affordable cemetery while ensuring that he also makes a profit. In some cases, leaving this decision to the undertaker has meant that the most affordable graves are identified as far as Germiston, which is in the City of Ekurhuleni. While accessing the cemetery on the day of the funeral may not be a problem, as the undertaker will provide transport for the family, however, this may prove to be a challenge should the family wish to visit the grave later on. Elaborating further, one of our key informants explained,

> Well I think the undertaker will look at the kind of, I mean the money that you pay. How much did you pay and maybe what is he getting from what you paid? The cheaper he gets the place, I think, the choice he gives you.

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[27] Interview with NK, 14/05/2015.

He says, look this is what I got you. When you are crying, mourning your relative, you have no choice. You just say, oh that's the place because they will come with the body and take you wherever they are taking you; and other people will just follow.[28]

Another important aspect is the fact that some of the foreign nationals are undocumented. Burying at private cemeteries like Slovoville is fast and hassle free, as they would not require the taxing procedures and documentation that is required by the JCPZ in order to allocate a grave. NK identified another case of immigrants who hold menial jobs at restaurants and security companies. These would not have enough time to prepare for funerals and mourn but would rather prefer to bury as soon as possible in order to go back to their normal lives. This implies that a private cemetery would suit their requirements, and their preferred undertaker can book on any given day.

It is important to emphasise that under normal circumstances, funeral undertakers and families would prefer to bury in public cemeteries like Waterval. However, due to discussed glitches, they are forced to make use of private cemeteries. Although they could cost slightly more than public cemeteries, they have few and less demanding requests.

Can South African Soil Be Home to Foreign Souls?

Located about 40 km from the City of Johannesburg, Slovoville Cemetery offers the convenience of quick and stress-free burials without asking for multiple documents that other cemeteries demand. In order to bury at Slovoville, an undertaker submits a burial order and proof of payment for the burial space. An adult grave costs R1800.00 instead of the R1311.00 requested by City Parks. According to Slovoville cemetery officials, on a busy weekend, the cemetery buries up to 20 corpses, two to three of those of non-nationals.[29] While the cemetery does not register nationalities of

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[28] Interview with informant from the DRC, Johannesburg, 08/05/2015.
[29] Interview with official from Slovoville cemetery, Soweto, 07/2015.

the dead, officials are able to make inferences based on the number of corpses brought by funeral parlours that provide services to foreign communities. We paid a visit to the cemetery to observe whether a spatial pattern of foreign migrants' burial could be distinguished.

As we walked through the cemetery, a worker came to meet us. He indicated that one other worker digging a grave would be able to tell us where almost everyone was buried. When we told him we were looking for foreigners' graves, he indicated that there were several nearby, and one of them he thought to be that of a Nigerian. When we asked, "*How did you know he was a Nigerian?*" he said he saw the group burying him and that they *were speaking Nigerian*. Within the cemetery, burial space is randomly allocated, although there is one clear designated area for pauper burials, which is at the very back of the cemetery and a children's section with the headstones shaped in the form of children's toys or as teddy bears. The date the person was buried and the name of the funeral parlour in charge is the information needed to be able to find the location of a tomb as this is the only information kept in the daily records, which are manually written down in a book. Nationalities are not registered, neither are names, hence foreigners' graves are indistinguishable from those of local South Africans. As we walked around, we saw some tombs decorated with personal items. A small ANC flag on top of a tomb resisting the strong winter wind called our attention. Examining the information on the headstones and the signalling, we noticed all of them had African names, although, inconclusively, some of the names on the graves sounded quite Zimbabwean to us (such as Ndlovu, Moyo, Dube and Mashayamombe). No place of birth is consigned on the tombs; only the date of birth, date of death and the date the body was laid to rest, which is often a week or 10 days after death. A number of burial societies, such as Arebolokaneng (*let us bury each other*) burial society appeared next to the deceased's name showing that these societies were in charge of the burial. We left the place with the cold wind entering through our coats and with a feeling of abandonment and desolation imagining that this place has become the last home for those who belonged elsewhere, whose graves would probably never be visited.

Beliefs about the afterlife persist in many African traditions and there is a concern among the living migrants that, if you are discriminated

against while alive, when you die and you are buried outside your own place, the people that you will find will be foreign to you. In other words, you will remain a foreigner forever and you will face the same problems that you faced while you were alive. Our key informant from DRC added that:

> The people you find there do not speak the same language as you. When you are still alive, you face them you know that one day I will return home. Now if you die and you are buried out of place, what will happen, it is going to be forever now that because no one will come to take you there. In this case you find that some people have to perform rituals in line with that where they maybe take some sand from the grave of the deceased to transport the spirit of the deceased to his home place.[30]

There exists a perennial cognitive dissonance for poor migrants that contend with decisions to bury in South Africa because of lack of financial resources and refugees whose bodies cannot be repatriated because of war in the home country. Thus, there is a fear of never finding peace after death, with no place to belong and roaming the graveyards as wandering spirits in search of a home. Place making hinges on the construction of a notion of home that people can hold on to and attach sentiments of ownership, as well as the desire to belong forever to a particular place when they die. As our key informants discussed the meaning of burial in a foreign land, they expressed the perspectives of many migrants who end up buried in Johannesburg: there is the risk of never finding peace and remaining a foreigner even in the afterlife.

Conclusion

We began our inquiry with two questions, firstly: where in the city are migrants buried and secondly, whether there is a decision voluntarily made to be buried locally that qualifies as a process of place making. In terms of the specific locations of foreign migrants' burials in the city,

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[30] Interview with informant from the DRC, Johannesburg, 08/05/2015.

we did not find a regular spatial pattern, yet factors such as the cost of a grave and the lesser number of papers required to bury a foreigner did play a role, and a new private cemetery appeared to be a preferred place of burial for foreigners. We alluded to the history of segregation in South Africa, particularly using the Braamfontein cemetery to illustrate the racial and religious basis used for separating people at death. Importantly, we sought to understand the spatial regime and regulations employed by the City of Johannesburg regarding the burial of foreign migrants on its cemeteries. To this end, we found that the city accords equal concern to both citizens and non-citizens if they have documentation granting leave to reside legally in South Africa. As such, foreign migrants with legal residence status can be buried on South African soil if they so wish or in cases where their bodies are unclaimed and are given pauper burials. Hence, by law and practice, foreigners do have the right to rest for eternity in South African soil. As we have indicated, this is paradoxical when dead foreigner migrants acquire a legal status they may not have had while alive.

With regard to the process of decision making around where to bury (either bury locally or repatriate the body home), we found that this does not only reflect the personal wish of the migrants involved. There are bureaucratic and economic factors and life circumstances intervening. Importantly, these decisions are also grounded on beliefs and cultural practices of the societies to which the migrants belong. Different societies have particular belief systems regarding death and the handling of dead remains, which makes it inappropriate to speak of one particular way in which foreign migrants may view the dead body and its interment. Yet cognisant of such diversity in practices, we premised our exploration on attending to culturally shared notions among African migrants that the best place to be buried is home.

We explored under what conditions local burial takes place and interrogated cases where migrants were buried locally as a potential process of place making. As such, there are different considerations when people voluntarily bury their relatives on foreign soil. We found those conscious decisions taken regarding burying locally are in the case of the burial of children as well as those that have South African spouses. In the first case, children were not considered to be socially connected with home, as many of them have not even been to places where their parents come

from. In the second case, the dead person had developed enough connections to the new place that it can be considered home and their relatives and spouses in many cases attribute the local place as the right place to be buried. We have also identified conditions that lead to involuntary local burials as lack of financial resources as well as war situations and of individuals who actively disconnect with home.

In the majority of cases, it is difficult to describe the decisions taken around local burial as processes of place making since they are based on external factors rather than voluntary. We adopted a perspective that recognises the ontological power of the dead body rooted in the attributions that are made by the living. Related to that, we adopted a phenomenological perspective to attend to what the dead body can communicate to the living. In this perspective, we interrogate conceptions about the preferred place to be buried and experiences the living has had relating to the questions about the right or wrong place of burial. From a phenomenological perspective, and according to the living, the experience of being buried locally in most cases is not really one of place making, but often the contrary. When a local burial is decided due to external factors and not due to a biographic rooting in South Africa, this is experienced by the living with a sense of loss and anxiety around the well-being of the dead person who is perceived to be left eternally as a foreigner in a foreign land.

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12

Conclusion: Towards New Routes

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This volume has charted diverse lines of mobility and migration and the ways religion has shaped these, and Johannesburg, in multiple ways. It has explored the sojourns of the living and the dead, the movement of people, ideas and objects, across borders and within city blocks. It has

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View of St Mary's Anglican Church, Darragh House and Universal Church of Kingdom of God headquarters (*right*), corner Plein and Eloff streets, Johannesburg CBD. Photography by: Olivia Shihambe

explored the ways in which spirits are experienced as incarnated not only in sacred spaces but also in the banality and tumult of everyday life.

Routes and Rites has shown that super-diversity in the city is not only a diversity of demographic groups, or of religions groups, but also entails a super-diversity of the forms and processes through which religion shapes urban spaces and life. We have argued that in contrast to Johannesburg as a "disorderly city" (cf. Murray 2008) what we see in the city is a multiplicity of diverse religious orders and forms that interpenetrate the city on multiple scales, not only through formal religious rites but also in the daily flows of commodities, traffic, sound, song and smell.

The book itself, encompassing multiple authors in collaboration, and conversation around a particular city, has, we hoped, opened up different viewpoints of the city. We have argued for an understanding of diversity that focuses on the diversity of processes and social orderings, territori-

alisations and deterritorialisations, which produce the urban. However, this should not eclipse the concern with either the emphasis on diversity concerned with minority or excluded groups, nor with the dislocations of evictions and property development more widely.

However, the chapters in this book have shown that, aside from the case of the Central Methodist Mission which has overtly supported legal struggles for migrant and housing rights and been a site of political mobilisation, religious groups and rites have rarely engaged formal mobilisations for the "right to the city" (Lefebvre 2000). However, it would be wrong to exclude them from an analysis of urban politics. Religious rites and institutions provide diverse routes through which marginalised groups try to survive, dwell and make a claim to the city. In this sense, rites have an ambivalent relation with "rights" in the political or juridical sense—they traverse one another, contest the same spaces, sometimes coalesce and are sometimes in conflict.

On the whole, in spite of the competition for space and congregations, there is a remarkable amount of religious tolerance in the city, and none of the chapters here speak to interreligious conflicts; most forms of religious contestation are intra-religious competition for congregations. This is in itself a remarkable finding: in the context of global discourses and the emergence of anti-Islamic sentiment, particularly in Europe and the USA, Johannesburg has very little religious intolerance. Furthermore, religious groups have been powerful in fostering cross-national ties and fighting against xenophobia. However, in the post-apartheid city, although some suburban evangelical churches may have mixed race populations, religious groups still rarely bring together cross-class congregations, nor challenge the persistent racial divides established by apartheid.

Furthermore, it would be incorrect to romanticise religions as widely tolerant of different groups. As the book has shown, religious groups have also become embedded in the forms of circulation of commodities and capital, often providing consolation or hope for a better future, without resistance to present economic inequalities. They also operate through forms of moral and gendered control over their congregations.

Our aim here, then, has been to open up the debate regarding religion and urbanism in relation not only to Johannesburg but also to cities of the Global South more widely. However, we do not claim this study to being exhaustive. Several volumes would be required; such is the richness and complexity of Johannesburg's religious landscape and its diverse populations.

In this conclusion, in the interests of self-critique but also of using this book to foster further research and debate regarding religion and urbanism, we wish to open out the book to themes only partially glimpsed but which we think are critical lines for future research. There are a few key areas apparent to us which require further exploration: the first is the role of religion in relation to sexual minorities in the city; the second is regarding African religions and healing practices; and finally, the influence of Chinese communities in the city, pointing to many others whom we could not give attention to here.

Religion and Sexual Minorities in the City

The relation of homophobia to emergent public religions in Africa is of critical public concern (see Van Klinken and Chitando 2016; Bompani and Brown 2015). Neo-Pentecostal movements throughout Africa, and particularly in countries like Uganda with stringent laws against homosexuality, have been vocal and an influential force in anti-gay sentiment. Although some chapters allude to homophobia, it has not emerged as a strong theme in *Routes and Rites*, which, however, does not mean it is not a matter of significant concern. In spite of constitutional protections for same-sex relations and marriages, violence against LGBTI populations, along with gender-based violence, remains widespread in South Africa.

Exploring the interconnections between religion, urban space and these forms of exclusion remains important; as does, conversely, exploring the ways in which religion can be a force for tolerance and exclusion. Views on homosexuality and alternative gender choices are closely guarded in Johannesburg's everyday social practices. Navigating the inner-city and townships as a homosexual or transsexual subject is complex, especially in spaces where visibility can and does lead to violence, with shocking cases of corrective rapes of lesbians, often violent and deadly. In many inner-city churches, homosexuals and transgendered individuals often enter as straight—performing either male or female gendered identities in order to remain unnoticed, occasionally declaring their sexuality openly in order to be "healed".

The hetero-normativity of religious practices in the city has not been directly addressed in this volume. Certainly, there are LGBTI members of congregations, who enter on condition of their sexuality remaining illegible, invisible and encoded. This self-policing cannot be separated from the expectations placed on female gender roles within church sermons. In Malcomess and Wilhelm-Solomon's chapter, women are the principal bodies on which exorcisms are performed. The control of their bodies by male priests and attendants during exorcisms is indicative of a similar policing of gender. Their sins are often gendered too, infidelity, being unable to fall pregnant. The Prophet's posters that plaster the city promising the "return" of "lost lovers" and "penis enlargement"' form a strange assemblage continuous with this policing of bodies and desires that punctuate the city's religious and spiritual landscape. Here, desire is on offer, a kind of commodity, while gender and sexuality are strongly territorialised—invisibly by one's own coding of self, or visibly and externally as in the shocking public declarations of support for the Gambian president's threat on Revelation Church's Facebook page (see Malcomess and Wilhelm-Solomon, this volume). This utterance located so openly in the public domain is more than just a veiled threat, but an act of both symbolic and potential real violence.

Marian Burchardt (2013) has raised the issue of how, in post-apartheid South Africa, the emergence of public politics around sexual minorities in South African sex partnerships and marriages has emerged alongside the expansion of public religions. These dual processes have often been antagonistic. As Burchardt (2013, 246–248) documents, although figures such as the Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the umbrella organisation the South African Council of Churches have expressed support for same-sex marriage, there remains a "politics of ambiguity" as national leadership of Anglican, Catholic, Baptist and Presbyterian churches also informed Home Affairs that same-sex marriages within their churches would not be permitted. Furthermore, as Burchardt notes, "virtually all the evangelical churches rejected SSM based on a literalist and—in the American understanding—fundamentalist recourse to biblical Scriptures". The explicit rejection of SSM and Constitutional protections by many evangelical and Pentecostal churches speaks to a contestation around the nature of the "public" itself and how this is constituted materially and spatially.

Some existing research has shown that religion provides a contested space of both sanctuary and exclusion for sexual minorities. The ambivalence of inclusion and exclusion of gay members of religious congregations across different spaces has also been highlighted in the exhibition *Journeys of Faith: Navigating Sexual Orientation and Diversity*[1] curated by Makhosazana Xaba and Linda Chernis. In the 1990s and early 2000s there were several studies of homosexuality and religion in the city, such as *Aliens in the House of God—homosexuality and Christian Faith in South Africa* edited by Paul Germon. In the chapter, "Coming Home: Visions of Healing in a Gauteng Church", Graeme Reid (1997) produces an ethnography of the Hope and Unity Metropolitan Church in Hillbrow which had a predominantly gay and lesbian membership. Further work of Reid's was on same-sex identified traditional healers in Soweto. A more recent thesis by Quantin Montello (2012) showed that a Catholic ministry in the inner-city sets up a group for gay migrants. Mark Gevisser (2014) has drawn attention to an organisation of gay and lesbian sangomas in Johannesburg. This work, while highlighting spaces of religion and healing as progressive sites of inclusion, also points to the complex navigation of same-sex and transgender sexual identities between visibility and invisibility. Many in Johannesburg keep their sexual identities private, and the field of non-hetero-sexual desire only re-territorialises certain social spaces in the city in highly coded forms, largely at night—present but illegible.

Certainly more work needs to be done looking at homophobia in Johannesburg, but also in the inclusion and exclusion of other populations often deemed by religious groups as immoral, for instance, sex workers. Sex workers are often the targets of discourses against immorality in the city. As Odele (2015), a transgender sex worker has noted in a journal produced by sex workers, *Izwi Lethu*, in collaboration with the ACMS, "I know that my religion and culture don't approve of me. There is a stigma around my identification". Although *Routes and Rites* has not foregrounded these issues, they remain a critical line for further inquiry as regards diversity and urban space in Johannesburg and more widely.

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[1] http://www.gala.co.za/resources/docs/Archival_collection_articles/exhibitions/JoF.pdf

Traditional Healing

Another under-represented area of the book is that of traditional religions and healing. Though the issue of traditional healing has been addressed in its incorporation into idioms of prophecy, African indigenous religions and forms of healing are not explored in depth here. A comprehensive picture of the *Routes and Rites* to the city would normally require delving into the diverse world of healing, especially the spiritual world of indigenous healing practices as well as faith healing more generally. In fact, for a significant number of people in Johannesburg, healing is first a complex and variable religious experience. As people from the interior of the country and the continent (even beyond) converge on the economic hub of South Africa, they bring with them their beliefs in managing well-being. The beliefs and ideas that migrants bring with them are at once seemingly foreign yet familiar, and continue to contribute as well to local understanding of affliction, health and well-being. Conditions of any form of precarity are subject to extend far beyond the limits of the body (Ngubane, 1977). Thus, like elsewhere on the continent, experiences of ill-health are taken to be symptomatic of imbalances caused by spiritual dislocation and social fragmentation or by being in a city far from home. Nowhere is this perception as evident as in pamphlets and posters advertising the services of African "doctors", prophets, healers and herbalists with which Johannesburg is littered (Wilhelm-Solomon, Zulu and Worby, this volume).

The indigenous healing services on offer range, amongst other things, from penis enlargement, to gaining luck to secure a job or win a court case, treatment for biomedical conditions such as hypertension and diabetes, dealing with evil spirits to bring back a lost lover and so on. What these pamphlets reveal is Johannesburg dwellers' collective anxiety about masculinity and belonging, about fertility and value, illness and death, loss, labour and love. When one looks more closely, healers address the everyday struggles many inhabitants of Johannesburg face on a regular basis, struggles which are synonymous with the post-apartheid era. Moreover, these pamphlets reveal how peoples' beliefs in evil spirits and demons or the mal/benevolent powers of the ancestors

intermingle with daily concerns about livelihood, labour, safety and wellness. Ultimately, what African healers in Johannesburg attempt to do through consultation, ritual and medicine is to re-establish a sense of security, spiritual balance and equilibrium in the lives of people who live in precarious conditions. As is typical of African aetiology of ill-health or imbalance, healers seek primarily to give answers to people's questions "Why me? Why now?" and work to spiritually empower them so that they can take charge of their everyday lives (Ngubane 1977). These are questions that biomedicine often fails to answer, and which are also central to the health geographies and landscapes of care in the city.

No chapter in this volume looked specifically at the diversity of healing practices. Future studies may thus contribute to this line of research by looking at how indigenous healers help migrants and locals alike to deal with conditions of precarity, such as navigating risky urban environments, everyday challenges, or explaining episodes of illness and misfortune. Here, one needs to include healers of African and Asian descent that practice healing at Faraday and Mai Mai and in the secret of their homes, as well as the predominantly Indian healing market near Oriental Plaza. This should involve exploring how these healers respond to complex social logics in their measures to restore broken or fragmented social orders or acquit people of socio-spiritual transgressions as a result of migration. Finally, research can also explore how indigenous healers help to reconstitute disrupted social relations that are perceived as critical to the successful realisation of migrants' and locals' life strategies, including mediation between the living and the spirits of the dead.

Global Migrations

As *Routes and Rites* has shown, urban space and the religious landscape in Johannesburg involves a layering of historical and contemporary migrations. These have involved movements of whites from Europe participating in the establishing of colonial outposts but also, in the case of Jewish populations, often fleeing violence in Europe. Religious

space in Johannesburg as the volume has shown involves both a temporal and spatial diversity. But again this volume only skims the surface of the density and complexity of this diversity. Migrations and religions from Asia are a case in point. Jinnah and Rugunanan have explored experiences and spatial forms of migrants from South Asia; however, Chinese migrants and religions, for instance, are not represented here and yet they too have been an important part of the Johannesburg landscape since the early twentieth century (Harrison et al. 2014; Park 2009). The locally born Chinese South Africans are descendants of the Chinese immigrants that came into the country in the early twentieth century. It is estimated that over 60,000 indentured miners arrived after the South African war, though were banned from Cape Colony in the Exclusion Act of 1904 with only a few thousand remaining, around 900 in Johannesburg (Harrison et al. 2014, 513; Park 2009, 10, 22). During apartheid in 1960, some of their descendants negotiated access to live in parts of inner-city Johannesburg and their surrounds, though with precarious tenure (Park 2009, 37). Taiwanese immigrants came into the country in the 1970s and 1980s to support apartheid era industrial development. In the post-apartheid era, immigration (predominantly from mainland China) to South Africa resumed, creating some tensions between older generations and new migrants. However, Chinese traders form an important part of Johannesburg's economy and trade (Harrison et al. 2014; Wilhelm 2006). While the public display of their Chinese cultural heritage is well known and forms part of the diverse cultural landscape of South Africa, death rituals that are practised in the intimacy of their homes are less known. Ancestor worship (also called ancestor veneration) is a ritual practice where the family shares a meal and reconnects with a deceased family member. It is based on the belief that the dead have a continued existence and are able to exert influence in current affairs of the family members. New lines of post-apartheid migration from China and other areas of the world, and the ways religion shapes these mobilities, remain important and under-explored here and in the literature more widely. In this conclusion we mention them as an important community of the city which space and time did not allow us to cover here, yet of course they are not the only ones: the diversity of the city is almost inexhaustible.

Shifting Routes

The rapidity of urban change in Johannesburg is also bewildering. Some of the spaces in this book, as they are described here, no longer exist. The Central Methodist Mission as refuge for migrants no longer exists: many were pressured to leave by new church leadership with the departure of Paul Verryn in 2013, and a police and immigration raid in early 2014 where hundreds were deported effectively closed the space as a sanctuary for asylum seekers. (see Poplak 2015; Wilhelm-Solomon 2016). In addition, in the midst of global economic crises and ever-expanding circuits of migration, the worlds and spaces we are describing here have already changed between the research and printing. *Routes & Rites* provides a series of snapshots of a city in motion. It has aimed to address a neglect in taking seriously the role of religion in the study of Johannesburg, and this conclusion has served to highlight how much more scope for research there is. Johannesburg as this volume has shown is a powerful site for the emergence of neo-Pentecostalism, and this is powerfully shaping the uses of urban space with groups purchasing billboards along the highways and hiring out stadiums. This does not yet influence politics on a national scale in the same way that it does in places like Nigeria and Brazil, and yet the signs are that this might be a phenomenon in the future.

As Katsaura in this volume has highlighted, much of this volume deals with lower-income black communities, while his contribution explores the reshaping of religion in an "enchanted suburbia" of gated communities. The power of religion among the wealthier and predominantly white areas of the Johannesburg remains a critical line of exploration. We too, as writers and editors, remained overwhelmed by the plurality of forms in which religion appears in Johannesburg and in cities of the Global South more widely. This volume has hoped, through our shared conversations, to open up new visions of Johannesburg, fostering new lines of empirical and theoretical engagement. Because writing on the city is also a rite.

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Note: Page numbers with "n" denote notes.