In memoriam

Lawrence Schlemmer

1936 – 2011
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**The glue of a new society?**

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**Charismatic churches as perceived by their leaders and observers**

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The glue of a new society?

Introduction

Religion in its various interpretations has shaped South African society since the arrival of the first white immigrants at the Cape of Good Hope, and significantly influenced the country's politics until the end of the twentieth century. This was given expression in a diverse church landscape: in various churches the country's different population groups sought answers not only to spiritual, but also to social and political needs, questions and challenges. Starting in the seventeenth century, settler churches provided the immigrants from across the seas spiritual support and later legitimacy for their presence at the Cape. This was followed by active efforts on the part of European and American missionaries to Christianise the indigenous population, mainly through “daughter churches” of the immigrant churches. African independent churches began to assert themselves at the end of the nineteenth century as an act of emancipation by black ministers who had no opportunity for advancement in white-dominated churches. On the other hand, ministers in the white Reformed Churches sought in theology legitimacy for apartheid, i.e. the policy of racial discrimination against the majority of the population, which shaped the politics of twentieth-century South Africa. Theologians opposed to the policy of “separate development” also drew on the Bible. Desmond Tutu, the anti-apartheid activist and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, coined the phrase “rainbow people”, a term that embraced South Africans of all colours in the biblical message of reconciliation.

In short: Religion and politics were intertwined from the arrival of white colonists in South Africa. Religion co-determined the social status of all the country's inhabitants and shaped political attitudes – from support for apartheid to the struggle against it.

In the last quarter of the twentieth century a phenomenon that was sweeping the world also appeared in South Africa: the third wave of the Charismatic awakening. The Cape Republic experienced the emergence of countless new Pentecostal/Charismatic churches. At the same time, the established or mainline churches underwent a charismatic renewal. Today, about one fifth of South Africa's adult population defines itself as charismatic. Whom does the charismatic movement appeal to in South Africa, a highly politicised society? What are the effects and consequences of people turning their backs on the established churches? Is religious orientation a determining factor in political attitudes, as in an earlier era, or has the end of apartheid paved the way for a religion beyond politics? What are the differences between adherents of charismatic churches and adherents of the mainline churches? How do the “new” churches influence their adherents' social attitudes? Has the close relationship between religion and politics continued beyond the end of apartheid, or has religion increasingly become a private matter? This study will attempt to answer these and other questions.

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1 On this subject, see the interview with a minister of the Grace Bible Church in Soweto; many of the other interviews also point to a close connection between religion and politics.
Method

This study goes back to a suggestion of Commission X for Global Church Affairs of the German Bishops' Conference. In the mid-1990s, the Research Group on the Universal Tasks of the Church of the Commission was commissioned to investigate the phenomenon of “sects” and new religious movements in a long-term research project. To this end it arranged for case studies on four continents: an analysis of the literature on new religious movements in Latin America, Africa and Asia was enhanced by country studies in Costa Rica, the Philippines, Hungary and, finally, South Africa. In Costa Rica it was clear that emotion and charisma played a major role in the appeal of the new churches, that women in particular were attracted to them, that great importance was attached to family values, and that members of the charismatic churches tended to be drawn from the middle classes. In the Philippines the charismatic movement within the local Catholic Church has been described as religious populism that bore a strong resemblance to political populism. It voices opposition to the elites and also propagates defending the status of the family and of the community. Religious experiences are perceived as personal, and a strong personal relationship with Jesus and God plays a crucial role. In Hungary the development and expansion of churches and new religious movements was analysed against the backdrop of the collapse of the former eastern bloc. All studies are based on empirical surveys and individual interviews, though not necessarily conducted using the same instruments. The focus of the South Africa study is on the evaluation of opinion surveys, a countrywide representative survey on questions of religion, society, economics and politics on the one hand and a supplemental survey of members of the Grace Bible Church in Soweto on the same topic on the other. The primary interest of the survey lies in establishing the social profile of the different religious communities and the types of responses to questions about attitude. Over and

5 There have been a number of opinion surveys of Charismatic/Pentecostal churches in South Africa since the 1980s, but not a representative countrywide survey. In the mid-1980s Lawrence Schlemmer organised a study in the metropolitan area of Durban on what were then new charismatic churches and interviewed 80 adherents. In the early 1990s Allan Anderson interviewed 1633 families for a study of church allegiance of the inhabitants of Soshanguve with a particular focus on charismatic/Pentecostal trends. In 2004 and 2005 Lawrence Schlemmer organised interviews of 120 persons in Hout Bay and 350 persons in Gauteng as part of an investigation by the Centre for Development and Enterprise. See Schlemmer, Lawrence, Morran, Elda Susan 1984: Faith for the Fearful? An Investigation into New Churches in the Greater Durban Area, Durban: University of Natal; Anderson, Allan 1992: Bazalwane. African Pentecostals in South Africa, Pretoria: University of South Africa; Schlemmer, Lawrence, Bot, Monica 2004: Faith, Social Consciousness and Progress. A Case Study of Members of the Pentecostal, African Zionist and Other Churches in Hout Bay, Background Research Report; Schlemmer, Lawrence 2006: The Wider Impact of Faith. An Investigation among Members of Pentecostal and Other Denominations, Background research report and Schlemmer, Lawrence 2008: Dormant Capital. Pentecostalism in South Africa and its potential social and economic role, Johannesburg: Centre for Development and Enterprise.
above this, in-depth interviews were conducted with leading ministers of charismatic/Pentecostal churches, with representatives of mainline churches and with analysts well-informed about the subject. The study first presents an overview of the South African church landscape, followed by comments on excerpts from the in-depth interviews. After this the results of the representative survey are presented. This is followed by a comparison between the special survey of members of the Grace Bible Church and a comparable group in Gauteng. Finally, selected results of the full survey are compared with the results of the Grace Bible Church survey and a core of “convinced” charismatics.

The questionnaire for the representative survey in the study was constructed by Theodor Hanf, Lawrence Schlemmer, Valerie Møller and Helga Dickow. Petra Bauerle evaluated the data. The instruments used in the case study of South Africa were developed with the expertise and knowledge of Lawrence Schlemmer, who was involved in a large study on new religious movements in South Africa at the beginning of 2000 under the aegis of Peter Berger. In the light of this background and many years of project-related cooperation with Theodor Hanf's team, a degree of analogy between the two studies is inevitable. That said, the survey conducted by the Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE) is not representative of the country as a whole.

I wish to thank first and foremost the German Bishops' Conference Research Group on the Universal Tasks of the Church for funding the study and for their patience while it was being completed. The study would have not been possible without the constructive, collegial and friendly support and cooperation on the part of Theodor Hanf, Petra Bauerle and Valerie Møller. To all of them my sincere thanks. I am indebted to Angela Herrmann for the meticulous layout. I should also like to thank the pastors in South Africa who agreed to be interviewed – in particular the leaders of Grace Bible Church, who allowed us to conduct a survey of their members.

From single-church dominance to plurality: South Africa's church landscape

This chapter provides an overview of South Africa's church landscape, with particular reference to the church and religious communities that appear in the chapter on data. Although there is the danger that classification will oversimplify the complex relationships in the South African context, given the large number of churches and religious communities this is unavoidable.

The diversity of South Africa's churches and religious communities reflects the country's history of immigration and politics, the work of missionaries and the black population's struggle for emancipation. South Africa never had just one church. European settlers duplicated in South Africa the post-Reformation multitude of Christian confessions in Europe. Most of the missionary work among the indigenous population

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and the founding of churches not only followed the divisions between European confessions, but added to them. The third “charismatic wave” that has taken root in existing mainline churches or resulted in new ones since the 1970s is proving to be an additional layer of religious experience superimposed on the already existing diverse religious constellation in South Africa.

The Christian denominations can be divided into the reformed churches in the tradition of Calvin and Knox, the other Protestant churches, the Roman Catholic Church, the African Initiated (indigenous or independent, depending on interpretation) Churches, and the old and new Pentecostal/Charismatic churches. Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism were the religions mainly of slaves and other immigrants from the former Dutch colonies in what is now Indonesia and the crown colony of British India. Jewish refugees and European migrants founded Jewish congregations in South Africa, in particular in Johannesburg, in the early twentieth century. Together, the adherents of the last four religious groups account for just four percent of the South African population. The vast majority of South Africans belong to a Christian religious community. Accordingly, South Africa is a country with a predominantly Christian character, even though the number of people who do not belong to any denomination has been rising rapidly since the 1990s.8

The following overview of the religious denominations provides a brief history and social profile of each community.9

**Dutch Reformed Churches**

The first religious structure at the Cape of Good Hope was a Catholic church erected by Portuguese sailors. However, the first official religious doctrine was the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church), introduced by Jan van Riebeeck, who in 1652 founded a way-station with 200 settlers on the site of the future Cape Town on the orders of the Dutch East India Company. The church was the spiritual and social centre of the settlement, and continued to play a crucial role through successive generations. What was preached from the pulpit was binding in politics. The most impressive expression of this tradition – and one that marked the country and its society – was the policy of apartheid, the political interpretation of the Reformed religion's teaching of Bible-based “separate development”. But that came at the end of a long development. Although the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa achieved formal independence from the Reformed Church in the Netherlands only in 1924, liberal teachings such as

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the separation of church and state never took hold in South Africa. The isolated farmers and their ministers practised a traditional form of Calvinism rooted in the teachings of the Heidelberg Catechism and the great Synod of Dort (1618–1619), based on the text of the Bible, in particular the Old Testament. The English occupation of the Cape of Good Hope in 1806 led in time to a shortage of Dutch ministers. Hence, from 1820 onwards the British sent Scottish Calvinist, i.e. Presbyterian, ministers, some of whom were trained in Holland, to the British crown colony to look after the spiritual needs of the Dutch settlers. The attempt to introduce the English language into the Reformed Churches in South Africa failed, and many Scottish ministers were soon assimilated into their local, by then Afrikaner, communities.

In 1836 many of the Afrikaans settlers started to trek north to escape British rule and its liberal laws. The Great Trek was explicitly opposed by the Reformed Church, which remained loyal to the English crown and thereby precipitated the first split. In 1853 the son of one of the leaders of the Great Trek, Martinus Wessels Pretorius, founded the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk. In 1859, in turn, the Gereformeerde Kerk (or Dopper Church) split away from the latter. Today it is the smallest of the reformed churches and its adherents take the teachings of the Bible literally as the word of God. For this reason, at the end of the 1970s some members rejected institutionalised discrimination, in particular the Mixed Marriages Act and the Group Areas Act, laws that prohibited co-habitation across the colour line and racially mixed residential areas. South Africa's last white president, Frederik de Klerk, was a member of the Gereformeerde Kerk. Although it, too, attempted to cautiously distance itself from the theological justification of apartheid in a number of controversial statements, the Dutch Reformed Church, the oldest of the three white reformed churches, retained its numerical and political dominance until the end of the apartheid regime. Alone of the three churches, it formed daughter churches, in 1881 for the coloureds, between 1910 and 1952 for different black groups and in 1957 for Indians, thereby pursuing racial segregation within the church. In twentieth-century South Africa, Afrikaner society, church and politics entered into an extraordinary symbiosis: separate development – long practised in a permeable version by the British – was theologically justified by the Dutch Reformed Church and after the electoral victory of the National Party in 1948 systematically legislated as official policy. The goal was to preserve a “pure” Afrikanerdom based on race and religion.

10 The seminar in Stellenbosch was established only in 1859.
13 “Dutch Reformed Churches” in the following.
14 From the start the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk excluded blacks in that it adopted the principle of racial segregation in the country’s constitution as part of its Church Order. Although it did missionary work, converts were not members of the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk. The Gereformeerde Kerk did not do missionary work.
Afrikaner society and the church there was little opposition to this policy;\(^{17}\) the few prominent protesters include Beyers Naudé and Frederik van Zyl Slabbert. After the first free elections and peaceful change of power in 1994, the Dutch Reformed Church and its daughter churches reunited after a lengthy process of negotiations. Known during apartheid as the “National Power at prayer”, the Dutch Reformed Church has lost all political relevance and its declining membership indicates that it is in a crisis.

In short: The Dutch Reformed Churches include members of all population groups. However, on account of theological differences and racial segregation the individual groups have very different experiences of the past and even today live in different, racially determined economic circumstances.

Other Protestant and Reformed Churches

The other Protestant and Reformed Churches include the Lutheran Church, which was brought to South Africa by German immigrants, the first of whom arrived in the seventeenth century, and later Scandinavian immigrants. A second wave of Lutheran immigrants started with the arrival of American and European missionary societies in 1844. This resulted in the establishment of black Lutheran Churches, where converts could be instructed in their own languages. Henceforth, the Lutherans also had black and white congregations and in the twentieth century two separate churches for whites and blacks.

Anglicans – a separate group in the data chapter, comprising five percent of respondents –, Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists arrived at the Cape after 1806, when the British occupation led to a large number of British settlers. Although it does not reflect the reality of many congregations, their different churches are frequently referred to as “English-speaking churches” (in contrast to the Afrikaans-speaking churches of the Afrikaners). In general, churches of British origin tended to remain attached to their liberal British heritage, which abolished slavery in 1833, thereby triggering the Great Trek, and gave coloureds in the Cape Province the vote. The South African Council of Churches, the umbrella organisation of the Protestant churches, which was founded in 1936\(^ {18}\) and in the 1970s and 1980s actively supported the struggle against apartheid, reflects this tradition. Nonetheless, in keeping with the spirit of the times, the leading church representatives were long white.\(^ {19}\)

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\(^{18}\) The Dutch Reformed Church withdrew in 1941 on account of differences of view on the racial question.

Roman Catholic Church

The Roman Catholic Church has always played a special role in heavily Protestant South Africa. It attained legal equality with the Reformed churches only in 1875 with the passing of the Voluntary Bill in 1875, which declared churches to be voluntary associations and established freedom of religion in South Africa. Until then, it had regularly been prohibited from holding religious services. The Roman Catholic Church did not recognise segregation on the basis of skin colour. It became an advocate of the population groups that suffered under the consequences of apartheid, from segregated residential areas to inferior education. Many of its ministers came from abroad, which strengthened their independence, but also left critical priests vulnerable to expulsion by the South African authorities.

South African Calvinists, determined to preserve Afrikanerdom, viewed a global, non-racial church under the leadership of the pope in Rome as a threat to the true faith and the people. The slogan “roomse gevaar” (Roman threat) was part of Dutch Reformed Church polemics into the latter half of the twentieth century. In 1939, the latter stated that Catholicism posed as great a threat as communism. The rejection by official white politics and the Reformed churches enhanced the credibility of the Roman Catholic Church in the eyes of the black population. Like the African Indigenous/Initiated Churches, its membership among the black population grew during the apartheid era.20

African Indigenous/Initiated/Independent Churches

Almost one quarter of the black South African population belongs to the African Indigenous Churches (AIC) – today more widely known as African Initiated Churches.21 AICs emerged at the end of the nineteenth century under the influence of missionaries and emancipation movements in the black population – not only in South Africa, but across the entire African continent. They are also characterised by an enormous diversity of churches and currents. Although their attitudes towards traditional African religions vary, they all view themselves as part of the tradition of a faith or Christianity that existed on the African continent before the arrival of European and American

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missionaries. There are three, in part overlapping categories: the Ethiopian churches, the Zionist or Apostolic Churches and – closely linked with them – the messianic churches.

The first so-called Ethiopian churches split from the European churches and missions, in particular the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregationalist Churches, in 1872. This can be seen as an expression of the desire for African independence: the black Christians understood this step as liberation from white domination in churches in which they as blacks had no opportunity for advancement. With the founding of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912 and its subsequent development, the political significance of the Ethiopian churches faded. Today they represent an independent interpretation of Christianity in South Africa, although in respect of beliefs and organisation they draw on the former “mother churches”.

The Zionist or Apostolic Churches emerged around 1900. Their origins go back to the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion, Illinois, USA. They share certain expressions of piety with the Pentecostal movement that emerged at about the same time, such as the influence of the Holy Spirit, faith healing, speaking in tongues and baptism through triple submersion. But it has also developed its own rituals, such as night prayer and special rules for fasting. There are between 4000 and 7000 churches of this type; the smaller churches take the form of a kind of house church. The largest Zionist Church in South Africa, the Zionist Christian Church, preaches a moderate lifestyle, strict rejection of any kind of drug and the integrity in one's way of living. Accordingly, church members are much sought after as domestic help and security personnel. The annual Easter meeting of the Zionist Church in Moravia, attended by hundreds of thousands, is a popular destination for South African politicians, as the Church's millions of members are viewed as potential voters.

The independent messianic churches are a more recent development. They regard their founders as messiahs and demonstrate the independence and continuity of African religiosity, which, in the view of these churches, existed before the arrival of the European churches. Rituals and expressions of piety resemble those of the Zionist Churches.

Membership of the different African independent churches is primarily rural-based, but also present in the townships and city shacks as a consequence of migrant labour. Common elements include emphasis on the Holy Spirit and a strict moral code for members. They also stress the community of the faithful and communal values, in

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contrast to the individual salvation stressed by younger Pentecostal Churches. As churches of the marginalised black population under apartheid, they also paid attention to the social as well as the spiritual interests of their members. For migrants in the cities these churches were a social network that preserved the connection with the rural regions on the one hand and served as a substitute for the social structures of the rural homeland on the other. AICs in the cities often offer young migrants greater responsibility, and thus some kind of informal training, than is possible in the more traditional rural areas.26

Despite many similarities in their religious beliefs and rituals, the AICs are not Pentecostal Churches in the narrow sense. The crucial difference is the fairly widespread absence of the born-again experience, which is a fundamental element of both classical and new Pentecostals. However, some researchers define those AICs in which prophecy and other spiritual gifts such as healing play a role as “the African variant of the global Pentecostal movement”.27

Old and New Pentecostal Churches

The Pentecostal movement is the fastest growing faith community in the world. In South Africa the Pentecostal movement can be divided into the classical (old) and new churches:

The first wave of the Pentecostal revival started its global march in Kansas in the USA in 1901. In 1908 the first Pentecostal church in Africa was founded in South Africa, the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa. Others followed, such as the South African Assemblies of God and the Full Gospel Church of God. Initially rejected by other churches, in particular the Reformed Churches, in South Africa they are now regarded as established or mainline churches. The classical Pentecostal Churches had separate churches for blacks and whites. According to their theological convictions that the kingdom of God is not of this world, the churches were not politically active during the apartheid era, focusing instead on the spiritual well-being of their members. Frank Chikane28, a member of the black branch of the Apostolic Faith Mission, is an exception and was persecuted for resistance against apartheid. The membership of classical Pentecostalism tended to be Afrikaans-speaking, with virtually no English-speaking whites, coloureds and blacks.29

Starting in the 1960s, the charismatic movement began to expand in South Africa, initially almost exclusively in the white, English-speaking churches. A decisive influence was Bill Burnett, later Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, who as Bishop of Grahamstown became a charismatic in the 1960s.

The third wave of the charismatic renewal, expressed in the emergence of neo-Pentecostal Churches since the 1970s, initially had no contact with the black, i.e. the largest population group in South Africa. By contrast, starting in the mid-1970s charismatic churches gained a foothold in white society; the best known is Rhema Bible Church. It was founded and is still based in Randburg, one of Johannesburg’s prosperous northern suburbs, by Ray McCauley in 1980. So-called mega-churches were also founded in Pretoria and Durban; their congregations were exclusively white until the end of apartheid. Although the churches preached reconciliation between the races, they focused on spirituality and personal success as taught by the Prosperity Gospel, not on politics – in contrast to the members of the South African Council of Churches, which actively represented the interests of the banned political opposition. The white charismatic churches have close relations with the US evangelical movement. Many church leaders have been inspired and trained by ministers such as Kenneth Hagin in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Close contact and exchange between the Pentecostal /Charismatic churches in the USA and South Africa continues. However, the movement now embraces people of all races. Most Charismatic ministers have received part of their training or at least further training at US theological colleges.

Unlike in Ghana and Nigeria, where already in the 1980s charismatic churches were being established, until the end of the apartheid era black South Africans were more strongly drawn to the AICs and the Roman Catholic Church, not to the white-dominated churches. Before the first free and democratic elections in 1994, the new Pentecostal wave played no role in black communities. But then things changed quickly. The cornerstone for the spread of Pentecostal ideas was laid by the controversial Reinhard Bonnke with a large-scale tent mission in black townships and former homelands in the 1980s. Many of today’s prominent church leaders in Pentecostal/Charismatic churches were attracted by Bonnke’s tent evangelisation while still members of other churches, often AICs. In the 1990s, Charismatic church leaders from Nigeria, Kenya and Ghana began to preach in South Africa. The end of apartheid and a fresh political start in 1994 was accompanied by a fresh spiritual start. Growing numbers of black believers found their way to the Pentecostal/Charismatic churches. Today’s congregations of the Rhema Church are largely black, no longer white as at the end of the apartheid era, although, admittedly, the leadership of mega-churches is still disproportionately white. The mega-churches tend to serve a multiracial urban clientele. More and more black, coloured and
Indian – often self-proclaimed – ministers are founding Pentecostal/Charismatic churches in the cities and their environment and attracting large numbers of adherents.31

In short: There are different currents in the young South African Charismatic and Pentecostal movement. They are influenced by both the evangelical movements in the USA and African spiritualism and the Pentecostal movement of the early twentieth century.

Like the classical Pentecostal movement, the new Pentecostal movement has not managed to establish a coherent, uniform church structure either internationally or in South Africa. Their religious expression is too diverse, their teachings too syncretistic, their structures too porous, their rejection of a church hierarchy too strong and their commitment to personal salvation through the Holy Spirit too individualistic. The manifestation of spiritual gifts can range from speaking in tongues to faith-healing. The Bible is the basis of all action; similarly, personal contact with God is of crucial significance. Pentecostal elements in the African context can be found in the old and new Pentecostal churches, but also, as discussed, in the African Indigenous Churches: “Pentecostalism has been in Africa for most of this century – a good man of the classical AICs can rightly be called Pentecostal.”32

This short account makes it clear that it is impossible to classify the Pentecostal movement in terms of a strict typology. It seems difficult for theologians and almost impossible for political scientists to precisely define and delineate Pentecostal/Charismatic churches, let alone Evangelical churches. The World Christian Encyclopaedia speaks of “Spirit Churches”33 and includes all Pentecostal churches under this concept. A 2006 investigation by the Pew Forum on Charismatic and Pentecostal Christianity distinguishes between Pentecostalism and charismatics according to religious structures and self-perception.34 Lawrence Schlemmer and the CDE study differentiate between classical Pentecostal churches, frequently divided into old and new Pentecostals, charismatics and African Independent Churches. This study proposes a middle course.


On the one hand, it distinguishes between old Pentecostal churches and new Pentecostal churches, with roots in the two aforementioned, different Pentecostal/Charismatic movements, which, as will be shown, differ considerably in terms of social data. On the other hand, the study also employs respondents' perceptions and – as will be discussed in greater detail in the data chapter – the born-again experience. This makes it possible to include charismatics who are members of mainline churches, which have also been affected by the Charismatic awakening since the 1960s, as well as members of the AICs with born-again experience. In other words, in addition to classifiable religious communities, this study treats the born-again experience as an awakening as a frame of reference for membership of the Pentecostal movement. Thus, the study uses the term Pentecostal/Charismatic churches. In a final step, on the basis of responses to various questions, we have defined a type of “conviction” charismatic.
Charismatic churches as perceived by their leaders and observers

Method

In addition to the representative survey and the survey based on the special sample, structured interviews were conducted with church leaders of charismatic/Pentecostal churches and observers and analysts of the charismatic phenomenon. They provide firsthand accounts of the reasons for founding churches, the structures of churches and the theological attitudes and world views of the leaders of new charismatic as well as old and new Pentecostal churches. A total of 50 interviews were conducted. As a rule, an interview took the form of a conversation with the interviewee alone, but occasionally, at the request of a church leader, in the company of his wife, if she plays a leading role in the respective church, or with two to four other persons who were also part of the church leadership. Most interviews were conducted by Helga Dickow and Valerie Møller together or, if that was for practical reasons or time constraints not possible, alone.

As the study focuses primarily on the new Pentecostal churches, which are found for the most part in the metropolitan areas and large cities, all the interviews took place in the cities of Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban, East London and Cape Town – with the exception of interviews in the university towns of Grahamstown and Stellenbosch, which provided an opportunity to assess the influence of charismatic/Pentecostal churches in student circles. After the first interviews with leaders of Grace Bible Church in Soweto, further “sampling” was conducted on the principle of snowballing, i.e. based on personal recommendations and Internet research. With few exceptions – in this respect we are extremely grateful to the leaders of Grace Bible Church – it was not easy to establish contact and arrange a meeting with the respective church leaders. On the one hand they are very busy and on the other often out of town. In addition, Monday is ministers’ day off and Tuesday generally the day for team meetings. A greater obstacle than calendar bottlenecks, though, was a history of bad experiences with the media and academics. As a rule, it took several telephone calls to make contact: it was necessary to convince first the receptionist and then the personal assistant that our interest and our research work were serious. This was often followed by a demand for a written list of questions, which we refused because we did not want pre-prepared responses. Instead, we sent a description of our project, and only then, often after insistent and repeated enquiries, would we be given an appointment. Once we had cleared all hurdles, arranged an appointment, confirmed it and found the church or office building, people would be extremely accommodating. With one exception, the atmosphere at meetings was always very friendly and open. We should like to take this opportunity to once again thank all interlocutors for their willingness to share their personal and spiritual experiences with us and provide an insight into their church’s work and background and in particular for their openness in our discussions. We experienced again and again how

35 The interviews were conducted in February and March 2006 and October 2009.
often their mobile phones rang during the interviews, how the personal assistant first cautiously and then with increasing urgency announced the next guest, or how late they were for an appointment elsewhere. Despite this, our interviewees patiently and politely answered our questions in great detail, and before letting us go often said a prayer for us and the success of our endeavour.

We spent a lot of time with church leaders. Accordingly, in the following we shall let them – and South African church and religious analysts – have as much say as possible. In this way we hope to combine information, insights, analysis and own reflections and in this ways give some idea of the atmosphere in which we as participants made our observations. To this end we shall include excerpts from the interviews.

As an example of the course of such meetings, we reproduce the full interview with one of the leading ministers of Grace Bible Church:

_Could you please tell us something about the history of your church?_

The history of the name is linked with certain text in the Bible; I think it is John 3:16. It has to do with the grace of God. He saw the plight of the people and sent his own son.

_When was the church founded?_

In 1983

_WHO founded it? What was the motivation of the founders? Why did they found it?_

Reverend Mosa Sono. He is our Senior Pastor.

The church started with about 35 members in September 1983. I joined them as a student about three weeks after its foundation. They met in a school hall after they were evicted from the community hall where they met at the beginning. Then they rented the Church of the Holy Ghost which was free on Sundays (its congregation met on Saturdays) with about 300 places. When this was full we moved to a school which had burnt down in 1985/6. Only the roof was still standing but no walls. In 1986 we moved to a former exhibition hall as well without any walls. There was space for 900 people. When this was not enough we moved to White City Jabuvu with space for 3000 people. And in October 2001 we moved into our own building in Soweto, where we still are.

We were planting three churches in Soweto and one in Orange Farm in an informal settlement.

_How did the membership figures develop in the last decades?_

Nowadays we have about 8000 members in our congregation, in one service there could easily be 6000 members at a time.

We have an umbrella body with 19, soon 20, churches, the Grace Bible Church Family. 50% of them are mega-churches; that means in a congregation are more than 500 members. And ca. 50% of our members are young people.

And our church is still growing. Only last week we had the ground-breaking ceremony for an extension of our building. It will have 6500–7000 seats. It will cost about 25 million rand. We raise the money among our members and will add a loan from the bank. For the first building we had raised 60% ourselves before we could apply for a loan. It took us 17 years to have the 60%! And it is extremely

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36 Conducted in Johannesburg on 23 February 2006. Most of the excerpts that follow are from interviews with representatives in the leadership of the mentioned churches or church organisations. Names of interlocutors are not provided.
difficult to get loans from the bank. Members of our board had to give guarantees on their houses.

Do you have an explanation for the increase/decrease/stagnation of membership figures?

The increase is due to a number of reasons:
- We are strong in evangelisation:
  We have a cell group system, that means we identify people who come to our service and are from the same locality. It should not be more than 12 people. They meet during the week, the pray together, they help each other and they reach out for other people in God. In our church we have about 200 cell groups.
- We go where the people are: to prisons, schools etc.
- We evangelise
- We are visible in community activities
- Some people come on their own
- During the services we give people the chance to dedicate their lives to God. We help them to make their prayers.
- We have Sunday services
- And now we are starting on other days of the week. The attendance is amazing. This is for the unemployed, for housewives, ill people etc. And there are many people who can come to a service during the week.
- Now we want to have prayer meetings in work places as well.
- People respond to our vision: We have a church which DREAMS:
  D iscipleship: you have life a balanced life if you want to achieve something. Therefore you need discipline;
  R estoration: we have to restore the number of structures that have crumbled (i.e. family structures, education or learning etc.)
  E vangelisation: we are going out talking about Christian faith, adherents, what is useful for them;
  A rticulation: means things we believe in and must talk about like morality;
  M issions: we should be a church that plants churches, helps those outside our culture and boundaries or context.
  S ocial relevance: as a church we deal with spirituality of the people but we have to show them how we can be practically useful as well like community development or community enrichment.

For this we have to look for other partners, for example for a project with street children. We do something that benefits the members of our church but also the community.

As a church we make sure we reach there with the Gospel and this is how we take position. Another example: We run a computer school and found a partner with a major bank. We got the curriculum from the bank which they use for training their trainees. That was all. We got the computers and two teachers. But at the end of the course our pupils get a certificate from the bank which allows them to continue with a paper in their hands which we could not give ourselves.

We also take the social relevance of AIDS into our consideration.

How do potential members get in contact with your church? How do you foster growth?

We have got an admin office, we are listed in the directory, we have got a website and there are signs to our church from the main street. We have advertising
programmes and even have a TV programme every Sunday, but might give this up soon.

We always evaluate our work. In part we learned from business and we work very hard. We set ourselves goals; for the next three years this will be EXPLOSION. We evaluate regularly if our visions and goals are in line with our theology, spirituality and faith.

We believe that something can only develop when things come from within. The more consistently you work the better you become.

And we value enormously ordinary people. It is extraordinary what they can do. And they can do wonders with training and education.

We work a lot with volunteers.

God has been very gracious to see our opportunities, to see the talents of people and he used these things to help us to grow. We believe in the development of our own people.

*How is membership spread geographically the South Africa?*

We are in Soweto, we have got one church in NW and three in the provinces at the moment. Our members are mainly from the black communities, but we are slowly growing into the suburbs.

*Is there any emphasis on rural or on urban areas?*

For now 80% of our members are in the urban areas but we do a lot of mission work in rural areas as well (leadership and training seminars). Otherwise they do not have a chance in the rural areas.

*Do you have branches in other parts of Africa?*

Only one church in the family in Zambia which was founded by someone who was here as a student and was impressed by our work. We helped financially.

*Could you describe the organizational structure of your church?*

It is quite simple: there is a board of elders, the senior pastor (we do not yet have a bishop) is the chairperson, the management and clusters for different task. In these clusters are volunteers and full time employees. And of course the congregation.

New members have to visit a disciple class and to learn about our visions. Then they become a member. If somebody comes from another church we’d like to have a membership transfer.

*How many congregations/churches (referring to the relevant inner organizational entity) constitute your church?*

Nineteen

*How are the leaders of the church chosen?*

Leaders must be members of our church, have visited a disciple class, served in the church ministry in a leading position for a minimum of two years, show gifts that they are leaders. We look at the criteria from Moses (ability, fear of God, character, skills etc.)

*Elected? Appointed? By whom?*

We do have voted, elected, appointed. It depends on the position.

*How many pastors do you employ?*

In our main church we have seven full time pastors.
Do you employ any full time personnel? If yes, how many?

We employ one receptionist, one accountant, four admin support stuff, one person managing the facilities (plus three persons). We outsourced security, the cleaning is done by volunteers, and two teachers for the computer school.

We try to cut our costs as low as possible and work a lot with volunteers.

How would you characterize your church (as evangelical, charismatic, Pentecostal)?

We are charismatic evangelicals.

In your theology what is the special emphasis compared to other churches?

This will be very difficult. Our theology is influenced by ecumenical theology. We are not isolated, we interact with the SACC\(^{37}\) and others. We learnt a lot from the SACC about leadership, gifts of the Holy Spirit, vibrancy. We believe in learning by exposure especially with ecumenical churches outside our life. We have contact to a church in Korea, to the Willow Creek Church in Chicago (but we do not get any financial support, all our support comes from our congregation) and with the Lighthouse Church in England.

I see it more as a contextual theology: The people in our town have to be reached by their level. We are focused in helping families in their practical needs (job decisions, political choices other needs). But we emphasise at the same moment in reading and teaching the Bible and on healing.

The most important point I would say is teaching the Bible how it is linked to daily issues. Bread and butter, if you want. We do not shy away talking about current things related to the need of people.

Do you have an explanation, why people convert to your church instead of other Protestant denominations?

It is a benefit of freedom. Those who come to our church feel that they are adding value to their lives.

What are the main fields of activity of Grace Bible Church today? What other activities of Grace Bible Church are there?

- Evangelisation

Charity? If there is charity work, of what kind is it? Are the beneficiaries members or non-members? What kind of charity?

We have soup kitchens, bazaars and grants for students. For four years now we award the eight best high school students a grant for their studies, we also have one best learner girl, as it is still very difficult for girls to achieve matric. With the help of the school authorities we look for them in the disadvantaged areas in Gauteng. But only one of the eight is a member of our church! Otherwise we would not reach out into the community. Each one receives 5000 rand.

We support people who do not have enough money for funerals (bury paupers).
We support people with HIV/Aids with food.
We run computer courses.
We give access to bible studies, to literature groups, to group prayers, to women’s groups (women of destiny) as well as to men’s groups and special

\(^{37}\) SACC: South African Council of Churches.
programmes for children (holidays with access to nature, prayer, life style, HIV/Aids, sexuality etc.).

If you come for pastoral counselling it would be unchristian to ask if you are a member of our church. But of course, if you plan a marriage you have to be a member of our church.

Quality of live has improved but not for everyone. Yes, for the younger ones who have access to education, who have job opportunities, but for the elder people without any skills not. A 40 year old who is not literate cannot go back to acquire certain skills.

Do you cooperate in any of these fields with other organizations? What kind of organization? What is the nature of the cooperation?

We work together with groups with the same goals, like the municipality or organisations that have the same vision like us.

What are the main tasks of a church in your opinion?

Serve God’s people, that means the community with the tool (gospel), talents and resources that comes its way.

Do you think that churches have a secular mission as well as a spiritual? If you think churches have a secular mission, how should that mission be carried out?

Yes, when you look at the Gospel: The Gospel does not separate secular and spiritual life. One has to address both parts of a person. One has to deal with the issues that affect people. The church should participate actively in the community, participate by an agenda from which people will benefit: Issues of social justice, of family development, issues that affect people, but not shy away from teaching spiritual issues as well.

Given the hypothetical situation of a government, that oppresses its peoples and violates human rights, how should a church act in such a situation in your opinion?

The church should engage government that oppression is unjust and must be condemned. The church should show the right path and not just pointing a finger, but doing the same right path itself. The church should get rid of oppressive trends, be a model of justice, side with victims of oppression. The churches cannot be neutral, should be visible, seen, stand for justice. But church leaders should not participate in party politics. That would corrupt them. Those who have a calling for politics should go for it, but leave the church.

Do you think that there is something like religious change during the last decades in South Africa? If yes, how would you describe that change?

Yes, there was. We have more the opportunity to express faith without oppression and without somebody telling the churches what they have to preach. We have got more dialogue.

In the post-apartheid South Africa the church has lost its social activism, it is not pushing its social agenda. We need to revive it.

Do have any explanation for that change?

In the new South Africa most people have relaxed, but democracy needs to be protected, social justice needs to be addressed. There are still people on fringes. They have got political power, they can vote but they are not enjoying economic growth. Sometimes there are even still racial tensions. Full integration is not yet achieved; no real empowerment across the board.
Change for evangelical charismatics? They were always there, now they have more freedom. Some were not integrated in bodies like the SACC. Churches that were separated are now integrated, take the Apostolic Faith Mission.

The newer churches have no structures.

*Prosperity Theology?*

It is there, but not as strong as it used to be. People are not stupid. If you come from a well-off background, it is easy. But what do you say when you stay in Alexandra.

We need contextual theology. Some messages just don’t work. TEASA\(^{38}\) criticised Prosperity Theology already in the 80s.

*How do you assess the importance of churches and religion for politics in the South Africa?*

In the past we were fighting a monster. But now in the democratic order the church needs to rectify its contributions:

The government delivers. But moral revival, poverty, corruption, political rivalry these are the issues the church should address. The church has to rectify its role in a democracy. I guess democracy caught the churches unprepared. But the churches are not democratic themselves. They are talking about democracy but they are far away from it.

*Is your own church politically active in any way?*

We interact with local governments. In our church we host programmes or discussions when we feel it would help the community. We even had a discussion about health campaigns and other issues with cabinet ministers. We shared the same platform. We can join hands with politicians.

*Does your church take part in the public debate of political issues? If yes, which issues is it involved in?*

We spoke about the ecumenical movement. Concerning death penalty and abortion we have given our opinion. We have been interviewed in the radio.

*Does your church take a stand in the debate of the death penalty? Which?*

Concerning death penalty we share the view of our affiliates the SACC and TEASA. As long as there are disparities in a society you cannot discuss death penalty. It will always be the poor who suffer as they cannot afford good lawyers. But there are people who say it may come in a fully democratic society.

*Do your members discuss political issues in their meetings?*

Yes, with us they do. We live in a politicised society.

*Do your pastors comment on politics in services?*

They do, but we prefer they do know what they are talking about. If they address social issues without understanding the issue it can be deconstructive, for example issues of unemployment or poverty.

*Does your church publicly voice its opinion regarding election candidates?*

We stay away from party politics.

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\(^{38}\) TEASA: The Evangelical Alliance of South Africa.
Were members or the church as a whole engaged in the struggle against apartheid?

Almost everybody was involved in boycotts, hiding people, they opposed government. And there are some who have been in the ANC, in the underground. Now the society is integrated one can talk about this. Some even use it for their applications for jobs.

How would you assess the South African constitution with regard to Christian values?

The constitution has got good things:

Ushering in a just order, emphasises on freedom, promotes humanity, reconciliation. It values life. These are all Christian values. But we do have questions as well, like abortion. But on the whole it is a good thing.

We were used to a government who acted like a principal. Now we have the challenge of freedom. We can vote, we can get elected, but we see more corruption. But we have the freedom of press as well now. That is why we are exposed to it. Sometimes we have the impression in the oppressive system everything was neat and in order. Now we have the challenge that people have to understand what is to their benefit. But for us as a nation we have the best constitution.

Thank you very much!

Prototype: Genesis and structure of a charismatic church

Foundation and history

Unless founded by an existing church, the new type of charismatic or Pentecostal church is, as a rule, the creation of an individual, or sometimes a couple (husband and wife). Founding a church is usually preceded by an awakening: the experience of a meeting with God, an extraordinary, sometimes even life-threatening situation, an illness followed by recovery, or something similar. This stroke of luck or act of providence is often followed by the decision to thank God for this escape by serving him, by founding a new church and doing missionary work among people. This decision can be taken by persons who were already very religious before their “escape”, possibly even active ministers, and by persons who regards their escape as a personal awakening or even personal meeting with the Holy Spirit or Jesus, their personal Damascus, so to speak. This change in their life is the beginning of a new spiritual – and often testing – path.

God's call may be heard far from home …

It then suddenly occurred to me that there’s a possibility to plant a church. … I was a teacher by profession, but now I was also preaching. In the context of my local church, it was understood that if you’re an evangelist, you’re just an evangelist. At the school where I was teaching, I was already involved in evangelism. … In 1999, when I was coming back ..., as I crossed the Mississippi it was like crossing the Jordan. The Lord said to me, plant a church. The spirit of God visited me. In one and a half hours I wrote ten pages about this church. When I got back to South Africa], I asked how do I break out and plant a church. I left the church, I did not inform anyone, not even my family – that caused pain – but I did not want to take anyone with me.
We started in my house, then moved to a building down the road. The rent – somehow it happened. It was like the Lord will provide. It was amazing. … We grew to 120 in two years, mainly new converts.

*God’s Family Life Centre, Pietermaritzburg*

… or also while driving on the motorway with specific instructions about where to found the church:

I felt God’s call to plant a church, spoke to my pastor and he told me to go to Durban. When I drove down to Durban and I got to the Pavilion\(^{39}\) I felt that God really spoke to me in regard of planting the church here. This province is known as a political flashpoint, but we’ve been know for bringing peace.

*Christian Revival Church, Umgeni, Durban*

Religious organisations that are part of international bodies grow by taking over existing congregations that decide for whatever reason to take this step: to accept the spiritual leadership of the organisation, because they have lost their leaders, or because they see advantages in the merger.

We call this process adoption. The goal is planting, but sometimes church orphans attach themselves. We are strict. Those who want to join have to agree on our visions and values. There is no recruitment. Sometimes churches find us. In this process of courtship we ask does God this want to happen? … In 1997 His People joined a bigger group “Every Nation”. It started in America but is biggest in Asia with 500 churches in 50 nations. There are so many churches which are joining. I just heard rumours that about 700 churches just joined in the Dutch Reformed Church. But nobody could confirm it so far.

*His People, Grahamstown*

**Growth**

The beginnings of the new church are modest. The founder or founder couple starts by regularly gathering a few like-minded friends in their living people for religious services. Of course, whether he has a theological education or not, the founder of the church is also the first pastor of the church. The circle gradually expands. When the living room is too small, they move to the garage or another outbuilding, and a sometime later rent a hall, tent or even the church building of a shrinking congregation, e.g. a Reformed Church. At some point it may be bought for the exclusive use of the new church.

In 2000 my wife and I started the church, first in a rugby stadium. We started with nobody, now we are five and a half years old and have 1200 – 1300 members. In this building we are for two years now. We bought it from an Afrikaans church which was dying.

*Christian Revival Church, Umgeni, Durban*

As a rule, new church members are initially recruited through family and the immediate circle of friends. Close relatives, such as parents and siblings, are often initially sceptical and join the new church only later when it is clear that it will be successful. One has the impression that at least part of the family wants the security of divine support in the

\(^{39}\) Pavilion: a big shopping centre in Durban right on the highway.
existing spiritual home before it is also “takes effect” in the new church. If the pastor was previously in another congregation, some members of the congregation will move to the new church with the pastor and his wife.

Acquiring new members is one of the principal tasks of all community members.

We’ve got – internal – slogans: “Win the lost at any cost!” or “Everybody wins somebody!” The great compassion is to reach out. We don’t want to create a culture of church hopping. We want to be a purpose-driven church. We’re reaching out for those who don’t know God for a personal, vibrant relationship.

    Christian Revival Church, Umgeni, Durban

His People focuses primarily on winning over people who do not belong to any Christian community. Members are expected to befriend them and win them over in this way.

We’re growing through friendships. We encourage our members to be friends with non-Christians. … Our target is the no-church affiliations. We’re trying not to steal sheep. But of course, they are coming from all over, from everywhere. We’re multi-racial, more black even than white. The residences at the universities are mostly black, there we get a lot more members.

    His People, Grahamstown

In particular on their first visit potential new members receive a lot of attention. The goal is to create a longer-term bond and at least get contact details so as to refer to the first visit in the event that the “new people” initially fail to turn up again.

Regarding visitors: We welcome them during the service and then follow up on them during the week. They get free coffee and cake after the service their details are taken.

    New Covenant Fellowship, Port Elizabeth

First visit at church: they fill in cards with their addresses and we visit them as soon as possible after their initial visit.

    Father’s House, Port Elizabeth

**Composition of the membership**

The visibility of the new church is enhanced by their presence in their own or a rented church building and a web site. Other means of gaining members include social projects and the altar call (see below) during religious services. Some churches achieve impressive growth figures in a short time. Skin colour plays no role in the congregations; the “blackness” or “whiteness” of a church depends on its catchment area.

We’re fully multiracial which is typical for a revival church. We’re catering for all groups. We’ve got about 400 members from previously disadvantaged groups, 700 from all backgrounds, some more from a middle-class background. We’re not representative of South Africa as we’re located in a previous so-called white area. We’ve grown by people bringing their friends. Sometimes they may bring their poorer friends. … The greatest thing is the whole freedom thing, the multicultural thing, having overcome apartheid. I believe He set us free to set others free and to reunite people. I’m better off now with my brothers of different shapes and colours.

    Christian Revival Church, Umgeni, Durban
Rhema Church in Johannesburg, which is located in a predominantly white area and had an almost exclusively white congregation up until the end of apartheid, has become a “black” church in the new South Africa. The church leaders make an effort to hold on to their members: in the absence of other transport, buses bring the faithful from the townships to Sunday services and take them back home afterwards. This is one of the reasons why a Rhema spokesman describes the multiracial composition of the church as a significant “religious change during the last decades in South Africa”.

Yes, because first of all migration from people from formerly black areas into urban areas. In urban areas formerly all white churches they have non-white members now. The miracle is continuing to happen. The integration in the church is continuing.

Rhema Ministries, Johannesburg

Joining a charismatic church is a break with the past; it signifies a completely new start. This enables some believers to leave their sins and offences behind them. Others first have to break with their customary religious practices. In South Africa this also includes ancestor worship and witchcraft. In the interviews we often heard that charismatic churches do not tolerate these practices. It was impossible to ascertain whether and to what extent church members still practise them.40

My mentality: The charismatics divorced themselves from political matters, when you’re saved you forget about your past, you must forget your life as an African. I disagree with that. Of course I don’t mean worshipping the ancestors. Everything has to be in line with the Bible. The missionaries did impose things on us, they did understand our culture. I do a lot of African study just to see what is behind it, what is our pride as Africans, not to forget our history and culture.

Ethekwini Community Church, Durban

The break with the spiritual world of ancestors appears to be particularly difficult for those whose parents or grandparents were spiritual leaders in an older religious community:

No, we do not support ancestor worship. But I cannot judge on other people. I came a long way myself. I am from a family of Sangomas. But I cannot worship my grand-father anymore. I love him, but he was a human being with faults. How can I pray to him? I love my father, but when he dies I will just remember him as an ancestor and not worship him.

Good News Community Church, Cape Town

Organisation and leadership structures

The couple who starts a church is responsible for its leadership. They are supported by a leadership team, or elder team, a management board or a similar body. As a rule, this body is made up of members from the church's early days. Although described as a de facto controlling body, decisions are still taken by the founding pastor – the senior pastor or apostle, a title to which he is gladly promoted after a certain number of years.

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40 Paul Gifford points out how difficult it is to learn anything about ancestor worship or witchcraft; as a rule, nothing is divulged to outsiders. Discussion with Paul Gifford in Frankfurt/Main on 24 November 2010.
of successful church leadership. Repeated mention is made of the collective nature of the leadership, even though, at least in the early stage, the church is dependent on the charismatic talent and success of the church's founder.

There’s no traditional frame of reference. I’m not an iconic leader. It’s a collective leadership. We have a staff of 72 people. We have a managing director, a finance department, human resources etc.

*Shofar, Stellenbosch*

We have three elders. We have a much wider leadership team. Elders are the governors; then there are leaders of the youth, the children, mercy work, HIV/AIDS, and cell leaders.

*God’s Family Life Centre, Pietermaritzburg*

The senior pastors are myself and my wife, we have an executive committee, then a board of pastors and a board of deacons and operational departments (men, youth etc.). We have a social development (welfare) department for our engagement in the community with HIV/AIDS.

*Koinonia Bible Church, Sebokeng*

Both in the description and in the organisation of the leadership structures there are associations with the Bible and the 12 apostles:

First comes Jesus, then the bishop, twelve pastors (this is the spiritual leadership, two are women), the executive board (12 members: myself and members of the congregation), then department leaders and different departments.

*Rivers of Living Water Global Ministries, Evaton, Sebokeng*

Other churches seek the support of prominent locals and think about long-term income-creating measures:

We’ve got a board of patrons, different provincial ministers and a lady, a CEO from Umgeni water. This is a semi social-economic structure. I see them as an advisory capacity. Then there is the church board which I’m president of, and three divisions of the church: Me here and then
- Centre of Hope, which is the social aspect of my church
- taking care of clinic (the doctor is my wife, founded the hospital)
- Africa Arise Foundation which is the youth wing.
We've also got a business wing, it’s a holding, like a security company, and a cleaning company. So that when we have our own building we can use them. It’s registered differently.

*Ethekwini Community Church, Durban*

Both the congregation and the elders have a say in the appointment of church staff. Ultimately, the decisive factor that determines who gets the job is not qualifications, but the person's relationship with the church.

There is a dual system. We encourage the congregation to make recommendations. The idea is that the congregation is more likely to accept leaders it has nominated. The elders screen candidates. If there are several candidates we take a secret ballot among the congregation.

*God’s Family Life Centre, Pietermaritzburg*
Relationship is our priority. Because of the relationship component we give priority to people we know when we appoint staff.

*Shofar, Stellenbosch*

It is significant that many of these leadership bodies, like the pastoral posts, are also filled by married couples. The officeholder is almost always the husband; the wife, whether she has any theological training or not, is automatically appointed pastor and plays a decisive role in the church hierarchy. If she wants to, she can also preach at church services. Not all wives feel comfortable in this prominent role and refuse to make public appearances. On the other hand, they are often involved in healing ceremonies, baptisms and similar functions on a more intimate scale.

The decision to appoint a couple to leadership functions is based on practical rather than theological considerations:

Ideally they function as a pastoral couple. My wife is a pastor here, too …

*His People, Grahamstown*

For sensitive matters in counselling you need couples.

*Hatfield Christian Church, Pretoria*

However, only in rare cases do women start churches themselves or act as senior pastor. The leadership position of men is justified with reference to the Bible and on biological grounds:

Theoretically, it’s possible but it’s unlikely to have a female leader. It’s a combination of theological and practical reasons: The difference between the pattern and the possibility.

Theologically: we refer to the Old Testament where there was male leadership except for Deborah. Typically you see male leaders but it could happen that a woman would be the senior pastor. But practically because of motherhood it’s difficult. Our church values big families. The senior pastor in Jo’burg has got seven kids. That’s an exception. But five kids would be considered as normal. …

And home schooling is quite popular in our church. So it’s practically impossible for the women to become a senior pastor. Then, temperament and personality play a role as well: Most women would prefer not to be the senior pastor but to support their husband. And most men would prefer to be the senior pastor and get support from their wives.

*His People, Grahamstown*

In other cases a woman leader is rejected out of hand:

Our leadership doesn’t accept women as elders. But there’s a charismatic church in Pinetown that is run by a woman. She’s a very strong woman. That might be an exception.

*Anglican Church, Windermere, Durban*

The following self-portrayal and the profile of a charismatic pastor and founder of Community Church (1999 Bhisho) from the homepage of his church, which has branches all over the country, describe his spiritual awakening and the growth of his church:
Apostle M. Matshobane

Mangaliso Matshobane received the Lord as his personal Lord and saviour when he was 6 yrs old after being ministered to by his sister Busisiwe Matshobane. He then grew up quickly in the things of God and at the age of 15 he received a call for ministry. He then went to study Theology at the University of Fort Hare in South Africa (this is an institution where great leaders like Nelson Mandela studied).

At the university God shaped his leadership skills through the Student Christian Movement (SCM currently known as Student Christian Organisation SCO) where he was the chairperson of the organization and the first one in the SCM to win elections for the Student Representative Council (SRC) of the whole university.

While a student he pioneered a church plant project together with his friend Lucky Tshivhase (called City of Light ministry) who was the vision bearer and Pastor of this church plant.

On completion of his honours degree in theology in Mangaliso went to join his brother in law in ministry in 1995 in a vision called Good News Community Church (GNCC) in Port Elizabeth (P.E), KwaMazxi, Eastern Cape, South Africa. He served as an elder, pastoring over the youth and in charge of evangelistic crusades for almost 4 years. In 1996 he got married to his beautiful wife Biki and are blessed with two children.

In 1999 the Lord spoke to him to pioneer a church plant in the same vision of Good News Community Church. This was an extension of the original vision of GNCC. And the plant was in Motherwell one of the black residential areas in PE.

The church grew from 5 people to 300 plus in almost 3yrs. During this time work was also planted in East London-Mdantsane and in Uitenhage, East Cape South Africa. In 2001 the Lord directed him to go and Pastor Good News Christian Church in King Williamstown, (south east of East London, South Africa) which at that time had no Pastor. The Lord proved himself faithful again in that the church grew from 100 to about 500 people in 3yrs. During this period church plants took place in Queenstown, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and also in nearby villages like Ndevana and small towns like Berlin.

In 2004 November the Lord moved Mangaliso to Bhisho a small capital neighbourhood of the Eastern Cape Province next to King Williamstown, where he pioneered a church which he called community church. Bhisho is where the offices of the government of the Eastern Cape are situated. Currently Mangaliso is an Apostolic leader and visionary of a network of churches called God Never Fails (GNF). This is like minded churches joint together to form a network. A greater percentage of this network still consist of GNCC family churches, the ultimate however is to also have more churches outside of the GNCC family so that we express the diversity of the body and not fall into denominationalism.

Mangaliso Matshobane is also an apostolic team member in Present Day Truth (PDT) a fast growing apostolic network in South Africa led by Apostle Maxwell Ramashia who is also a spiritual father to Mangaliso. Mangaliso is also part of the Impact network which is an Apostolic network based in the USA under Apostle John Eckhardt www.impactnetwork.net.

He is also part of the prayer movement in the continent of Africa called Pastors/Ministers Prayer Network based in Nigeria but with offices in different African states.

Mangaliso is also a chairperson of Godly Governance Network (GGN) in the Eastern Cape which engages government on promoting and preserving godliness in governance.  

Training

The question of the training of charismatic ministers highlights the movement character of charismatic and also traditional Pentecostal churches. There is no uniform or standardised training. Rather, the crucial factors for exercising office are the experience of awakening, a personal vocation and personal commitment.

We believe people are called rather than elected.

*Greenfield Christian Church, East London*

Little importance is attached to formal training or solid theological knowledge. Interpersonal relationships (people skills) are held to be far more important. We were repeatedly told that pastors are trained either by the senior pastors – where they exist – or as church founders they train themselves, “training on the job” as it were – even for people from other occupations.

My church is growing very fast; we started as a home cell with six people. I never did any theological training, it was more an apprenticeship, trying to serve. Bible school is not so important. It teaches you theology but not how to minister. There is so much on personal development which you do not learn at Bible School. My degree in informatics enables me to teach myself and look for readings.

*Good News Community Church, Cape Town*

We raise new pastors. I’m growing and my pastor is looking at my fruits. The most difficult thing for a church is to raise people up as they are selfish.

*Christian Revival Church, Cape Town*

The lack of formal training is widely perceived to be problematic, and efforts are now being made to introduce minimum standards:

Formal theological training is not a criterion for us. Each minister has to go to a Bible Institute, but it is not a major criteria. The Full Gospel and the Baptists, they [those with formal training] are the one that speak [from the pulpit], they’re men of the cloth. … We’d encourage training. There is a probation period that he takes a structured course before he steps into the pulpit. If he comes through the ranks, he has received his training through his church. … It’s changing. We insist on at least a short term course for ministers. We have a programme of upskilling for our ministers. It’s connected to Cape Theological Seminary.

*Assemblies of God, Athlone*

Churches that are well established or that have existed for a long time do send their pastors to theological schools, usually after several years of practical work in the church. Training is either through distance learning, study in the USA or at the seminary of a friendly church in South Africa, or as a full-time or part-time student at the educational institution of the relevant church.

There is leadership training for everyone in church, professional vocational training, there is full time ministry Bible school, which is also accessible for everyone. Each congregation runs their own Bible school, it’s two years part-time. People who emerge out of that and feel called to ministry go to Pastors School. I also went to Pastors
School. We now have a graduation programme for the whole country for campus ministries with headquarters here in Cape Town. It is a three-year course.

His People, Cape Town

Theological training is preceded by a selection process. One church leader describes three mechanisms for selecting potential leaders in his church:

- We observe all the people from our group of deacons, we look at people who have shown growth. We would bring those people to ministry training for two years. Since last year we compel them to do a corresponding course, we’re also giving them training and ordain them to be pastors. Then they choose if they want to continue here or launch other churches.

- They study bible school full time. When they come back we oversee them in their congregations. We don’t compel them to keep the name Koinonia. They can operate differently.

- You find pastors who feel they have a calling though he is not trained. After we have satisfied observed him, he is just starting in an area and at one moment you’ll find 100 people there gathering at a Sunday.

Koinonia Bible Church, Sebokeng

In principle, though, the following applies in principle to all training:

It’s almost a standard thing: The theological education is not a very big investment in the charismatic churches. Over slight differences somebody starts a new church and had hardly any theological training at all. The problems are there from the start.

TEASA, Johannesburg

Church services

The central event in church life is the Sunday service. The larger the number of members, the greater the number of services that have to be held on Sundays, as the building cannot hold the entire congregation. Some churches hold three or four services back-to-back. As a rule, the service lasts between one and two hours. All members of the church are expected to appear at church every Sunday.

The first thing that a visitor notices about a charismatic service in a mega-church is the stream of cars on the way to the church, and then the enormous parking lot around the church building. One church in Durban holds its Sunday service on the top of a multi-storey car park: the cars park below and around the church structure. Yet, no matter how big the parking area, it never seems large enough for all the cars, most of them recent models, filled with enthusiastic families in their Sunday best. The mood is happy and expectant; everywhere cheerful voices greet family, friends and acquaintances. The impression is one of a large family gathering or a celebration with friends rather than people on their way to church. As a rule, the church building itself is a functional structure that at first sight reminds one of a gigantic auditorium: close rows of chairs, bright, no sacred art on the walls and no chancel. There is no inner sanctum,

42 When the alarm of the pastor's car went off during the service he caused great merriment by switching it off with his remote.
only a – often glass – pulpit, towards the corner a couch and in the centre the stage for
the band with its massed percussion instruments and the choir. Behind them are huge
screens on which the band is already playing and later the pastor will appear as he
delivers his sermon. There is also a computer-aided illuminated text display for com-
munity announcements, Bible verses and hymn texts.

Ushers show people to their places, while the music puts the visitors in a rhythmic
mood: the crowd sways in time to the music, some dance on the spot, others more
energetically directly in front of the stage. Children and mothers with small children sit
in a room behind a glass partition, through which they can follow the service without
the children's noise disturbing the congregation. Some churches also hold special
parallel services for older children.

At the beginning of the service an announcer, possibly the pastor, mounts the stage to
read all sorts of church announcements: the date of the next night of prayer or the
children's play group; the theft of a computer from the office; who is about to marry –
the pair stands up to general applause; news from specific cell groups, or the division of
cell groups that have grown too big; visitors attending the day's service; greetings from
a prominent member of the church leadership away on a trip; and calls for bids, e.g. to
extend the church or enlarge the parking area. And finally, what cause they are collect-
ing for today. At the same time and at various places, huge collection bags, even open
tubs or similar containers, are passed through the congregation. The procedure is re-
peated for collections for different or special causes, or containers of different colours
pass through the congregation at the same time. Every church member is required to
tithe – to donate one tenth of his or her income. Some throw cash into the bag or con-
tainer, others envelopes. The band plays in loud rhythmic music throughout the col-
lection, supported by the choir.

We also think you have to strike while it's hot. It's an extension of worship unlike with
the Lutherans which is a stingy church! Let's now honour Him with our tangible gifts.

*Assemblies of God, Athlone*

As soon as the collection is over and the collectors have disappeared into the admin-
istration offices with their full bags – the amount of the collection is never publicised;
ocasionally an announcement is made of the amount the community has donated for
some or other purpose – the pastor mounts the stage or rises from the group sitting on
the stage to a frenetic greeting.

The pastors of the new Pentecostal churches wear smart business suits, not cassocks,
robes, gowns, bands or stoles.

The service itself is a happy occasion. Occasionally late arrivals are called to order,
but otherwise the tone is cheerful and relaxed. A specific topic for the day or the year is
dealt with through a series of Bible quotations, interpretations and worldly wisdoms
especially tailored to the congregation's everyday life. There are regular bursts of laughter
when the pastor says something particularly amusing. As a rule, the sermon is in
English, but now and then short passages, or perhaps jokes, are told in colloquial Afri-
kaans or the regional language.
Time is also allowed for spontaneous prayers:

    Prayer could be at any time. We invite people to come forward to pray. It depends if the Holy Spirit is leading. We don’t have a fixed programme, no liturgy.

    Barn Christian Fellowship, Randburg

During the entire service the congregation listens to the pastor attentively, reads in the Bibles they have brought with them and takes notes in a notebook. Again and again the pastor is interrupted by loud hallelujahs and amens.

**Altar call**

The highpoint of the service comes at the end: The pastor fishes for new arrivals. Those in the congregation who on this Sunday have come to this special church for the first time are asked to raise their hands. Then they are asked to stand, and are thus visible to all. The pastor then calls on the congregation to welcome the new arrivals. The building resounds to the loud applause of the congregation. Those standing are asked to gather their bags and coats – this is, after all, South Africa – and come forward to the stage. There, while the crowd claps, the pastor and his deputies shake hands with each of the new arrivals, a sign that they are now members of the church.

    We do altar calls with regards to a response to something that’s preached on. We’ll pray for them. For instance, if asked, do you want to accept Christ? Usually people are asked to raise their hands. We also call them to the front and pray for them.

    New Covenant Fellowship, Port Elizabeth

In some churches between 60 and 100 people are counted at altar call every Sunday. They are then led into an adjoining room, where they are met by church members who explain the church structures to them and take down their personal details. Depending on the church, new members can be officially admitted only after they have passed an admission course. In such cases the Sunday applause is recognition of their success in passing the course.

A pastor describes the acceptance process as follows:

    Normally people would come as visitors. We give visitors, as we call them, a first time package. There is a paper and you can put down what you want (a visit, a prayer etc.). You can put your name down if you like.

    Then you become a member.

    If you come from another faith, we’ve got special classes, especially for people from a Hindu background. We teach you about our faith (God, Jesus, what blood means to us, baptism through water, baptism through the spirit etc.).

    If you come from a Christian background, you attend another class. This course is mainly about discipleship, faith, the vision of this house. When they’re gone through they are a member of our church. Then we take them to the next class. We teach them about leadership, about dealing with people. During the course of the year we’ve other courses, lectures, people from outside come in. We do continuant leadership teaching.

    Conquering Through Prayer Ministries International, Merebank, Durban
The service ends with a prayer and hymn, but much calmer than before. Afterwards, pastors and elders wait in front of the stage for church members who want personal counselling or healing. They stand close together, talking and touching each other. Sometimes there is an emotional moment, but in contrast to the preceding service the atmosphere is quiet and contemplative. People wait patiently in line for their turn.

The church shop in the entrance hall of the church building is open. Those who are interested can buy books, cassettes of the pastors' sermons, t-shirts with the church emblem and similar things as they leave the church on their way to the parking area. Those in a hurry rushed out earlier to avoid the traffic jam as people leave the parking lot.

For a while there are still a lot of people standing around talking to one another, then the crowd in front of the church gradually breaks up and the parking area slowly empties. The cars stand bumper to bumper on the way to the feeder roads. Until the next service – either later that day or on the next weekend.

**Theology**

Since arriving in South Africa at the beginning of the twentieth century, Pentecostalism has been viewed with suspicion by theologians of other churches and religious communities. The theology of the new movement seemed to be too shallow, too emotional, and based on the individual spiritual experiences of believers than on the interpretation of God's word and the intervention of ordained and trained ministers. There was no clear division between the spiritual and secular worlds. Indeed, it took more than 50 years for the Pentecostal churches in South Africa to be accepted by the long-established churches. Now, they are also regarded as mainline churches. The younger charismatic churches are going through the same experience as their Pentecostal predecessors a century ago. They, too, are viewed by the mainline churches as theologically lightweight with too great an emphasis on individual spiritual experience.

A theology professor of the Apostolic Faith Mission, one of the oldest Pentecostal churches in South Africa, describes the discussion:

> According to the Dutch Reformed Churches the Pentecostals were blind people, can’t see the theological background. It was difficult to start the training of pastors. There is always this dichotomy in the Pentecostal churches, the tensions between the secular and the spiritual world. This will always be there. In the name of the Holy Spirit there will be many arguments. Pentecostal people lack a real theology on creation, on Paul’s conversion, of Jesus as the creator and more. The dichotomy thinking is still there. But we manage.

_Apostolic Faith Mission, Johannesburg_

The critical statement of a prominent representative of the African Independent Churches makes essentially the same point:

> It is those educated people who can articulate themselves, young people, economically visible. They are also opposing the church. The church for me has got a constitution, has got dogmas. In those charismatic churches – we might be criticising for nothing but that is what we hear from our people – there is nothing spiritual. They pretend to heal but if you follow there is nothing spiritual in there. They do not follow any cultural
Representatives of the charismatic churches are aware that they lack a theological foundation, as the following quotation shows.

We want to develop a good theology. That is our dream. You are aware that Christianity is moving South, first into Latin America and then to Africa and especially South Africa. People in Africa are very spiritual.

We are strategic in a good position for this development: We understand the thinking of the Africans and the dichotomy of the charismatics. In the charismatic churches is the same thing happening like in the Pentecostals some 30 years ago: Science is nothing, the Holy Spirit is everything.

Apostolic Faith Mission, Johannesburg

The charismatics do not attach much importance to a well-polished liturgy. The line between the divine and the secular is blurred, and prayer at church services is not tied to a set ritual.

There should never be a secular or a non secular. I would talk about how you become a Christian seven days a week and twenty-four hours a day even without your pastor looking at you.

Good News Community Church, Cape Town

A literal biblical exegesis is the basis of all theological thoughts and actions.

Every believer should become equipped to become a disciple, a leader. They must learn the basics of the Bible. They need to have a knowledge of the scriptures, the hermeneutics. They need a knowledge of healing. We believe that salvation is a continuous process. We believe in all the spiritual disciplines, fasting, solitude, confession etc.

God’s Family Life Centre, Pietermaritzburg

The other fundamental pillar is the life, work and example of Jesus:

Charismatics are not as strict. My friends and I were looking for something meaningful in life, something that speaks to you. In the 1980s things were bad. Our parents just told us to go to their church. But the church did not speak to us, it could not offer any hope for us.

The charismatics come and show you the life of Jesus. The more you hear the more you continue living. Somebody taught me the scripture and I stayed.

At the charismatics people take you through the Bible, it is not about the dos and don'ts.

Koinonia Bible Church, Sebokeng

Another goal is realising God's kingdom on earth until He comes again:

The special emphasis is on serving, a gospel that is relevant, practical, that reaches the people out there. A gospel that is not too heavenly minded, that will help me now. A dynamic gospel that aims at excellence. It all comes down to the power of the word.
Our pastor has taught us richness in the word. When we go out, we go out with depth in the word.

To us the Trinity is the most important. We stand richly on the word of God. We’re building for posterity. We’re establishing a kingdom, a work that will go for generations until the Lord comes [again]. We look forward every Sunday to the message that is Bible based.

*Rhema Umtata Christian Church, Mthata*

This is also true of charismatics within the Anglican Church:

We’ll never be quite Pentecostal. They’re a bit more boisterous. From the Anglican viewpoint the charismatic renewal has quite a gentle feel to it. There’s a clear dependence on the spirit. We tend to preach out of the scriptures. We tend to live in the scriptures rather than to speak of them. We tend to engage God. Our worship is more about encounter than mere singing.

*Anglican Church, Durban*

**Emphasis on the Holy Spirit**

The central tenets of charismatic belief, besides strict Biblical exegesis, are the emphasis on the Holy Spirit and the individual's personal relationship with God.

Church leaders were asked about the crucial elements of their theology:

A deeper relationship with God, heavier emphasis on the Holy Spirit. We believe in baptism, in baptism in water, speaking in tongues and in the Holy Spirit. It’s adults’ baptism because a person understands it. When a person is born again, they go to courses, getting it explained.

*Father’s House, Port Elizabeth*

It is felt that believers in the established churches lack this experience:

Another factor, a positive one, for a lot of people – black and white, they discover a reality in those churches, a real experience of Christ. There isn’t that same vibrancy in the established denominations. The real experience of Christ is a rare experience in the established churches, it is a private response. A lot of them, e.g. Rhema, New Covenant, New Frontiers, they are very missionary-minded. That’s to their credit.

*South African Enterprise, Pietermaritzburg*

Believers experience a better spiritual and social development precisely because of their close, personal relationship with God and the Holy Spirit:

In 2001 we changed the name from Good News to Father’s House. It was the name change which included the change of the vision. Under Good News the focus was more on uplifting people in terms of spiritual life with strong emphasis on economic uplifting. Father’s House is more about understanding God as our father. The focus is to build a stronger relationship with God and to develop a person spiritually and socially. The emphasis is on the well being of the whole person.

*Father’s House, Port Elizabeth*

The history since 1967, we lay the emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit. During the last ten years people are making a difference in mission and social difference. We’re
constantly encouraging people to make a practical difference. The Holy Spirit is pouring itself out in making a difference.

_Hatfield Christian Church, Pretoria_

In other words: Religion affects all aspects of life – whether in family or work. The kingdom of God has to be lived in the here and now:

We are more of a charismatic church. We emphasize on the gift of the Holy Spirit. That is the key. Pentecostalism is more about the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, about speaking in tongues etc. We strive to teach the Bible as a whole thing. We believe in the kingdom of God, that being Christian is a lifestyle and more just being a member of a church. It should affect how I live my life, how I raise my family, how I do my job. It’s more about the kingdom.

_Good News Community Church, Cape Town_

Whosoever has a personal relationship with God will never be alone and will reap the harvest:

The word is different. We don’t ward people to ourselves and claim them to us. We take it with Romans and renew people. We are open with everything we do. Our worship is prophetic. We are ministering the Word. It is a mustard seed in your heart. We give the shade to people beaten, abused. Our church challenges and encourages you. It is a walk with God not on your own. It is a relationship with God. We seed in your hearts, God brings Harvest to your life.

_Shekinah Ministries International, Cape Town_

In the view of one pastor, the church is far more involved in social matters now than during the apartheid era – but even this involvement is based only on a personal relationship with God:

Religion to me is dead. It is different to have a relationship with God. Jesus was not religious. The biggest problems come from religion. There are wars on religions etc. Given when South Africa was more religious it was not better. If a person walks without in obedience but just without a relationship he has less grace, less loving. A spiritual awakening cuts both ways. Those who have a desire to serve God do more, they are more devoted. … If you look at Islam, the jihad comes out of religion, in Christianity the crusades.

There’s a decline in church attendance these days, but those who are followers of Jesus are more devote and committed to his witness, even in social change. The church is so much more involved as part of the solution than in Apartheid times, for social responsibility, environmental issues.

_Lighthouse, Cape Town_

**Attempts to differentiate: Pentecostal – charismatic**

It is difficult to classify the individual churches as either charismatic, Pentecostal or evangelical and distinguish clearly between them. As a rule, the leaders of the individual churches refused to categorise themselves. For them it is not a dilemma; as syncretists they mix and instrumentalise all the available categories.
Below we quote the responses of some leaders to the question of how they would characterise their church. In the final analysis, the excerpts underscore how little value the interviewees attach to a clear distinction.

Several were happy to apply all the characteristics to themselves:

It’s charismatic and evangelical. There is also an element of Pentecostal.

_Ethekwini Community Church, Durban_

We’re evangelical in that we evangelise. We’re charismatic, we believe in the gifts of the Spirit. We believe in the Spirit moving, the baptism of the Spirit at Pentecost. Actually a charismatic church that’s just one aspect. I’d describe us as a church that loves Jesus, wants to serve him.

_Glenridge Church International, Durban_

We are an Antioch based church, which is more Pentecostal, and more charismatic as well. But we are moving into the prophetic and apostolic direction.

_Shekinah Ministries International, Cape Town_

Charismatic in expression of worship, Pentecostal in the gifts of the Holy Spirit, Reformed in church governance. From the outside we look just as a charismatic church, but we wouldn’t see ourselves in values of national-building if we were restricted to charismatic values. Many charismatic churches don’t have a stand on the world where they we’re living.

_His People, Cape Town_

I’m not sure from the Pentecostal viewpoint that we see a difference between Charismatics and Pentecostals. But they’d see us as staid and fundamental. And they’d see themselves as more charismatic. Our form of worship is not very different. As a denominational church, we are in submission, we accept hierarchical structures. In many places, it’s a private business for the pastor. When it comes to basic beliefs and liturgy, there’s very little difference.

_Assembly of God, Durban_

We’re charismatic, but for us we’re apostolic or biblical. We try to be biblical. Of course we believe in the gifts of the spirit, tongues etc. But one thing distinguishes us: We have a passion for Christ and for making disciples. We believe in the great commandments. But we also believe in prophecy, gifts of the Spirit, healing, miracles. … Oh, yes a lot of healing is done in our church.

_His People, Grahamstown_

Yes, we would be called charismatic. But I wouldn’t draw a line between charismatic and Pentecostal. I would give us many names. Charismatic churches would be operating by the grace and gifts of God, speaking in tongues, prophesy. The Pentecostal movement many years ago included also healing and faith movement.

We believe God rules. He’s the King. We’re doing what He wants us to do if we have faith. If it is God’s will that a person should be healed I can lay hands. We are much more Kingdom-minded. If God wants me to be a martyr I cannot be a millionaire.

_Lighthouse, Cape Town_
As charismatic evangelical. We’re a little more conservative than the classic charismatics and more liberal than the classic evangelicals. … The average charismatic church is a single church on their own, they are very anti-denominational. We don’t feel like that, we see the weaknesses but also the strength of denominations. We would be more conservative in this way. … We always considered the social gospel as relevant. We see it parallel to the Gospel. The social Gospel is to reach a man spiritually, physically and socially.

Rhema Ministries, Johannesburg

Others find it difficult to draw a line and try to pinpoint differences in organisational structure and how old the church is.

It’s not easy to draw the line. Pentecostal churches are more structured, orderly. The lines of accountability are clearer. The biggest downfall of charismatic churches is lack of accountability. The Pentecostal movement is much, much older. When they meet the Holy Spirit, they call themselves charismatic.

Hope of Glory Tabernacle, Cape Town

The greatest difference is that there are no structures in the Charismatic churches. They are built around one person with a flat structure. The leadership is understood as a network for opportunities. The Pentecostal churches have a strong hierarchy, our “Gesetzbuch” at the AFM is that thick. At the AFM after the unification a lot of tension was going on as the Blacks prefer one strong leader from the top and the Whites a more equal approach.

The thinking and preaching is the same between charismatics and Pentecostals.

Apostolic Faith Mission, Johannesburg

Others express their difficult in defining and identifying with the respective adjectives.

I suppose we would be classified as charismatic but personally I don’t like the word. It’s got negative connotations because of lack of understanding and because others were going to the extreme.

We’re people who are really passionate about serving God. Yes, passion is the word. We’re also Full Gospel as we believe in the Bible. But I don’t really want to be limited or put into a category, I don’t want to be a person to be limited. We believe in prayers in tongues so we’re Pentecostal but we don’t do it all day. We don’t put the whole Pentecostal experience aside. But there has to be a time for it.

Christian Revival Church, Umgeni, Durban

Since the time when I was born again, I’ve never been able to understand the different concepts. But I would see myself as charismatic with influence of evangelic and Pentecostal. But these are more theological questions, with my background as a lawyer… Maybe it wasn’t a wise decision, because many young people when they are born again break up their studies or go to Bible School. I didn’t want to be influenced.

Father’s House, Port Elizabeth
Some church leaders attempt to take a historical approach to the distinctions.

I would call us Pentecostal but we are charismatic, too. You see, on the one side you have the traditional churches, on the others the Pentecostals. We are just in the middle. We are just between old and new system.

Rivers of Living Water Global Ministries, Evaton, Sebokeng

In South Africa the separation between Pentecostals, charismatic and evangelicals is less obvious than in other countries. The church scene in South Africa is now dominated by the traditional and Pentecostal churches and very much so after 1994. At the SACLA in 2003 or 2004 it was the most representative church meeting. The Pentecostal influence was very strong. If you had been in the opening session you would have thought you were in a Pentecostal service with all the singing and dancing. It is very much integrated. I supported this move since I have been in leadership.

Even within the Dutch Reformed Church you find a large number of local churches who are very much charismatic. I have been preaching half of my time in DRC churches this year. The borders are lowering. Many churches are Pentecostally inclined. The move from one church to another is not so difficult. And people know it: Most of the TV broadcast are of Pentecostal/charismatic origin. It is very much integrated in the national opinion.

Apostolic Faith Mission, Pretoria

There was a time when we would more clearly distinguish it. The Pentecostal came from the historical church, so they had to move out. In the Pentecostal churches anyone who claims to be truly Pentecostal, you’ll find them in the Pentecostal church. We would not put our names outside our church buildings. That’s more the charismatics who centre around a pastor. There are some who went the same way. There’s a group, I don’t think you can call them charismatic any more. Some would shy away from Pentecostal and charismatic labels. They would say they are ‘Kingdom-minded People’. We’re Assemblies of God, we are told that it is not a denomination, but a fellowship of like-minded churches. But we are moving that way.

Assemblies of God, Athlone, Cape Town

Others refer to generational, class and group differences.

It’s the younger generation. The Pentecostals are more conservative in their music, dress patterns, taboos. Don’t do this, don’t do that. The charismatics are freer. In social life they have more freedom. … Charismatics are young married couples. The poorer class is more Pentecostal. Business people, people in government, in the public service are charismatics. The poor rural and urbanites are old Pentecostal, the upper strata is charismatic.

I think most people in the coloured community, in the newer generation, there is a desire to improve. Some sit in the Pentecostal church and feel a bit cramped for space. They see in the charismatic churches, people who are bit progressive, they look up to them, to those who are more orderly, their music is well produced. The person sits in the Pentecostal church, he works in his job. He gets promoted. He now moves among a new level of people. He asks himself, can I invite them home where things are more

43 SACLA: South African Christian Leadership Assembly.
haphazard. So there is pursuit of excellence. They are in search of excellence, professionalism. There is now a new generation that searches for more than what their grandparents had.

_Apostolic Faith Mission and member of various faith based organisations, Stellenbosch_

Finally, one interlocutor sees all churches as a sort of common corpus mysticum.

Our special emphasis is to be supportive of people because we’re all in God’s harvest fields.

In the Bible we learn about the different parts of the body. The hands, the legs etc. But the arm cannot say what to do to the leg. That’s how we see the different churches as foot, hand etc. The churches should work alongside with each other to fulfil God’s greater purpose.

_Greenfield Christian Church, East London_

In summary, the new Pentecostal churches or charismatic churches are interested not so much in strict definitions or attributions as in ensuring that the respective church theology, religious connotations and biblical quotations appeal to members and express their feelings. This aspect is also expressed in church leaders’ responses to the question of how they assess the appeal of their own church, to which we shall return at the end of this chapter.

**Cohesion**

**Cell group**

Besides the weekly church service, attended by as many members of the community as possible, there is another regular meeting that is crucially important for members of charismatic churches: the weekly meeting in small groups, the so-called cell groups. On joining the church a new member is assigned to a cell group. As a rule, cell groups are tied to local urban districts. The cell group meets every week at the house of a different member. They pray and eat together and cultivate a certain degree of social intercourse. For many members, the cell group is a regular meeting of their circle of friends. The cell group is not intended to replace the church or church attendance, but to remain small and facilitate personal connections. Thus, as a rule, they have no more than 12 to 20 members. The number 12 is often chosen after the 12 apostles of Jesus. If the cell group grows too big, it is divided and a new cell group founded. Most cell groups meet Wednesdays. Their goal is to serve spiritual needs and to maintain the feeling of community until the next weekend. A few churches have chosen Monday as their jour fixe so that they can talk about and discuss Sunday's sermon together in a small circle. Whether Mondays or Wednesdays, these small groups are extremely important for the cohesion of the charismatic churches. Their tight social network makes it easier to get through the day in modern urban life. Even those with few social contacts are in the company of like-minded people at least once a week. Many look forward to these evenings with great anticipation – a meeting with friends who share a similar spirituality and interests.
The following are descriptions of and commentaries on cell groups:

We have got a home cell system. We break them into ten to fifteen members with a leader. Once the church is too big it’s impersonal. But these bonds are almost unbreakable. They meet once a week and study the Word.

*Koinonia Bible Church, Sebokeng*

The new churches are a product of globalisation, a lifestyle of consumption: It gives me a good feeling about it. It becomes my social club.

*Anglican Church, Durban*

It provides a social space, friends, commitments, give and receive from other people. It gives them a centre point for life experience. We have a full range of age groups, the cell groups are intimate meetings.

*Hatfield Christian Church, Pretoria*

The cells vary in size, and aim to reach a maximum of 12. The cell closes at 12 members. You remain a life-long member of your cell but can start a new cell. Thus you might be a member of two cells that meet on different days of the week.

*God’s Family Life Centre, Pietermaritzburg*

If a member of a cell group fails to turn up at the jour or soirée fixe, he or she is discreetly visited at home or rung up to ask the reason of the absence and – if the explanation is not plausible – gentle pressure is put on the person to attend the next cell group meeting. This can be viewed positively as social care and interest or negatively as social control. It is easier to maintain social control in the small group than in the large church. In addition, the regular reciprocal visits give the members an insight into one another's private and personal sphere. The regular evenings spent with church members may easily replace other circles of friends who are outside, and possibly even critical, of the church, thereby enhancing the church's control over its members.

A former member of a charismatic church describes the pressure exerted on members. The number of activities members participate in is treated as a loyalty indicator.

It’s a subculture that is comfortable about its own frame of reference. Unquestioned loyalty to the lead elder is interpreted by how many meetings you attend. Attaining grace becomes a quite legalistic affair. Some of my friends who are still there say they have problems with the number of activities they are expected to participate in. They say I’m not committed because I don’t get to every prayer meeting and to all the cell meetings. It’s subtle pressure.

*Anglican Church, Durban*

**Voluntary functions and integration of members into church life**

Members' voluntary involvement and work at all levels is crucial for the survival of charismatic churches. The number of permanent staff – pastors and administrative staff – is kept as low as possible. In addition to the church leaders' functions, many functions are filled by voluntary church members. They range from keeping the church building clean and tidy to directing cars in the parking area before church services. The sound-
team plays a special role. Electronically amplified music is an intrinsic element of every charismatic service. It is always accompanied by percussion and the church's own choir.

During the week the church premises are relatively deserted; apart from the cars of the permanent staff and the odd visitor the enormous parking area is empty. Church services are a huge logistical challenge for the small permanent leadership team. In effect, every weekend they are responsible for organising and executing one or several big events. Hence, organising the church services and coping with the weekly rush is possible only with a huge body of volunteers.

Different teams are put together to deal with the different tasks. These include on the one hand all the groups that contribute to logistics for the smooth functioning of the big event and on the other those that shape the church services. By keeping a close eye on how these functions are executed, the church leadership can identify and build up leadership potential and members' other skills.

Some came into church very young and we’re now in the position to see it working. Some of them when they take decisions, we can see they have been framed by the church.

Grace Bible Church, Soweto

Our emphasis is on personal and organization development. Development is important to me, it is really of relevance. People must progress in life. We cover developmental aspects of life. That includes leadership and otherwise.

Good News Community Church, Cape Town

In the tightly organised mega-churches the church leaders closely track the numbers of members and visitors each and every weekend. These figures are used to calculate the number of parking places needed outside and rows of chairs and seats needed inside on the coming weekends. Parking attendants at the entrance to the parking area and ushers in the building ensure that, despite the size of the crowd, people are directed to a parking space, into the church and to their seats calmly and competently.

Technology and in particular modern media play a crucial role in charismatic services: sermons and announcements, hymn texts and Bible verses are flashed onto electronic displays by computer or shown on one or several screens by projectors.

The speakers and pastors are filmed and broadcast live while making announcements or preaching. While preaching the pastor is shown larger than life on the screen behind him – the same technique used at party conferences and pop concerts – and thus visible even to those seated in the back rows. Various film cameras are positioned around the building; cameramen or -women stand quietly behind them or rise and fall on hydraulic lifting platforms.

Old-style church services were very different; now the old Pentecostal churches are in the process of adapting to the new style:

There’s a lot of change. The means and the methods have changed but the message has remained the same. The young people sit in university with all those screens all day. So we use tithes to upgrade. You also have to prepare people because it’s a new thing. When you explain to people that it’s better if you see the words, they understand why change has been introduced. We try to be on par with the system around them. We have introduced change in all spheres of their operations. For example, formerly staff were
paid in cash from the contribution box and had to stand in the queue at the bank to deposit their pay before we changed to direct bank deposits. It’s a paradigm change. The old pastors didn’t have this problem of having to deal with the paradigm shift. Formerly we relied on the string guitars and accordions before we went digital. The vibrant type of service in our churches is part of our culture, it comes from the coon culture in the coloured community.

Assemblies of God, Athlone, Cape Town

The aforementioned band and choir, often accompanied by an extrovert solo singer, is a crucial element. They are not only the musical, but also the emotional pillars of the service. The range of music is wide: Traditional church hymns that everyone knows from childhood, traditional African songs, recently composed contemporary music. The musicians and choir play and sing music and songs as required: turning up the heat and firing up the congregation at the beginning, soothing, calming music at the end. Because of the technical team's extremely professional equipment, from mixing desk for the music to the cameras, the ambience is more reminiscent of a rock concert than a church service.

Exploiting the new media

The role of technology is not limited to the structuring of church services. Besides very professional Internet appearances, new media are frequently used for spiritual purposes and to promote the cohesion of the church and solidarity of its members. Possibilities range from the dissemination of monthly newsletters to sermons forwarded directly to mobile phones, so that members can hear the pastor's voice everywhere at all times. One church broadcasts the service live via satellite: the pastor holds his service in two locations at the same time.

Our pastor writes his sermon through the monthly newsletter and it reaches a wide audience on the internet.

Shofar, Stellenbosch

We’re very technical. We can do websites, we run the church almost like a business. We know who is a new member on a Sunday, fill in a form and Monday he gets a phone call to ask how you are. Pastor A. is very much on technical things.

Christian Revival Church, Cape Town

National and international organisation

Charismatic churches do not perceive themselves as a global church; they are organised as individual churches. Only in recent years have some of the bigger, more successful churches sought to establish new churches in other parts of town – so-called church-planting.

Organisational forms depend on how long the planted church has been in existence and on the person of the pastor. Initially, the new church is completely dependent on the main church for staff and funding. On Sundays the senior pastor or other pastors in the
leadership preach first in the main church and then in the planted church in another part of town. The latter service often takes place in a rented church or other provisional accommodation. When the new church has a large enough congregation, a church building will be built or bought and, depending on the size of the congregation, a pastor will be given sole responsibility for it.

More than 200 charismatic churches in South Africa have joined the International Federation of Christian Churches (IFCC). The IFCC was founded as the International Fellowship of Christian Churches on 18 August 1985 on the initiative of Ray McCauley, the founder of the Rhema Church in Johannesburg. In the 1980s it focused on strengthening the individual charismatic movements under an umbrella organisation. The member churches remain independent, but also use a brand name closely linked with Rhema. The aim of the umbrella organization is to promote Biblical values in society, but it also undertakes to assist member churches in times of internal difficulty. In the meantime, the voice of the IFCC carries greater weight than that of the South African Council of Churches, which until the end of apartheid was viewed as the representative body of the Protestant churches in South Africa.

There’s a body from different pastors in South Africa who have made Rhema ministries. We are under a body of churches. We’ve got like-mindedness, we have a fellowship together. There are two aspects. There are Rhema ministries and we’re affiliated to the International Fellowship of Christian Churches. ... But it does not take away our uniqueness, but there is a structure. We’re all under this umbrella body. Pastor Ray McCauley is the president. ... One applies, one is screened. A lot of things are checked. This body was put together for a better impact. Also, working with the government it’s more workable if you have one voice. If you take the South African Council of Churches, the SACC is more of a fellowship. This is a family. There is accountability. There are rules, authority. If we have a problem, the congregation is protected by the Rhema family. A pastor can fall into sin or if we have a preposterous idea, if things get out of hand (for example if we decide to hold services at 2 am in the morning, a pyjama party with the women in their nightdresses). A lot of people have been destroyed by such things. There is protection both for the pastor and the people.

Rhema Umtata Christian Church, Mthata

A representative of His People described the conditions that a church who joins the international umbrella organisation “Every Nation” must accept. It is obvious that he finds them less strict and less formal that those of the mainline churches. However, it is clear that, despite all freedoms, such as choosing a name, it has to accept the visions and authority of the umbrella organisation.

We’re one group, one Nation. Our movement has only merged with a bigger movement. Denominational churches are very strict, they are more like a boarding school. You have to dress the same, you have to eat at the same time. We’re more like a family with more liberty and everyone can dress like he wants. But certain things they expect you to do, and it must come from the heart. They must have the same visions and values, but they can choose their name and everything. ... Spiritual means it’s not a disposable relationship but a friendship for life. The other pastors are my brothers, our families can spend time together. It’s like a family.

Basically that is what a church must agree with if it wants to become a member. There must be a relationship with those people. If they want to start a new Every Nation
Church they must come to us. It’s a voluntary submission on the authority of Every Nation. If you are an orphan and you knock at the door of a family you have to submit under the authority of this family.

His People, Grahamstown

Financing

The interviewed church leaders responded warily to questions on the subject of donations and finances. On the one hand, they stated that they have had negative experiences in being open with the media. Ultimately, this question always draws attention to their personal finances or the size of their salaries. On the other hand, the subject has achieved a degree of notoriety in connection with the Prosperity Gospel, which will be discussed below.

In South Africa churches are registered as public non-profit companies (non-profit section 21 company) and finance themselves exclusively through donations and other voluntary sources. As shown above, church collections are a major element of the Sunday service. They fund all running costs, including the salaries of permanent staff.

Regular special collections bring in additional income to finance the church’s own building or extension, social projects and other aims.

We use the money for various things, staff have to be paid and the pastor. Most churches have a social desk. In my area, we administer to drug rehabilitation. You have your HIV/AIDS situation. Whatever are the socio-economic challenges in their areas. Drugs, gangsterism, which I call a substitute family. Pastors are still highly respected because grandma comes to the church. We bury them with no strings attached. We’d marry them, we’d be there for them in crisis situations.

Assemblies of God, Athlone, Cape Town

The collection of donations can get out of hand and be used primarily to finance the pastor's luxurious life style – a luxurious life style that is interpreted as a sign of God's blessing.

The financial giving becomes part of the worshipping. So they can buy the cars, houses, ships. These are the blessings of God, when you have these things. It’s a sign of God’s favour. But it can become brutal as well, if a poor congregation has to finance the high life of the pastor.

TEASA, Johannesburg

In other churches, though, the collection does not seem to raise enough to cover the expenses of the pastor and his family:

My understanding of the scriptures is that God does not call us to suffer. Most of the children of pastors don’t want to have anything to do with the church. This is the fault of their fathers. Apostle Paul worked with his hands, he was a cabinet maker. I sometimes say it is wrong to not have enough income so the children have to suffer. So besides being a pastor, I must be a provider.

Hope of Glory Tabernacle, Cape Town
Personal growth and affinity of Prosperity Theology

Networking

Faith and the cohesion of the members of charismatic churches go beyond purely spiritual or social concerns. Finally, with God's help and a personal line to Him it should be possible to attain – in addition to a successful personal lifestyle – career success and social advancement. This is achieved not only via training and further education programmes, but also via selected networks among the church members.

Tell you an example: I got a good relationship with my son, he’s in Pretoria now, he’s a medical doctor. If he rings me he needs 5000 rand I go to the bank immediately. But we got a relationship. So, if you have a living relationship with God he will help you. We’ve got people who got promoted miraculously. We have a person who is in charge and collects CVs of unemployed in the church. He talks to business people and managers: Have a look at the CVs if you need somebody. We used to have a ministry of empowerment.

Conquering Through Prayer Ministries International,
Merebank, Durban

Empowerment, help for self-help, social uplifting, and networking are catchwords that are not only preached in the charismatic/Pentecostal churches, but actively practised by the congregation. Consequently, social advancement and a higher income serve not only the material well-being of the members, but the church as a whole. Obligatory tithing rises with members’ incomes. As a result, the church and its leadership have more resources at their disposal. “Successful” churches find it easier to recruit upwardly mobile people because they enjoy a good reputation among the new middle class, who, in turn, hope that membership will help their social advancement.

If somebody needs a job, as we have business people in our church, we offer him a job. But they must not think they get a job because they are in church. You need to give people responsibility. We teach them to fish.

Christian Revival Church, Cape Town

One of the factors that has been important that we we’re able to get people employment. It’s a big draw card. For those who were not able to get jobs we have a “helping hand”. We’re giving out groceries. Of course, the word gets around, some are not genuine who come, but some have stayed. We’ve a follow up programme, we do phone calls until a person tells us, no, I’ve got my own church.

It’s also because our programmes are more appealing to young people, they are feeling at home as compared to other churches.

Father’s House, Port Elizabeth

On the other hand, personal or career failure is frequently attributed to a lack of faith or not allowing the Holy Spirit enough space in one's life. If members fail life for them in the church can become difficult.

We teach them how to help themselves. If a guy is unemployed he hasn’t got the spirit in his life.

Christian Revival Church, Cape Town
Hence, the representative of the South African Council of Churches is very critical about networking in the churches and criticises the lack of piety.

It’s a new social club for networking. Earlier, when a person was born again, it was associated with pious living. This is no longer there.

*South African Council of Churches, Johannesburg*

**Potential for prosperity**

Initially, South African charismatics were not always immune to the promises of the Prosperity Gospel, namely that believers will not only find salvation in the next world, but also material wealth in this world, provided that they do something and donate something. In large parts of Africa many groups, especially those living in poverty, are attracted by prophecies of this nature and hopes of material wealth, and there are always preachers willing to exploit the plight of the faithful for their own ends.

One factor is that the prosperity Gospel appeals to poorer people right across Africa. In Kigali in Rwanda in 1994 an evangelist from Uganda flew in his private jet. He preached, if you believe, God will provide you with a job. People just flocked forward. People respond to the Gospel in a very superficial way. There is no biblical content, no theology. It’s just if you want to be rich, pray to God and he will provide. Some of these churches are quite affluent.

*South African Enterprise, Pietermaritzburg*

Material wealth is a sign of God's favour, poverty a sign of the opposite:

The ease with which people who are uncritical can be seduced. The richer you are, the more blessed, the poorer the more unchristian. People embrace this, the charismatic churches confirm with their culture much more easily. Lutherans, Anglicans or others reflect far more on culture and how to engage it.

*TEASA, Johannesburg*

However, it is not always a question of material wealth alone, but of the totality of prosperity: physical, emotional, spiritual and financial.

The belief is in prosperity in totality, physically, emotionally, spiritually, and financial. We’re not for prosperity that all have to have a Porsche. It’s not love of money. But poverty is of the devil. We believe God has not called us into poverty. Health, peace, accomplishing much, that is prosperity.

*Rhema Umtata Christian Church, Mthata*

A representative of Rhema Church describes mistakes and errors that his church initially made in connection with the Prosperity Gospel, before it realised the importance of a holistic approach.

We were foolish at the beginning. We said: God wants to prosper you. People took it for granted, gave away their old cars because they believed God would give them a new BMW. But we changed, now we say: God’s greatest desire is to prosper his people so that you can help others. When you’re young you say things without having tested them. We had not explained well enough to our people.
The reason: God wants you to prosper as a business prospers. The government cannot do it all. It needs the civil society. We have some of the most important black business people of society in our congregation.

*Rhema Ministries, Johannesburg*

Churches have learnt from the mistakes of the past. Now they focus on help for self-help and the prosperity of the community. Asked about their assessment of their members' quality of life, church leaders are very positive.

Yes, they do enjoy a better quality of life than others, definitely. One of the things, comfort can become the biggest stumbling block to progress in life. I said many times in my service: Many of you have been renting homes and have no desire to have an own house because it’s comfortable where you are. In the Scripture it says: better life, great future. … And now three of them have bought homes. Spiritual richness comes first, then material as well…

*Conquering Through Prayer Ministries International, Merebank, Durban*

100% yes! Again it’s a process. Somebody doesn’t own anything and is eventually buying a bicycle. Let me tell you an example. We’d somebody employed as a gardener. Eventually we saw that he was bringing about 50 people in every Sunday. He was actually leading them. We could no longer employ him as a gardener. We trained him. Somebody gave him a bicycle. He’ll buy a motorcar now. You see, through blessing comes prosperity.

*Christian Revival Church, Umgeni, Durban*

I’ve learnt to value building bridges. What motivates me is compassion. That’s the challenge of Christianity to me. That’s why we take a strong stance against careerism because it sows seeds of personal enrichment. That’s why we get people constructively involved in projects. The biggest shift in the last seven years is that the class distinctions are not as neat and tidy as the textbooks say. … I never preach about money, but about the value of your contribution.

*Shofar, Stellenbosch*

A pastor who is also a politician is very critical about the emphasis on material riches and the lack of religiosity in the new South Africa. In his view, the poor need and look for comfort and, hence, are more religious than the rich.

Change works both ways. Material beliefs have overtaken religious ones. The poorer are more religious. They need someone to comfort them in their poverty. But you don’t have to be poor to be religious. When people say we can be friends without religion, I have a problem. Africans are born with a sense of knowing there is a God. The new democracy has seen the rise of some who say you don’t have to pray.

*Hope of Glory Tabernacle, Cape Town*

In the meantime the conviction has prevailed in the charismatic churches that through projects and development churches can contribute not only to the prosperity of their own herd, but also to that of other people, and by extension also contribute to the development of the new South Africa.
But we are still very few people. You cannot milk the same cow. You cannot take our peoples’ money. First we need to develop them, when they have developed their own capacities we can run projects. Development of the people is the key.

*Good News Community Church, Cape Town*

We’re in the process of purchasing land. We don’t want to focus on one community. We want to reach from the poorest of the poorest to the richest of the richest. We take it from Jesus, the poor need the rich and the rich need the poor. It’s a symbiotic relationship. In order to empower people you need resources. We want to reach out, we want to empower people. Jesus says blessed are those who give.

We’ve got ex-drug addicts, now they are prospering, not only moneywise but in all aspects. It’s very rewarding when you see somebody’s life touched by God.

In South Africa you’re dealing from third world to an element of first world. We got some guys who get in by buses. Not that we’re bussing people. I was asked why don’t I start a church in a poorer area. That was part of the problem of apartheid: If you keep people in ignorance you don’t set them free. You have to give them a vision of progress.

I’d rather let them have a vision, progressing in your life. This is one of the challenges: You’re dealing with a vast variety of people, for some dealing with 100 rand is everything, to others 100 rand means nothing to them.

*Christian Revival Church, Umgeni, Durban*

A former member of a charismatic church was critical of the other side of the Prosperity Gospel. He first stated that in his view it was positive that the charismatics offered young people a church in which they could be trained for leadership positions. However, the charismatic churches did not offer any support for people in a life crisis. In this respect the theology had failed: People in need were reproached with a lack of faith, as reflected by their lack of prosperity.

When people experience a crisis, the theology or the church has nothing to give you. I suppose the other aspect is that it’s based on an emotional response. The evangelicals are good on the word. The charismatics are more on the experiential: it’s like I have a good feeling about my spirituality. So a lot of behavioural issues that need to be fixed with discipline are overlooked. It’s a quick-fix approach to Christian faith: If I can’t get a quick answer, it’s not working for me. … A positive thing about the charismatic churches is that young people take on leadership positions quite early. I think it’s a theology for the first part of life. Past thirty, people become passengers. You feel you’ve missed the boat if you’re not an elder. If you’ve had a crisis in your life, the theology of the charismatic churches is not adequate to take you through. They make you feel that you haven’t enough faith to keep you prosperous, to keep you in good health. Some of my friends left the church altogether when they were not helped through a life crisis such as losing their job etc. It’s a theology of success. The charismatics talk about the power of the resurrection not of suffering. It’s jumping the whole Pascal mystery. It can’t cope with the downward.

*Anglican Church, Durban*
Churches as substitutes for state institutions

In addition to their spiritual duties, most churches and religious communities – irrespective of their theological views – view care of the needy and help for the poor as core responsibilities. Educational institutions founded by churches or missions have always played an important role in South Africa. Although apartheid has ended, the country is still characterised by huge disparities between rich and poor. In particular in the field of education the impact of the apartheid years is there for all to see, a social time bomb will determine the future of the country, unless concrete steps are taken to deal with it soon. The state is not in a position to adequately fulfil its duty of care towards all citizens. Thus, alleviating social need, healthcare and education are three of the many fields in which the charismatic/Pentecostal churches are also active.44

Church leaders are aware of their social responsibility. Some of them are collaborating with both government and business to reduce poverty:

The church has to carry the programmes the government cannot carry. The church must look after the social aspects: I work with the government on poverty and alienation programmes. We must have joint ventures with government and business to address social needs.

*Ethekwini Community Church, Durban*

Others, however, are afraid that their churches will be left with society's poor, while the upwardly mobile and successful people will join churches in wealthier parts of town. Hence, a minister appeals to the latter not to forget their roots. He calls on them to invest in poor areas so that their former neighbours will also have better chances in life.

Maybe we have a bigger problem than under apartheid. As a church leader I can choose to be a church or a feeder church. We can clean up the flotsam and they join the previously empowered. So we are losing our people to the richer churches in Constantia. They don’t support the ghetto. They leave because they have access to economic power. I have a new programme. It says you will not abandon the ghetto and your roots. You need to invest in the ghetto, to give to the next generation the opportunity you had. The problem is that they who leave their roots develop a different mindset. They think like whites and they run down our black government. Before ‘94 we had zero per cent growth and now we have growth. Give us some credit. It’s impossible to turn round the social engineering of some 300 years in just ten years. You need to have a panoramic view of the situation. We must speak the truth in love.

*Assembly of God, Durban*

Social functions

The charismatic/Pentecostal churches are astonishingly modern when it comes to charity work. They have a diverse offering that ranges from soup kitchens for the poor, school feeding programmes and clothes collections to working with people with Aids. They

finance doctors to regularly work in clinics. They offer telephone hotlines as well as telephone “being prayed for”, visit prisons and hold church services with prisoners.

They also fund kindergartens and pre-schools, school programmes for street children and orphanages for Aids orphans. In short: The churches see social want and help the needy. The recipients of assistance do not have to be members of the church. Of course, it is expected that the parents of children who attend the school on the church premises will join the church, even if they are paying school fees.

We have a new programme: Hands of compassion, we give clothing and food to the needy. We are planning a Good News Community Centre with projects throughout the week. … The local counsellor involves us for local projects. We also fed 400 elders. The women’s’ ministry identified needy children and buy them school uniforms.

*Good News Community Church, Cape Town*

**Training and continuing education**

The charismatic churches support education and training – financed through own initiatives and donations. To ensure that church members, in particular younger people, have better chances on the job market, they offer them training and further education programmes in a number of fields. They are extremely innovative in developing new training courses and programmes and recognising certificates that open up career prospects for their members, help them overcome the lack of prospects and employment, and put them on the path out of poverty.

We try to focus on the emerging generation, we have an educational focus. We are quite happy with the effectiveness of our programmes. Most of Africa is doomed owing to early childhood stimulation.

*Shofar, Stellenbosch*

Others train adults and help their members acquire the necessary skills and knowledge to succeed in the modern business world – without neglecting their faith in the process.

We’ve got many activities from sewing courses to literacy classes. We have a course EXEL-Life: We teach people how to become business people, and how to have God as a centre of your life. You don’t have to be like anybody, you can run business without being corrupt. Mainly poor people up to middle class attend this course, newspaper sellers, small business, entrepreneurs.

*Rhema Ministries, Johannesburg*

**Getting youth off the street**

Another field of activity for the charismatic churches is “leisure time supervision” in the widest sense: from kindergarten and Sunday school for the children of church members to modern training rooms, sports halls and similar centres where young people can play sport. Apart from physical fitness and building self-confidence through success in group sport, these activities also reduce the danger of early criminalisation on the street. Out on the street unemployed and dissatisfied youth, who cannot be expected to spend the whole day in the narrow confines of their homes, are far more likely to come into
contact with criminal bands and drugs and, hence, into conflict with the law. Moreover, providing fitness centres is a good source of income in modern South Africa.

**Religion and politics**

**Consequences of the experiences of the apartheid era**

As discussed above, during the apartheid era the established churches either supported the government and justified the policy of apartheid, or they actively opposed it. The church leadership at the time was largely white, which was something black communities had no choice but to accept. For many, only the established churches that supported the white government were visible. Most interviewees felt that the message of the mainline churches is no longer relevant for the faithful. Their message does not address the difficulties facing many South Africans. According to the interlocutors, this is also one of the reasons for the huge popularity of the charismatic churches.

Before 1994 the church was struggling. People had come to a point where they saw oppression and Christianity as one. The numbers were down. After 1994 there was a revival, people were coming back to the churches. The Gospel was no longer seen as on the oppressors’ side. And there were sudden needs that people find themselves faced with HIV/AIDS, with poverty, unemployment. The church in South Africa is beginning to show interest in helping other countries that are in need. There is a pool towards missionary. People who come here from other African countries many settle in a church.

During apartheid we had a common enemy and the belief that after apartheid is gone life will be better. But I have to do x, y and z. You’re faced with new challenges. And the question what is life all about, the question of God arises.

*Koinonia Bible Church, Sebokeng*

Another is of the opinion that the mainline churches failed to replace the message of struggle against apartheid with a message relevant for today's challenges. By contrast, the charismatic churches had found the right message.

There’s been a big move. Segregation has been confronted in a big way. There’s a big improvement in that regard. We’ve seen a lot of disadvantaged churches that were hidden, their voices have risen up. Their voices are now heard. Some mainline churches were stronger before our freedom from apartheid. Their message was more on our struggle. After that, some have lost their message. The charismatic churches seem to have more of a message for now.

*Rhema Umtata Christian Church, Mthata*

Over and above this, the new churches have no racial barriers. Since the end of apartheid they have become attractive for all who want to be part of the new South Africa – even if, or perhaps because, their political opinions, background and race are different.

We provided an opportunity to many people to change their views. It speaks well about us. We’re a home for people with different political views. The Lord has used our church dramatically in the early years for reconciliation between English and Afrikaners and then much more tempered for people of different races.

*Hatfield Christian Church, Pretoria*
With the new dispensation in South Africa came a major change. Black people were allowed to move in. They didn’t want to drive back but they wanted to go to church where they lived. It started off multiracial. We never discriminated against anybody. … Yes, it was the political change. All kinds of people with different backgrounds felt comfortable here. We never preached against anybody. They had heard for so long that God is sitting there with a stick. We would tell them God is a God of love. There was also a growing awareness that apartheid was wrong, that God had a better way. People of other communities were coming because they saw how we were working in the orphanages or hospices. And Pastor Ray never allowed any discrimination.

Rhema Ministries, Johannesburg

Certainly, the change in consciousness within the charismatic/Pentecostal churches did not take place from one day to the next; in some churches it is still evolving. Some churches that had a mostly white membership under apartheid have gradually changed and now have a mostly black congregation. However, the leadership has remained white, and many white members have moved to other churches. The charismatic churches and their leaders also have to contribute to the reconciliation process.

Are charismatics more in danger of the white mindset? There’s a twist. Eight years ago, Rhema had 9000 people who were 80% white. As blacks came in, the whites moved out. They went to the Dome, the biggest church in Durban that is some 80% white. There are two major problems. 98% of the leadership is white and 89% of the membership is black. … Some whites would rather worship in a garage than in a church led by a black person. … We, the church leaders failed to prepare people for the transformation. Mbeki recently spoke of the two economies. One that pays taxes, the other that depends on government grants. Similarly we have two churches in this country. … We’ve not yet begun the process of true reconciliation. We’ve not yet changed the psyche of the nation. The church has failed to diagnose the situation. The work of the charismatic churches is more than just jumping up and down. It’s to restore the moral fabric of the nation so we can rebuild the nation. We’ve been pumped with inferiority for so long. We need to restore the dignity of people of colour. It’s the Stockholm syndrome. The hostages defended the hostage takers. The human mind under threat reprogrammes itself for self-preservation. To be continuously told you’re a negative quantity. We became non-entities. To reprogramme that mind, that for me is the greatest challenge for the Gospel. To keep people on a high while we take their money is an aberration.

Assembly of God, Durban

There is something wrong when we have 99.9% white leadership and 99.9% black membership.

Ethekwini Community Church, Durban

It will take time for the leadership structures to change and for the majority of the population to be represented in the church's leadership as well.

We believe in reconciliation. The leadership is mostly white, but this is changing.

His People, Grahamstown
Churches in the new South Africa

During the apartheid ascendancy in South Africa the charismatic/Pentecostal churches were accused that by keeping out of politics, or even being apolitical, they de facto supported the apartheid regime. Instead of focusing exclusively on members' spiritual salvation, it was necessary to denounce need and repression in this world.

Apartheid is now a thing of the past and one of the parties in parliament is led by the leader of a charismatic church. What is the churches position in the new South Africa with regard to political abstinence and attitudes on specific topics?

The representative of the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), the only explicitly Christian party in South Africa's parliament, is also founder and leader of a charismatic church. He describes the role of his party in politics as follows:

My role in Parliament? Our main thrust is to protect and promote African family values. To have a strong community you have to have strong values. While protecting children’s rights some new legislation they put together does not respect parents’ rights. Schools are having discipline problems, parents are afraid to discipline their children because they are not sure about their rights. There is confusion. There needs to be clarity about the law for schools, parents, the police. … African families were intact in the past.

We believe in a free market system with a conscience. If you have a conscience, you won’t spend R13 000 on a meal while your neighbour has nothing.

The ACDP shares beliefs and values with different parties according to issues. We’ve decided not to form a coalition, but to retain our individuality.

My thinking is influenced by beliefs. God was there before we were. The created has to consult the creator. It is a mistake to exclude the creator. We are bringing in someone who is above all religions. Let us reflect on where we come from. God is not a religion, he is above all religions. I accept the definition that is non-religious. When I refer to God it is above religion. I have no problem if that is the definition in separating religion from politics.

Hope of Glory Tabernacle, Cape Town

He – like many others – also supports a strict separation of religion and politics:

Many people who hear me preach who do not know I’m in politics cannot tell I’m an MP. I suspect that the majority of my church members are ANC. I separate church and politics. I never talk politics from the pulpit. I do not use the pulpit as my platform, so I don’t invite any politicians to speak in my church. I can clearly separate politics from religion.

Hope of Glory Tabernacle, Cape Town

Even if church leaders reject using the pulpit to preach politics, they encourage their congregation to at least participate in politics, as a respondent explains:

I don’t see the church as an organization which should establish a political agenda. But if government regards the people as a greater body of Christ there would be greater influence.

We encourage people to vote but not for whom. Politicians should be asked for accountability not by riots but by voting. Government is appointed. Our ministry is to serve people, to educate people to hold the elected accountable.

Lighthouse, Cape Town
Whereas direct involvement in party politics is viewed as a taboo, active involvement in local government is not:

Churches shouldn’t be involved in party politics but in politics: how to run a city, how to bring order to a place. The church should spread the message of right and justice. It’s not a political party, that’s not its role. The church is the only place where people with different background, from different political parties will get together. We never allowed anybody to stance politics in our church. I wouldn’t allow party politics in church. Not that people don’t want to know about it, but they come to church for another reason.

*Grace Bible Church, Soweto*

As under apartheid, the church has to serve as as watchdog or fulfil a prophetic role. And they also have to pay attention to issues that the church regards as too liberal.

The church should have a role, not merging of church and state like in the medieval times, but the church should be the prophet, the watchdog. …. I also believe Christians should be involved in politics, see that as a calling, they should be the salt and the light, they should do the cleaning up.

*His People, Grahamstown*

Furthermore, they should watch over the spiritual health of the government and serve as a link between the voters and the government.

As men and women God has appointed our role as leaders not as politicians but as prophets, in order to give spiritual directions to government. It should be a Godly government. As it was in the Old Testament, there were priests and the government. We must be a link between government and the people. The government needs us to pray. They can’t do it themselves. They need to be prayed for.

*Ethekwini Community Church, Durban*

But there are also more balanced statements that are obviously influenced by the civil religion of the anti-apartheid movement. The church is attributed a prophetic role. However, it must keep an eye on both government and liberation movement, as both may do wrong.

I believe the church should take the prophetic role, being advisor to the government, oppose government where it’s violating and abusing peoples’ rights. It’s not only a political stance. You’d have situations where government is oppressing, but the liberation movement might also do wrong, As a church you’re addressing both.

*Father’s House, Port Elizabeth*

Another demands that the church must teach the right balance and if necessary break the law if the situation requires it.

There needs to be clear teaching on what’s appropriate. The situation requires different reactions in different countries. It’s not enough to teach, there has to be a practical stance as well. During apartheid it would have been illegal to have the husband of your domestic worker staying overnight in your garden. You should have taken the risk of letting stay the couple in your home.

*Hatfield Christian Church, Pretoria*
Over and above this, the church must stand up for respect and social justice and act as an advocate for those who cannot do it themselves.

We share the position with most thinking Christians. I believe there should be good relationship between church and state, respect for good governance. …

The democratic process is still very weak in South Africa. When we still see the media being threatened, the judiciary not respected. From the pulpit that’s important to us, the values that make for good governance. The state must provide living standards and a living wage. If they don’t do their duty, we must speak for those who cannot.

I find party politics divisive. We don’t espouse a divide between the sacred and the secular. But we don’t take sides on the political side.

Shofar, Stellenbosch

Controversial issues

Some church leaders, on the other hand, feel that churches have a duty to be involved in political decision-making processes that affect the provision of basic services. Christianity must be the basis for all decision-making.

A secular mission means also that the church has to be engaged in politics, in the daily life of people (in its basis: water, justice, morality). The church has to be involved, to address things in a political platform. … If the church does not get involved with day to day running of our country we are opening ourselves to laws and it will become impossible for us to worship God. To us it is vital: Christianity must be part and parcel of decision-making in South Africa.

Koinonia Bible Church, Sebokeng

The separation of church and state is irrelevant for some ministers. One pastor describes the churches as God's voice on earth.

I always felt that the church should be the spearhead for what’s going on in government. They also need spiritual fathering. There is a need for merger between church and state.

We are evangelizing, equipping the members, ministering to people so that they receive Jesus as their saviour and become a child of the King.

We are God’s voice on the earth.

Shekinah Ministries International, Cape Town

Others go even further and view themselves as the institution that distinguishes between right and wrong, and has a duty to teach this to the world.

I don’t get involved in politics. We’re here to influence our world of God, not to play a political role. Our role is to influence and empower people but not to force them.

I’m also a bit nervous about democracy. There are certain elements that are not great. People shout “my right, my right”, but you have to be disciplined also.

I suppose I believe in a theocracy. We have to teach the world what is right and wrong.

Christian Revival Church, Umgeni, Durban
South African constitution

The constitution of the new South Africa is one of the most liberal in the world. For some charismatic church leaders it is not the constitution that is the highest authority, but the Bible. They insist that the constitution is too liberal and does not respect Christian, moral values.

The following statements make the point that the South African constitution is incompatible with the Bible and Christian values:

The first constitution in your life is the Bible. No other constitution can be above.

*Ethekwini Community Church, Durban*

You must know our party voted against the South African constitution. I looked if it protects the family and recognised God’s authority. So it cannot be good for nation-building.

*Hope of Glory Tabernacle, Cape Town*

I don’t think it reflects Christian values, it reflects liberal values. It overemphasises rights without responsibility.

The constitution is a result of reformation. We should be grateful for it. It’s better than in the rest of Africa, but not very Christian. It reflects humanitarian values.

*His People, Grahamstown*

Church, state and family are the three institutions of society. They all have to be accountable, they have to go alongside and they have to respect their jurisdiction. … We are not neutral. We promote biblical values.

*His People, Cape Town*

Our constitution is too liberal. It does not have absolutes, no rights or wrongs. This is a big, big problem. Everything cannot be relative. The constitution is good but it is too open-ended. I would fight to change it on issues like morality, giving guidelines on issues like same sex marriage, abortion or prostitution.

*Good News Community Church, Cape Town*

The church has never done so much, but is needed in politics now. When Mandela became president he invited the church leaders to come on board, but they withdrew. Now we’ve got abortion, gay marriages, and the churches stand up and say something is wrong. … Our country is a secular state with good policies. It has got the best constitution ever. I compare it with the apartheid system. But now there are amendments, new things that are not really acceptable to us.

*Rivers of Living Water Global Ministries, Evaton, Sebokeng*

One minister fears the loss of traditional values on account of the freedoms guaranteed by the new constitution.

The sad thing that has come with our new-found democracy. The new Constitution promises rights not responsibilities. It embraces freedom even from our own values. Which has left us with communities who do not know who they are. … In our communities the neighbours will correct a child and then tell the parents. I shudder
when I think what township children will be in future. They are an embarrassment. Those were the values that held us together.

*Good News Community Church, Cape Town*

In some statements at least a certain, albeit muted, satisfaction with the new constitution shines through, but the disputed points are clear: The church leaders are united in their rejection of abortion, prostitution and homosexuality. They are incompatible with the principles of the Bible.

The contentious points are summarized in the following statement:

The South African constitution with regard to Christian values? This is a little bit of a worry for us. South Africa has the freedom of religion but it may be of the past. Though 80% are Christians, the Christian religion has no protection, it’s not protected above all. It’s following France, it is a secular state. We never believed Christianity needs to be packed in cotton wool. It’s proofed by recent history in the Soviet Union. But it’s a little bit of concern that if you are in a secular state you have to be careful with what terminology you use, how you address things. In the state apparatus religion is not favoured.

It will take people long time to catch up with the constitution. But that makes something to strive for. Most of our laws have still to be tested to see if they are constitutional or not. Just things like, they’re very foreign to our society like abortion, same sex marriage. In a society that was very male orientated you find a constitution that everybody of any sex should be treated equally which is right. But it’s difficult for people. Now they have to change their line of thinking. The president has declared his goal: 50% of positions should be held by women. It’s not just a piece of paper, but applying the constitution to society. Our general opinion is that this president has a very good role for the country, for the economy. Especially him and the Minister of Finance have done a brilliant job. The ANC inherited a bankrupt country. There are still things to do, like housing, water, electricity etc. But one day all the things will be available for all people. And meanwhile we do our part.

*Rhema Ministries, Johannesburg*

**Homosexuality/Abortion**

As asked about the compatibility of the South African constitution with Christian values and about participation in the political discussion, many interviewees immediately honed in on the controversial topics of homosexuality and abortion. The following is a sample of statements:

We are at a point where morality and Christian values are collapsing. Suddenly we have been influenced from all directions from the international community. This fragments our Christian and cultural values. Divorce was a rare occasion. Now issues like homosexuality, gay marriages, abortion suddenly arise. Euthanasia is looming. It is an issue to be discussed. The big one is corruption, drug peddling, the coming in of drugs.

*Koinonia Bible Church, Sebokeng*

I definitely speak out. Yes, I do. I encourage members of our church to be politically active. They should get involved in drafting of laws, they should be active in their local
structures. I would also speak up on things that come up, for example abortion or prostitution, the fact that prostitution should be legalized before 2010.

Good News Community Church, Cape Town

Same sex marriages are not God’s will. But once a person knows God, this person will be helped by God. It’s only Jesus who can break these bondages. We cannot judge these people.

Greenfield Christian Church, East London

We do speak up about issues that are against the word of God. For example, homosexuality. We don’t take that as a political issue. We take a stand against violence. Zuma’s rape case, we’ve not gone to the pulpit on that. But we do condemn rape, we address principles.

Rhema Umtata Christian Church, Mthata

In church, I raised eyebrows when I said this is a church for gays. Let them come and we’ll heal them and make them normal.

Heartfield Family Church, Westville, Durban

The media would call us homophobic, but we are actually homophile. We love them as we love all people. But we are concerned about the aggressive agendas of homosexuals nationally and internationally. We have declared our stance on same sex marriage: Marriage is something that should not be tampered with, it should be left to man and woman, we would even exclude customary marriage. We see an aggression of gays to hijack marriage.

His People, Cape Town

Death penalty

On the subject of the death penalty, on the other hand, the views of church leaders are more differentiated. Some reject the death penalty, pointing to its abuse for political purposes in recent South African history. Another reason for rejection is the conviction that no one besides God may take the life of another person. By contrast, others quote the Old Testament in support of the death penalty, though preferably as a threat that should not be carried out.

Personally, I think no person has the right to take another's life. Although people in Government are placed by God. Yes, by God, otherwise they would not be there. Some are in favour, others not. I’d rather have life sentences instead of death penalty.

Good News Community Church, Cape Town

If it goes against biblical principles, we would challenge that. Issues of same sex marriage, abortion, things like that. We’d be divided on the issue of the death penalty. … Some of our people have the view of the ANC government. Some of those people have been let down; they are disgruntled that they’ve been marginalised – especially the older folk. People are becoming more disgruntled with the ANC, so have joined various other political parties. …

We engage them to take action to change legislation, it depends on their stance, if they believe in what we believe in. All of the Pentecostals are against abortion and gay
marriages. We would encourage parishioners to take an active role in politics or become politicians so that righteousness and justice prevails.

Assemblies of God, Athlone, Cape Town

We don’t have a declared house view as a church. … Our background in South Africa is that the death penalty was abused. There is no balance of a government which so recently took the right to take a life. This should not happen again. We need to progress, severe crimes against humanity might demand death penalty. The state is there for law and order and it’s not only a welfare state, but this leads to an unbalanced society. I am hesitant to support death penalty at this point, but on the other hand I understand victims of crime who demand it.

His People, Cape Town

No. In some of our training courses we try to think biblically of all aspects of life. It’s not so straight forward: A discussion outcome of 15 – 18 people: In the Scriptures it says if a man takes another man’s life you have to take his. But there are other examples. We would like death penalty as a possibility for courts but hardly being used.

Hatfield Christian Church, Pretoria

People in the ACDP have asked for our position to be revised. Initially we supported the death penalty. But now we have Catholic members in the ACDP who do not agree, so we are reviewing it.

Hope of Glory Tabernacle, Cape Town

On the death penalty the Scripture is not clear.

Lighthouse, Cape Town

I have mixed feelings about it. It’s true people have been killed who had not committed a crime. We don’t want to continue the dilemma. Therefore I’m not fully convinced the death penalty is a good option.

Grace Bible Church, Soweto

Vagaries

We should not overlook issues that some religious leaders, though not all, feel need to be discussed. In most cases they are related to the founding of individual churches and in particular hierarchical structures in the church. Often founded with great enthusiasm under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, in particular younger churches neglect reliable organisational structures. There are signs at different levels that this could become a problem in the long run, although it is never raised by church leaders themselves, who only spoke about it when asked, and then very discreetly.
Leadership/Abuse of power

As discussed at the beginning, charismatic churches are founded by individuals who, often without any theological or pastoral experience, suddenly find themselves leaders of large communities. This can cause problems.

... I knew about evangelism but I need to understand about leadership. I’m self-taught in theological studies. I’ve read across the spectrum. The problem in Africa is not the gifting, it’s leadership.

*God’s Family Life Centre, Pietermaritzburg*

People found churches not because of qualifications and training, but because it is the will of God. The churches may join loosely organised, voluntary umbrella organisations. The pastor appoints the members of the church’s internal control bodies; indeed, usually nobody sees any reason for any type of control. After all, the church leader is very popular in his congregation; people listen to what he says. Not everybody can deal with this degree of popularity and veneration, and the closeness and dependence of others. Very few have learnt how to cope. In short: There is a lack of control mechanisms that can effectively control the church leadership and call it to account.

It’s a team of elders. They are not voted on. We believe that God puts an anointing on someone and that person is recognised. Then the leadership team will meet the person and the elders will pray on it. And our pastor will announce to members of the church: This person, we want him to come in on our team, does anyone have anything against it?

The elder team governs the church. They are in a relationship with us. We try to be led by the Holy Spirit, not people’s opinions or for it to be voted on.

*New Covenant Fellowship, Port Elizabeth*

During our discussions brief, bashful references on the part of individual interlocutors caused us to prick up our ears. They mentioned, for instance, that the church founder had disappeared. Only after repeated questions did we learn – and then only in a few words – that the pastor had left the church after moral misconduct, for instance adultery, usually with younger women in the community. Adultery is, after all, incompatible with religious principles. How and what pressure was brought to bear was left unmentioned, as was whether the pastor had resigned of his own accord. If recounted, then in confidence. What was clear, however, is that misconduct is not a rare occurrence in charismatic churches. To deal with this phenomenon, more and more churches are seeking to compensate for the lack of effective controls with mentor programmes, peer group meetings and other voluntary groups.

The theological background of the charismatic movement is such that they can’t escape the free enterprise culture, which means “God has told me to start a church there” without any accountability to anyone. So they get drunkards and everybody else and get them to church. When you go to a charismatic church you’re told that God called a man or a woman to ministry and you start, you separate from where you are with very little accountability.

*TEASA, Johannesburg*
Some church leaders take part in voluntary coaching. Many find it very difficult to remain modest in the face of the congregation’s veneration.

I mentor both charismatics and mainline pastors. … I seek to strengthen them in their personal life. In family life, what are their priorities, assist them in their efforts to stay humble. Some twelve years ago I brought together some of my mentees and spent time with them. I asked them would you like to meet one another. I brought them together for two days. Said to them, talk to me, how are you? The first one started: “I’m good, we have membership of 4000, I have a vision, in x years we want to be there.” I said, you use the church as escapism. Why can’t you talk about yourself, your life? What are you hiding?

Apostolic Faith Mission and member of various faith based organisations, Stellenbosch

I feel a lot of the folk leading people are not trained. We’re bringing the church closer to the people. But it is also dangerous when the depth is missing. The charismatic churches have contributed to the problem. They’re not accountable to anyone. It is important that the leaders have some sort of training so they don’t dish up poison. Two of our pastors have gone to a theological seminary. I have no theological training but I am going for theological training.

Barn Christian Fellowship, Randburg

The lack of control mechanisms is perceived as a problem. Membership of umbrella organisations is one reaction. However, affiliation is voluntary, and the relationship tends to resemble that of a family in which misconduct is not necessarily punished with sanctions, but lovingly admonished.

We are aligned to Five Fold Ministries International. It’s like a church family. We meet, have conferences. I’m accountable to them. If I do something wrong, my church can report it to them. Most of those who start charismatic churches, they do it out of rebellion and they don’t account to anyone. When my wife and I left to found another church we sat down with the pastor of my former AFM church and his wife. Told them about our vision. The importance is not to break bridges. I still call him my pastor! … I find it sad with us Africans, even if you do wrong they will protect you. I believe in confrontation. Anybody who protects you when you do wrong is not a friend. A friend should correct you when you do wrong. It protects your future.

Hope of Glory Tabernacle, Cape Town

In church we believe in accountability. You know Rhema and Ray McCauley. We’ve got the Five Fold Ministry under the lead of someone from Roodeport. We’re organised at a provincial (in KwaZulu-Natal ca. 50 pastors) and national level (ca. 150 pastors). We as pastors come under this organisation. We believe in a father and son relationship. This organisation is purely by relationship. It’s not a church.

Conquering Through Prayer Ministries International, Merebank, Durban
**Succession planning**

The lack of organisational structures complicates the transparent planning of the succession. In most of the churches that we visited the problem had not yet arisen, as the church leaders were still too young to want to retire. But church leaders are already thinking about the future of their church under someone else. As with training and further education, the founder of the church or senior pastor decides on the succession and on the person to be prepared for this position.

We identify people and we mentor them. Mentorship is a very important ingredient. I have to mentor people here. When I leave the planet earth I don’t want that everything I’ve built here falls down to pieces.

*Conquering Through Prayer Ministries International, Merebank, Durban*

We’re now at a time that some of us retire as we’re getting older. We appointed five younger pastors. They are men that he had looked at, that could very well lead the church to the next level. But he hasn’t said anything yet. If you tell somebody now they might get frustrated waiting. He reckons 10 – 15 years. We do have a succession strategy.

*Rhema Ministries, Johannesburg*

I groom other pastors. I give opportunities to other pastors so that when my time comes to pass on the church won’t collapse. I tell others give yourself 5 to 10 years to find someone to take over from you. When I build the 10,000 seater I retire.

*Ethekweni Community Church, Durban*

Succession thinking is not encouraged, that’s part of the mystique. This is a man of God, almost untouchable. It’s almost as if it’s necessary to be out there. They need him to be distant. If you try to phone the guy you hardly get him. He’s almost like God, respected and everything. There is also no democratic sense, a team is not wanted.

*TEASA, Johannesburg*

Besides succession planning, there is also the problem of a lack of standards in training. Even in churches that offer theological training, the self-proclaimed pastors are working in their communities before they have completed, or even started their studies.

We have 400 students. But there are 1000 waiting to be trained at an affordable price. And they are already preaching. God is there before we got there.

*Apostolic Faith Mission, Johannesburg*

At Rhema the first generation is gradually withdrawing from the everyday running of the church.

As things change we change. In the Sunday evening services we have more coloured lights, more contemporary music. Young people run everything, just the preaching is still done by Pastor Ray. We’re moving ourselves out of the calling and will move somewhere else. Young people have to feel that one day they can be in charge. What you don’t want to do what somebody did some 100 years ago. This doesn’t mean we
don’t honour the past. But we contemporise. The messages never changes, but the methods always change.

*Rhema Ministries, Johannesburg*

**Gender issues**

There are few women among church leaders. As a rule, the pastor is a man; his wife also fulfils spiritual functions, but in a subordinate role. Church leaders justify this distinction on biological and biblical grounds.

We’ve men as elders, women are part of the team. Our wives come to all the elder meetings. The man takes the key role for governmental aspects. Women preach, prophesise etc. It’s just the governmental role is on men according to the Scriptures. In all other respects they are equal.

*Glenridge Church International, Durban*

Some churches make a conscious effort to train women pastors:

My wife preaches as well. We’ve female pastors. I allow them to preach and to practise as pastors. They’re equally pastors. We encourage them to do theological training. My wife is doing a bible course through the internet. A single woman could be a pastor. We’re grooming one in Amanzimtoti. We’ll help her to be established in a church. It’s one of the things I fight with other pastors.

*Ethekwini Community Church, Durban*

We got two churches which are pastored by women. We never said women cannot be pastors. The general rule is that God would call more men than women to ministry, but you cannot say it’s a general rule. God doesn’t discriminate against women.

*Rhema Ministries, Johannesburg*

**On the appeal of the new charismatic churches**

**Self-assessment**

Notwithstanding nuances in interviewees' responses to the question about the appeal of their own church compared to that of others, there is a clear trend: pastors share the holistic view that churches and church membership shape the daily lives, the way of life, living standards and conditions, the further education and the career and social advancement of believers. In their eyes it is precisely these points that account for much of their appeal. The churches offer believers a social circle and a framework that gives them security and support. It is a spiritual home that also includes advice on life issues, opportunities for advancement and leisure time.

The church and its people depend on God. He plants people into the church. We believe that being a Christian is being more than what you do on Sundays. We meet with business people, we teach people how to cope with stress etc. Church and life is one thing. It covers day to day issues of life.

You might be motivated to do better but you need an inner drive. I think a church brings out a certain aspect in peoples’ lives. Hence we need to be there, otherwise they
go to church every Sunday and grow spiritually but not in real life. We teach them how to do better in their jobs, how to fight unemployment.

Good News Community Church, Cape Town

Believers do not get anything for nothing – on the contrary. Membership in a charismatic/Pentecostal church demands a high degree of discipline and commitment:

The church is very radical, it’s not a hobby. It’s a life style. If people are hungry for God they come to our church.

His People, Grahamstown

Faith healing also sends a message – either as an example for those whose life has not yet changed or as effective publicity.

People see there is hope for them. God touches them spiritually and things change for them (job, situation at home …). People are getting healed. We cannot explain how but it happens.

Koinonia Bible Church, Sebokeng

And slowly we grew, mostly as a result of an evangelisation programme that enriches people in the community. People want to see concrete changes in their lives, such as healing. Or when people can see the change in a person they are attracted. For example, if they see a change in a person who took drugs. Say if that person says: I went to this place and I’m not into drugs anymore. We classify that as Power Evangelism. We pray for people. We do altar calls. We don’t lay hands all the time.

World Vision Crusade Outreach Ministries and Kingdom Life Ministries (Nigeria)

Church leaders point to the connection between spirituality and social commitment. In their view this link also increases their appeal to members and potential members.

A few things contribute to our appeal:
- In our meetings there is a sense of the presence of God, that could also include ministry to the needy, healing.
- Jesus said Love… We are sensible of love and we give the community a place where they can grow.
- Within our congregation we connect to serve the need of the community, like community uplifting programmes.

We are attractive for people who want to make a difference to other peoples’ lives. We have a strong connection to the local community.

Lighthouse, Cape Town

Another pastor believes explicitly that growth is driven solely by spiritual needs:

Why are charismatic churches growing? They’ve been growing for fifteen to seventeen years in South Africa. There has been a real hunger for a deeper spiritual experience among church people. When the charismatic church started in Uppsala, they attracted 1000 people overnight. That is the same spirit that is prevailing all over the world. That’s why there’s been an explosion.

Assembly of God, Durban
The representative of Rhema Church believes that his church's message is so appealing because it is less demanding, emphasises hope and offers security:

What makes us different: our involvement and the leadership in the social outreach of the church. We feed 70,000 a month. We have clinics, feedings schemes etc. We do not restrict any aid to members of the church. There are two funds: Hand of Passion is for all, Good Samaritan Fund is for members of our church. … They probably come here because it’s not a very confrontational message. We preach a message of help and hope. We try to help them in all areas of life. We tell them no rules. We try to change the way of thinking and living. God cares about them, no matter what they go through. That reaches people who live in a very complex world. … Everything is out of control. If there is one area to you, of which you are in control, it’s the spiritual part of your life. In this sense we say to people: God cares about you. We don’t make any demands, you don’t have to obey. We just present them the Gospel as we understand it biblically.

Rhema Ministries, Johannesburg

A deliberate effort is made to promote transparency, access to the pastor for all members and a friendly welcome. Church leaders are aware that it is easier to gain members if they are politely insistent and courteous.

We try to build a very welcoming and friendly church. We emphasise leadership accessibility. We promote accessibility. We emphasize accountability. The way the church is run is very transparent. It is a high contact ministry. We say to newcomers with your permission we’ll keep in contact. A typical church service would start at 9 o’clock. We begin with music and praise and offerings; then announcements and then we break for 10 minutes with coffee or tea. First timers we give them cookies and we chat with them, there is special table for them. Before we go to tea break we ask first timers to identify themselves. We try to make that first contact and to maintain it. We ask them for their banking (laughs), no contact details. Our lead elder always talks about banking details. … I think God is just bringing people to us. God helped us to build a friendly church. Visitors come and they like the church and they stay. The biggest factor is that God is bringing us people, as a Charismatic I have to say that (laughs).

Barn Christian Fellowship, Randburg

The pastors distinguish between black, white and coloured Christians and the reasons for their conversion. A leading member of the Apostolic Faith Mission emphasises in particular the spiritual needs of blacks and coloureds and explains the reasons for tent missionary work in these communities.

In the white communities you rarely find true conversion. They just move from one church to another. In the black and coloured communities it is different. We have the Ministry of Harvest for tent mission. … We’ve got 1100 tents! The main purpose is church planting. There is a spiritual hunger among the Africans and Coloureds. But if there is hope for South Africa it is because of the growth of black and coloured Christians in this country.

Apostolic Faith Mission, Pretoria

On the other hand, a coloured pastor from Stellenbosch, whose congregation is mostly white, points out that curiosity and a certain degree of shame – in particular among
formerly non-churchgoing Afrikaners – has led people to his church. Children bring their parents, and the church provides for all generations:

They come from a typically post-modern background, meaning they haven’t been churched. They come from prosperous families. I think it is curiosity that attracts them. We started when the Dutch Reformed Church was very strong but post ’94 that has changed. The Afrikaners are resentful that God decided they are equal with the rest of Africa.

Now, the fact that we’re making a positive contribution to development attracts. What attracts them to somebody like me is that I am very different. In the back of their minds they think they need to make up.

We don’t spend much on infrastructure. A large chunk of the budget goes to salaries for township projects. We make a difference where it counts and this makes our message appealing to young people. Their parents now are coming in on the basis of the experience their children have had in the church.

The generation split is 50/50 young/old. Seeing the reconciliation conference of ‘97 didn’t work, the generation divide has been a focus of ours. We have very contemporary worship. We have a symphony orchestra alongside the band. That’s what older members find attractive.

Shofar, Stellenbosch

In addition to the role of social networking, the pastors mention in particular the relaxed atmosphere of their churches – not least during the services. In their churches believers are freer and can move and express themselves without constraints. Traditional churches are boring by comparison, and quiet as a funeral.

Our church is far more free in our way of meeting. We don’t have problems with dress. So people feel free in that respect. There’s a family atmosphere. It’s relaxed. Our pastor has to get people to be quiet before he can start the service! We try to preach real theology that pertains to life. Our worship is free. We have a worship team. It’s just the atmosphere of being real, open. So people can sense that we’re all just doing the best we can to help each other to discover the truth. There’s reality to Jesus in us. We are Christ-like. So they can connect to Jesus in us. That’s why we exist. It’s not just a social club.

New Covenant Fellowship, Port Elizabeth

The pleasure in expressivity is interpreted as living out the Bible and the will of God.

Also the poor go to the charismatic churches. … They display a liberty that is not displayed in the traditional churches. They seem to be enjoying that. I think that is a good thing. Young people can do dance and drama. What the charismatic churches are doing is a good thing. My daughter is a lawyer and is involved in such a drama project. She finds fulfilment in her church. They have an edge over the other more boring churches. I was born in the Dutch Reformed Church. How quiet it was there – like a funeral! In contrast, in the charismatic churches you are told to rejoice, to be glad not like at a funeral. That’s what is attractive. It’s not emotionalism. It’s what is in the Bible. God is not nervous, I can shout, I can clap. Earlier we were told that God is not deaf so you don’t have to shout. The beauty of the charismatic churches is that they are very expressive.

Hope of Glory Tabernacle, Cape Town
Churches target in particular young university students, i.e. future graduates, because they will soon be the country's elite and, hence, ought to be trained as future leaders – as understood by the charismatic churches.

His People focuses on young people, we are investing in the future leaders of our country. That’s why we are on campuses and high school grounds, though university campuses are economically not very interesting. … We are focusing on the future leaders, so that in 20–30 years they’ll have a strong moral character. We do leadership development.

His People, Cape Town

Assessment by other churches

On the one hand, observers confirm charismatic pastors' views about the appeal of the charismatic/Pentecostal churches. Much of their appeal lies in a social cohesion that extends beyond church services as well as in opportunities for training and further education. On the other hand, they interpret the growth of the charismatics as a response to the political crisis and social change in South Africa since the 1990s. Every population group has been affected in different ways by the political and social upheavals in the country, and some believers have found that the charismatic churches offer them a more secure hold than the mainline churches do. In addition, class barriers have become more permeable. By awakening hopes, the promises of salvation offered by a prosperity gospel appear to make many people more receptive to the new charismatic churches.

A Lutheran minister who has analysed South African churches for many years characterises the particular appeal of charismatic churches, which is based more on intimacy than dogma, as follows:

The charismatic pastor, the personal experience, group effort, people helping one another, Bible study, youth camps, blacks and whites together, modern, usually very loud music, plenty of free initiative, emphasis on charity – all that defines these churches and their appeal. … In short, they attract a privileged middle class. … They move from one church to the next, are interested less in teaching than in where they feel comfortable. Where do I feel at home? What is the pastor's personality like? Do I like the music? Etc. They are looking for a spiritual home that basically Christian, but not influenced by differences in teaching. Ultimately they end up where they feel most at ease – in a charismatic congregation. They are interested in the particular appeal of this “family church”, not in whether it is part of a larger community.

Lutheran Church, Johannesburg

A high-ranking representative of the Catholic Church in South Africa makes a similar assessment of the charismatic churches' appeal, and also emphasises their pastors' media skills – in contrast to those of the mainline churches.

Very rapid and dramatic social change led to people to want to feel very much part of a church. The mainline churches are so established that they don't go out to grab you and bring you into the bosom of the church. The charismatic church draws them into the church and makes you feel secure. The worship is too formal in the mainline churches. It's out of the book, it's too staid. People want something more lively. It's a secular
idiom. Preachers in the mainline churches are hopeless. Preachers in the successful independent churches are media personalities so they can hold a crowd for a very long time.

*Catholic Church, Durban*

The decisive factor is the charismatic pastor. He explains that with regard to a new beginning or forgiveness charismatic churches make it much easier for believers than mainline churches do – and this plays an important role in the new South Africa.

Since 1994 there’s been a huge upsurge. They split away often. The main reasons for their attractions from what I see, my analysis is, the main thing is the preaching. Most of the preachers rely on personal testimony. Look at what the Lord has done for me. This always leads to: Because I found the Lord Jesus, I have now found a new life. With so much poverty around, if I find the Lord Jesus, I will also find prosperity. The second reason is they make it a very easy thing. You live one life today and tomorrow you find the Lord Jesus and you’re a new person. You don’t have to do much by way of repentance. At my first encounter with African Enterprise it struck me after the finale of the mission when Michael Cassidy asked, if you’re for Jesus hold up your hand. It struck me that if you’re having problems and you’re faced with the prospect of confessing personally to a priest or to do this one, which would you choose? Thirdly, there’s fellowship, the personal testimony and especially if the preacher’s attractive, it’s an easy way of repentance. In the traditional church it would be more demanding. … I have heard that when a person first visits the Dome in Durban, within a week he is asked whether he’d like to come and if he’d like to contribute. The charismatic churches are attractive to people, they use a distinctive language. There’s quaintness, it’s American to me. So you’re in an in-group. An example: You are slain by the Spirit. People collapse because the spirit has slain them. … In contrast, we, the Catholic Church, have a very clear social and moral teaching. In the new churches there’s no worked out theology of justice or politics. It’s up to the individual ministers.

*Catholic Church, Durban*

Hence, Catholic priests are fairly dispassionate about the spill-over of the charismatic movement.

Catholic charismatics would like everybody to become charismatics. What they want is a real living relationship with Jesus as a saviour and not rules and regulations. However, they remain in the Catholic Church, which they continue to regard as the true church founded by Christ. But we have a real calling for renewal of our church. Charismatic activities – tongues, prophecy, healing and praying for one another – take place in prayer groups, not in the church service, which charismatics attend with all other Catholics.

*National Catholic Charismatic Renewal, Johannesburg*

It is estimated that about one tenth of South African Catholics are charismatics. They are found in all groups and strata of South African society.

Growth was very fast in the beginning, but appears to have slowed. Most prayer groups are found in Cape Town and Johannesburg.

*National Catholic Charismatic Renewal, Johannesburg*
Catholic attitudes ranged from a positive evaluation of the potential for charismatic renewal in the Catholic Church to detached toleration of Catholic attendance at services of charismatic churches – in the expectation that believers will remain attached to the sacraments.

…I have nothing against Catholics going to services in charismatic churches. What is to stop Catholics going? I think Catholics will not stay away permanently. These kinds of services don’t have sacraments. There were also other reasons why churches have come together in more recent times.

*Catholic Church, Durban*

For the black population, political change in South Africa meant the end of white rule. Political equality also resulted in social opportunity. Career advancement, mobility and urban life raise new challenges. Whites, on the other hand, had to admit that the apartheid churches' promises of salvation were an illusion. The new beginning offered by the charismatic churches enabled them to make a complete break with the past and its baggage. A leading member of the South African Council of Churches ascribes different motivations to blacks and whites for joining charismatic churches:

Then there is the post-apartheid white phenomenon. Within the white community, there’s a strong sense that the traditional churches failed them during apartheid. Any identity with them carries a lot of baggage. The new churches present them as more integrated. There’s a certain readiness for young white couples to go to these churches. I heard the Dutch Reformed Church is losing a lot of young Afrikaners. You feel you’re contaminated and you wish to be part of the new South Africa.

In the black community the challenges come with the new prosperity. It makes others to go into the traditional ways of living. It must be my ancestors (when things go well for them). It can make some people to become traditional. For others it makes them to be born again. It gives an explanation. In the white community, there seems to be a very strong disintegration, so they find the charismatic churches have something to offer them. You see these churches as the catchments of these two phenomena. … There are young Sowetans who are attracted and professionals. And a lot drive to Soweto. The demographics are different. At most five percent are older generation. A young girl from the Eastern Cape, working at Telkom, she’ll go there but when she goes home she’ll go to church with her parents. The church speaks to you on the challenges you’re facing in the city. So you can understand the space they’re filling in the changing South Africa. Once they’ve settled, the traditional churches will find their place.

*South African Council of Churches, Johannesburg*

A representative of The Evangelical Alliance of South Africa sees a further reason for the appeal of charismatic/Pentecostal churches in the mainline churches' fixation on apartheid – whether for or against – to the exclusion of other relevant aspects of people's lives.

Many people had issues that were never addressed, the only issue was apartheid. The church wasn’t talking to these people. That’s the difference: They, the charismatics bring a new relevance and initially they challenge you. They go to the shebeens, they go to the workplaces, to television. They go everywhere and you have to answer them.

*TEASA, Johannesburg*
According to an Anglican, membership of a charismatic church is driven by a desire for a sense of well-being.

Members of charismatic churches feel that there is ethics in business. People want to feel good about what they’re doing. Charismatic churches allow people to do this. They’re also much better about repentance and restitution than about restoration. It does give you a sort of moral compass.

Also at the heart of charismatic success: if you have a charismatic experience it’s a sign that you are right. If you haven’t you’re not.

Anglican Church, Grahamstown

As discussed above, in the apartheid era many of the mainline churches maintained separate churches for the different population groups. The Apostolic Faith Mission was one of these, and Frank Chikane, a prominent member, has regularly recounted how he was tortured by a white member of his own church. The new charismatic churches are the only ones in which neither members nor church leaders carry this baggage of trauma and shadows from the past. Of course, older members and church leaders were also part of the South African system and supported apartheid – at least in the somewhat embittered telling of a coloured member of an old Pentecostal church.

In South Africa it was the socio-political situation. There was a hiving off to the charismatics from the Pentecostals. It was a transfer of people to something they thought was more meaningful. As you know, the Pentecostal-charismatics in South Africa practice racism. They practiced the worst form of racial segregation. When I was in the Anglican Church my citizenship in heaven was in doubt but I was a first class member of his own church. In the Pentecostal church I was a second-class member but my place in heaven was not in doubt. They did not allow people of colour to be part of the executive. We were not the sons of God, but only walked with the sons of God. The Assembly of God was different. It had one general executive that was voted for. It was quite proportional. If I’d say the Assembly of God was free, I’d lie. They were delivered from alcohol, to a lesser extent from tobacco, but not from racism. Even if we had one conference, we had separate dining rooms. Rooms for the whites, a tent for people of colour, and the blacks were in the open. They created respectability for the system. … Now it does not work anymore with a black government. While the charismatics claim to be free of racism, they are not truthful about it. They supported apartheid to the hilt.

Assembly of God, Durban

Observers – like the charismatics themselves, as we saw above – also attach great importance to the appeal of faith healing:

The healing aspect is what attracts people most. The charismatic churches have placed a lot of emphasis on the healing. The healing ministry would be the biggest draw card. … No matter if rural or urban, there is a traditional longing for healing.

Catholic Church, Johannesburg

Another observer comments that witchcraft and faith healing play an important role in African culture, and the charismatic churches respond to these needs.

In African culture, the whole witchcraft thing is very much part of their life. If something goes wrong they’ll ask who did it. The charismatic churches will pray for people who are under some form of demonic influence. They will pray for healing and
support people while the mainline churches stand back. In the black community that is a strong reason why they are charismatic. In the Indian community if you don’t deal with supernatural issues you are not going to make it. Most come from a Hindu background and the demonic is very real to them.

*South African Enterprise, Pietermaritzburg*

Besides faith healing, from which the mainline churches tend to shy away, charismatic churches offer a fresh appeal and contemporary music.

A lot of the strength of these charismatic churches is that they were able to appeal to people in a way that the mainline churches don’t. The mainline churches are very unappealing, a lack in freshness and in approach. The new ones are being specialising on contemporary music, they also pray for you when you’re sick, they pray for you when you’re depressed. There is faith expectancy in these churches. The mainline churches are afraid to pray for healing in case it doesn’t work. The charismatic churches don’t care if it doesn’t work, they just go to the next person.

*TEASA, Johannesburg*

The new black middle class also feels more at home in the charismatic churches than in others. The traditional Pentecostal churches are no longer in touch with the modern, fast-moving lifestyle of the upwardly mobile. In addition, the new elite tend to be English-speaking and are, thus, attracted to churches in which the service is primarily in English – which the children also understand. In the final analysis, believers are drawn to the new churches for very practical reasons.

One has to highlight that we have seen the emergence of a black middle class since 1995 who feel more comfortable in a charismatic church that is more pragmatic and less traditional in their approach. And they spend less time in their service. The average black AFM service lasts four to five hours, in the charismatic church two hours the most. In the townships there are no swimming pools, there is nothing to go to after church, there is no space in the house. So people didn’t mind. But the middle management moves out of the townships and needs time for other things as well. Obliviously, they give them something spiritually. But when they find an Apostolic Faith Mission who is more modern, most people would come back.

Most of the urban churches are Afrikaans-speaking, Africans can’t be integrated. So that’s also why they link up with English-speaking churches when they come to town.

In short: It’s more practical reasons.

*Apostolic Faith Mission, Pretoria*

**Summary**

A summary of the statements of charismatic/Pentecostal church leaders produces the following picture. The churches offer their members spiritual and social cohesion in the new South Africa, regardless of their background or their history in apartheid South Africa. They have no racial barriers; their church members’ past is irrelevant. A tight network of church and social activities enhances the sense of belonging.

Close biblical exegesis serves as the basis for the Sunday service, for daily life and for influence in politics. Apart from typical Pentecostal characteristics such as the emphasis on the Holy Spirit, speaking in tongues and faith healing, the charismatic
churches are very open and not necessarily fixed theologically. Church services are perfectly structured major events organised and executed by many committed voluntary members of the congregation. This gives in particular young people an opportunity to become active and accept responsibility – an opportunity they are less likely to find in mainline churches. There is an emphasis on a flat hierarchy within the church and direct access to God.

Great importance is attached to the expression of feelings during the church service and experiencing the Holy Spirit. Cell groups that meet once a week also serve this spiritual renewal.

The charismatic churches have taken over the watchdog function from the anti-apartheid churches. However, they speak out only if legislation and other public matters are incompatible with biblical principles. Otherwise, they tend not to take a stand on politics.

They work together with the government in fighting poverty and have their own programmes for the needy, which they finance with the donations of church members and – at least at first – are also open to people who are not members of the congregation.

Church leaders and members attach particular importance to targeted training and continuing education programmes that benefit especially the younger members. These programmes in combination with targeted networking within the church give many church members the opportunity to enjoy a degree of economic and social advancement. Even if the churches benefit from this in the form of higher donations – church buildings erected with the donations of believers indicate the people really do tithe generously – the prosperity gospel is interpreted as referring to holistic well-being rather than to the attainment of individual material riches. Notwithstanding this, the clientele of the new charismatic churches tend to be drawn from the middle class and not from the poor (as will be seen in the empirical chapter that follows).

In short: The charismatic/Pentecostal churches play an active role in creating post-apartheid society. They offer people almost holistic and spiritual support, a social environment and opportunities for personal improvement and economic advancement.

Observers and critical followers of the charismatic/Pentecostal churches also emphasise the social cohesion among church members, which can provide a stabilising environment, but can also be interpreted as mutual social control of and by believers. There is also criticism that church teachings lack depth.

Although observers take a positive view of church efforts to train younger church members for leadership functions and give them responsibility, the lack of transparency in leadership and administrative structures in the church and the lack of control mechanisms, with the concomitant possibility of arbitrary behaviour, raise concerns. More effective structures are needed.

In contrast to the charismatic church leaders, observers note that one weakness of the churches is their treatment of church members who have not benefited from the promises of salvation in the form of holistic riches and have failed at one or several levels. There does not seem to be any place for such people in these churches. Analysts and leaders of other churches are inclined to explain the dynamism of the Pentecostal churches as an expression not only of religious experience, but also of a feel-good experience. Notwithstanding these reservations, they have a high regard for these churches' social capital.
Representative survey of South Africa

Map of society: The social and economic break-down of the sample

The national sample of the 2007 survey consists of 2303 persons, of whom 75% are black, 13% white, 9% coloured and 3% Indian.\textsuperscript{45} Whites are slightly overrepresented; otherwise the sample corresponds more or less to the racial break-down of the rainbow nation according to the official statistics: 79% of the population is black, 9.6% white, 8.9% coloured and 2.5% Indian.\textsuperscript{46}

Of the respondents, 47% are male and 53% female. More than half, namely 53%, have never been married, 30% are married, 8% widowed, 6% engaged or cohabiting and 3% divorced.

The break-down by age corresponds to the official statistics and is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16 + 17 years old</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 – 24 years</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 – 34 years</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 – 49 years</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50+</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this and the following tables and charts all figures are in % and rounded off, unless otherwise mentioned. * indicates a value of less than 0.5%; \textbf{bold} indicates values significantly above average.

More than half of all respondents are younger than 35 years of age; about one fifth is older than 50.

The government of the new South Africa reunited the former patchwork of homelands created for the black population, the townships for blacks, coloureds and Indians adjoining cities reserved for whites, and the four provinces of apartheid South Africa and divided the country into nine \textit{administrative units} or provinces. The break-down of the sample by province is as follows:

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\textsuperscript{45} Indians is the traditional term used in South Africa for persons of Asian/Indian descent.


Mid-year population estimates of South Africa by population group and gender, 2007: 79.6% blackAfrican, 8.9% coloured, 2.5% Indian or Asian, 9.1% white. Reference: Statistics South Africa. Stats in Brief. Pretoria, 2007, p. 12.
## Break-down by Province

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Cape</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpumalanga</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free State</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limpopo</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Cape</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu Natal</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauteng</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most populous province is Gauteng. Other densely populated provinces are KwaZulu-Natal on the northeast coast and the Eastern Cape. North West, Free State, Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape are more sparsely populated.47

Gauteng contains the cities of Pretoria – now officially Tshwane –, the country's political capital, and Johannesburg, the financial centre founded in the gold rush of the late nineteenth century. The former township of Soweto is also in Gauteng. The province is home to members of all ethnic groups; all the country’s languages are spoken in Gauteng. The proportion of whites in Pretoria and Johannesburg – English- and Afrikaans-speaking and the small, fully bilingual group that as a rule comes from an Afrikaans-speaking background – exceeds the national average.

KwaZulu-Natal unites the former Natal and KwaZulu, the former homeland for the Zulus. Here the eponymous Zulus form the majority group. In the city of Durban Indian South Africans, descendents of indentured workers imported from the British India, are also overrepresented.

The Eastern Cape includes the former Transkei and Ciskei homelands, largely populated by Xhosas. Also prominent are coloureds, descendents of early Dutch and Boer settlers, Malay slaves brought by the Dutch to the Cape from their Southeast Asian colonies and Khoisan, the indigenous peoples at the Cape. For the most part they are Afrikaans-speaking and affiliated with the Dutch Reformed Church. Despite a steady

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47 In the interests of readability, in the discussion of the data below, significant results pertaining to the North West, Free State, Mpumalanga and Northern Cape provinces will be mentioned in the footnotes.
influx of blacks from other parts of the country, whites and coloureds constitute the population majority in the Western Cape, in which the main city is Cape Town, the parliamentary capital and major destination. The other provinces are largely rural. In Limpopo there is a disproportionately large number of Northern Sotho; in North West, Western Sotho; in the Free State, whites and Southern Sotho; and in the Northern Cape, coloureds.

Despite the end of apartheid and enforced residential segregation, there has been no mass migration from one region to another. Hence, in many places the socio-economic break-down of the sample by residential area is still indicative of social class and skin colour. The picture is as follows: More than one quarter of the population lives in black urban areas, i.e. in former townships on the edge of the white cities, a good fifth in rural areas, 15% in informal urban settlements, 14% in large cities and metropolitan areas, 9% on commercial farms, 6% in coloured residential areas, 5% in towns, 2% in residential areas of the Indian population and 1% each in urban hostels and mixed residential urban areas. Thirty percent of respondents live in rural and 70% in urban areas.

 Asked for their highest level of education, the results were as follows:

**Break-down by Education**

South Africans have nine years of compulsory schooling. Almost half of the respondents have more, and a further 14% have obtained a diploma or graduated from college or university.

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48 Accordingly, in the survey coloured and Indian townships are not named when there is a significant correlation with both racial affiliation and the corresponding townships.
Asked for their current occupation, most respondents stated they were unemployed (29%), students (18%) and pensioners or economically inactive (12%). Of those in work, 11% hold clerical or sales jobs, 11% work in services, 4% as professionals or academics, and 4% as farm workers or farmers; 3% each are housewives and artisans; 2% each are mineworkers, other workers, and transport workers. Only 1% of respondents work as managers or senior administrators.

Thus, with 62% economically inactive persons are overrepresented. Semi-skilled and unskilled workers are the second largest group with 16%, followed by office workers and sales staff (9%). Three percent each are skilled artisans, managers and senior administrators and professionals and academics.

It is impossible to present an accurate picture of household income because 10% of the respondents refused to answer this question and a further 19% said they were uncertain or did not know.49 Five percent of the respondents have no disposable household income, 37% less than 250 rand, 20% between 250 and 579 rand, and only 9% more than 580 rand a month.

Asked to state their personal income, 11% refused, 40% said they have no income, one third of the respondents less than 250 rand, 14% between 250 and 579 rand, and 3% more than 580 rand.

Analysis shows that the “refusers” are respondents with higher incomes, not respondents with no income.

Respondents were also asked which language they spoke at home: Almost one quarter, namely 23%, speak Zulu, 17% Xhosa, 16% Afrikaans, 9% Western Sotho, 9% Southern Sotho, 8% English, 8% Northern Sotho, 4% Tsonga, 2% Venda and 1% both English and Afrikaans, and 1% each Swazi, Ndebele or other languages.50 This reflects the ethnic break-down of the country black population. The Afrikaans-speakers include both coloureds and whites, as do the small group that claim both Afrikaans and English as mother tongue.

The sociocultural break-down within the population groups

The number of men and women in the sample corresponds to the average figures in the black population. Among the coloureds, men are slightly under- and women overrepresented with 43% and 57% respectively. The figures for Indians are within the average range, whereas among whites men are overrepresented.

Among blacks, married respondents are underrepresented and unmarried overrepresented. In other population groups the relationship is reversed.51 Widowed persons are disproportionately frequent among Indians, as are engaged or cohabiting respondents among whites.

49 It is obviously not the low, but the high earners who refuse to disclose their income. In the following discussion the "refusers" are not mentioned separately when the better off are significantly above the average.

50 In the interests of readability, in discussions of the data below significant results pertaining to the Tsonga, Venda, Swazi and Ndebele language groups and respondents who speak both English and Afrikaans at home will be mentioned in the footnotes.

Blacks are overrepresented in the 18-24 and 25-34 age groups, coloureds and Asians in the two oldest age groups and whites in the oldest.

Most blacks live in rural and deeply rural areas (the only population group with respondents in the latter), in informal shacks or in black townships. Coloureds live in coloured townships and on commercial farms. An above-average number of Indians live in Indian townships and in urban centres. Whites are also disproportionately frequent in the last, as well as in towns and on farms. Most respondents in rural areas are black; none is Indian. This group, like the whites and coloureds are concentrated in urban areas.

There is a clear relationship between skin colour and level of formal education.

**Break-down by Race and Education**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>No schooling</th>
<th>Grade 1-5</th>
<th>Grade 6,7</th>
<th>Grade 8,9</th>
<th>Grade 10,11</th>
<th>Grade 12</th>
<th>Grade 12+</th>
<th>Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloureds</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A disproportionate number of blacks and coloureds have a low level of education, whereas whites and Indians are overrepresented among respondents with at least 12 years of schooling.

It is not surprising that the trend in the break-down by occupation is similar: Blacks are overrepresented in occupations that require less training and Indians and white in those that require better qualifications or university degrees. Blacks are overrepresented among unemployed persons (90%), in transport and telecommunications (84%) and in the services sector (83%) and also slightly overrepresented among pupils and students (80%). Coloureds are disproportionately frequent among unskilled workers (24%), farm workers and farmers \(^{52}\) (18%), artisans and apprentices (17%), housewives (16%) and retired persons and economically inactive persons (13%). Indians, by contrast, are overrepresented among housewives (12%), professionals and academics (6%) and workers (6%), while well over half of all managers and senior administrators (57%) as well as about one quarter of all housewives, clerical and sales staff, artisans and retired persons

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52 This includes fishermen and hunters.
and a little less than one fifth of all farmers are white. The break-down by occupational level is as follows:

**Break-down by Occupational Level and Race**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Blacks</th>
<th>Coloureds</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No income</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>39[^{53}]</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 1-249</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 250-579</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 580+</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused, dk</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The language spoken at home is particularly informative as it is indicative of a respondent's ethnic affiliation.

The two largest groups among the blacks are the Zulus (30%) and the Xhosas (23%). The Sothos (Southern, Western and Northern) make up 10% to 12% of the sample, the Tsonga 5% and the Venda, Swazis and Ndebele each 2%. Only 1% of blacks stated that they spoke English at home. The preferred language of the coloureds is Afrikaans: Almost three quarters speak it at home, 16% use English and 8% both languages. Most

[^{53}]: This figure includes housewives without income, who are overrepresented among Indians.
Indians speak English at home (91%). Of the whites, 70% speak Afrikaans, 26% English and 4% both.

**Does Gender Matter?**

Women are overrepresented among divorced and widowed respondents. There are no significant differences by level of education.

There are proportionately more men than women in the following sectors: transport and telecommunications, agriculture, and trades and unskilled work. All 6% of housewives are, naturally, women. Far more women are unemployed than men.

Men are overrepresented among semi- and unskilled workers. However, the widest gender gap is in economically inactive persons: because this category includes housewives and unemployed persons, women are heavily overrepresented.

In the first household income group of up to 249 rand there are more women than men; otherwise the break-down is more or less even. By contrast, in the case of personal income women are overrepresented in the no or low income groups. Fewer of them refuse to answer or do not know what they earn. The proportion of men is above average in the two highest income groups. The following chart shows the break-down.

**Break-down by Gender and Personal Income**

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**Peculiarities in marital status**

In addition to the above the following also applies to material status: Unsurprisingly, most of the respondents in the age groups up to 24 are unmarried, which is also true of
the 25-34 year-olds. By contrast, most respondents in the 35-49 and 50+ age groups are married. In the last age group the number of widowed people is disproportionately high. Married people are overrepresented in the Indian and coloured townships, in hostels, in urban areas and on farms. Cohabitation is also slightly more common than average on farms and in urban areas. A slightly above-average number of people in urban areas are divorced. The highest number of widowed persons is found in coloured and Indian townships, while the greatest number of single people is found in black urban areas, in informal settlements and shacks and in rural areas.

**Respondents’ age structure**

Besides the above break-down by age structure, other points worth noting include the following. Looking at the age structure in the different residential areas, people over 50 are underrepresented in the informal settlements and black urban areas. In the coloured and Indian townships, on the other hand, they are slightly overrepresented. The 18-24 age group is above average in the black townships. “Young” provinces by population structure are the Free State and Gauteng. The Western Cape has a disproportionately large group of over-50s. Both young and old respondents are overrepresented in Northern Cape; the youngest age group is heavily underrepresented in North West.

More than 70% of respondents with no formal education are older than 50, as are almost half of those with Grade 5, and a third of those with Grade 6,7. Respondents with a higher education than Grade 12 are overrepresented in the middle age groups as well as the young, who are among the best educated. To summarise: Older respondents are overrepresented among the less educated and younger respondents in Grade 8,9 and higher.

The educational level is also reflected in occupation:

Pupils and students are overrepresented among the under-25s, managers and senior administrators, clerical and sales workers, transport and telecommunications workers, artisans and unemployed in the 25-34 age group. In the 35-49 age group there is a disproportionate number of professionals and academics, managers and senior administrators, clerical and sales workers, transport and telecommunications workers, workers in the services and agricultural sectors, artisans, manual workers and housewives. People over 50 tend to be found in occupations that require little training, namely farm workers and farmers, housewives, pensioners and economically inactive persons.

The younger the respondents, the more likely they are not to know their household income. Household income rises with age. The break-down by personal income is as follows:
Poverty is young and old. The former are still in training and the latter have a poor-paying job or none at all.

People who speak Afrikaans (26%) or English (12%) at home are overrepresented in the oldest age group, Zulu-speakers in the middle age groups between 25 and 49, while Xhosa and the other African languages are spoken at home by a disproportionately large number of the youngest age group.

Socio-economic break-down, urban-rural dichotomy and break-down by province

Respondents living in rural areas, hostels, on commercial farms and in shacks have either no or only up to five years of formal schooling. The same groups and respondents in coloured townships are overrepresented among those with Grade 6,7 and Grade 8,9. Respondents in black townships are overrepresented among those with Grade 10,11, respondents in Indian townships among those with Grade 10,11 and above, respondents in towns and cities among those with Grade 12 and Grade 12+; respondents in hostels are also overrepresented in the Grade 12+ group. In short: The level of education in rural areas is considerably lower than in urban areas, in which there are not only more opportunities to get an education, but also a larger circle of people who can financially afford to take advantage of them.54

The break-down of household income is similar to that of personal income. People with no or little income live in rural areas, on farms, in informal shacks and in black townships. Personal income is highest in towns, cities and metropolitan areas.

54 The break-down of mother tongue by residential area is normal: English is the language of the Indian townships and urban areas, Afrikaans the language of the coloured townships, urban areas and commercial farms, and African languages largely of the shacks, black townships and rural areas.
The most urban provinces are Gauteng, Western Cape and Northern Cape; Limpopo, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape are the most rural. The precise breakdown is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Cape</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Cape</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free State</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KZN</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauteng</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpumalanga</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limpopo</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The urban-rural divide is also apparent in the level of education. The more rural a region, the less educated the respondents are. Or: people in urban areas are better educated.

**Break-down by Education and Urban-Rural-Divide**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No schooling</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 1-5</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 8,9</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 10,11</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 12</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 12+</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Unsurprisingly, at 89% farm workers and farmers are heavily overrepresented among the rural population, as are unemployed persons and semi- and unskilled workers. Managers and senior administrators, professionals and academics, clerical and sales staff and artisans are overrepresented in urban areas. The break-down by income is analogous. Those with no income or in the lowest income category – for both household and personal income – are found more often in rural areas. Urban respondents dominate in the highest two income groups or refused to answer the question.

Afrikaans and English are the predominant languages in urban areas; Zulu, Tsonga and Swazi are overrepresented in rural areas. The majority language by province is as follows: About half of the respondents of the Western Cape and the Northern Cape are Afrikaans-speaking, four in five inhabitants in KwaZulu-Natal speak Zulu at home, almost three quarters of the inhabitants of the Eastern Cape use Xhosa, almost the same proportion in the Free State Southern Sotho, and two thirds in North West Western Sotho.

The following overview shows the socio-economic classification by urban-rural categories and principal population group:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic classification</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Urban-rural category</th>
<th>Principal inhabitants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Informal shacks</td>
<td></td>
<td>Urban areas</td>
<td>Blacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Blacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black areas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Blacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured areas</td>
<td>Kayelitsha</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coloureds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian areas</td>
<td>Durban-Westville</td>
<td></td>
<td>Indians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed areas</td>
<td>Bellevue in Johannesburg</td>
<td></td>
<td>Whites, Indians, coloureds; majority of blacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cities/Metropolitan areas</td>
<td>Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town</td>
<td></td>
<td>Whites, Indians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towns</td>
<td>Bloemfontein, Umtata</td>
<td></td>
<td>Whites, coloureds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deep rural, rural Commercial farms</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rural areas</td>
<td>Blacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coloureds, whites</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Education, occupation and income – mutually reinforcing factors also in South Africa**

Since the end of apartheid compulsory education has been law in South Africa and most South Africans complete the mandatory number of years in school. However, there are still huge regional differences in educational achievement. As our survey shows, one tenth of all respondents have no or only a few years of formal schooling. There are substantial deficits above all in rural areas and in the territory of the former homelands. Uneducated or poorly educated respondents were overrepresented in the Northern and Eastern Cape and in Limpopo. An above-average number of the best educated people are found in KwaZulu-Natal and in particular in Gauteng; well-educated respondents,
too, are overrepresented in Gauteng as well as in the Free State, Mpumalanga and Limpopo.

By occupation we can broadly say that people with no or little education are over-represented in the Northern and Eastern Cape and among economically inactive people and semi- and unskilled workers, in other words among people found to a disproportionate degree in the lowest household and personal income categories. The respondents in Limpopo include on the one hand a disproportionate number of people with no formal schooling; the number of economically inactive people and people with no or little income is also well above average. On the other hand, many respondents have a solid education, which explains their overrepresentation among managers and senior administrators. Respondents in Gauteng – where the number of well and very well educated people is above average – are overrepresented among professionals and academics, clerical and sales staff, the medium and upper personal income groups and, finally, also among the refusers. The picture for education respondents in the Free State and Mpumalanga is similar. However, in the former province the number of people with no income is above average and in the latter the number in the lowest income group.

An analysis of the occupation break-down for each level of education does not reveal any unexpected correlations. The higher the level of education, the “better” the job is. Farm workers and farmers and pensioners are overrepresented among respondents with little or no formal schooling. In the final analysis, a good education is also an indicator of a good income. Little or no formal schooling often results in little or no income. In this respect, the surveyed population of South Africa is no exception.

Finally, the correlation by ethnic group is as follows. The correlation between both personal and household income and the language spoken at home indicates that the income of speakers of African languages is lower than that of English- or Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. A disproportionate number of Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho, Tsonga and Venda-speakers earn nothing. Western Sotho, Swazis, Ndebele, Zulus and Xhosa are found in the lower and mid-range income groups, although people with no income are also overrepresented among the Xhosa and Zulu. Only English- and Afrikaans-speakers are heavily overrepresented among the top earners as well as in the group of those who give no details about their income. As shown above, top earners are overrepresented among these refusers.

**Religious communities – religious diversity through immigration and political emancipation**

The cleavages in South Africa do not stop at the religious communities. As shown above, immigration from all parts of Europe imported into this country Europe's legacy of religious divides. Migrants replicated their churches and religious communities, and some founded “daughter churches” for the different non-white ethnic and language groups. One black reaction to white dominance in the church hierarchies was the establishment of black-led churches. These were followed by the so-called African Independent – or African Indigenous – Churches (AICs). Today, the AICs are the largest church movement in South Africa. The Catholic Church, in particular through promi-
nent bishops and lay members, was a leading protagonist in the struggle against apartheid.

Since its emergence at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Pentecostal movement has not managed to establish a united church. On the one hand, the disapproval of church hierarchy with set rituals was too strong and, on the other, the central relevance of the Holy Spirit, expressed in forms of spiritual experience ranging from speaking in tongues to faith healing, underscored individualism. The New Pentecostal Churches, one of which, Rhema Church, the first mega-church in South Africa, has fundamentally influenced other communities, are a more recent development, and have come into their own only since the 1990s, i.e. since the end of apartheid. In South Africa Pentecostal elements and a variety of spiritual experiences are characteristic of Pentecostal churches and African Independent Churches.

What is the break-down of respondents by denomination and what are the social characteristics of members of the individual religious communities:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African Independent Churches55</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Pentecostal Churches56</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Protestant/Reformed Churches57</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Reformed Churches</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic Church</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious movements58</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anglican Church</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Pentecostal Churches59</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist Church</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The African Independent/Indigenous Churches have the largest membership: almost one in four of all respondents. Somewhat less than one fifth belong to the Old Pentecostal Churches, a good tenth each to the Protestant Churches and the Dutch Reformed Churches,60 8% to the Catholic Church, 6% to religious movements, almost 5% to the Anglicans, just less than 4% to the New Pentecostal Churches and 2% to the Baptists.

55 The African Independent Churches (hereinafter AICs) include, among others, the Zion Christian Church, Shembe, Ethiopian Churches, Zulu Congregation etc.
56 The Old Pentecostal Churches include, among others, the Apostolic Faith Mission, Assembly of God etc.
57 The Protestant/Reformed – hereinafter the Protestant Churches – include, among others, the Lutherans, United Church Congregational, Methodist of South Africa, Presbyterian Church of South Africa etc.
58 The religious movements include, among others, Jehovah's Witnesses, Universal Church of Christ, Seventh Day Adventist, Agape etc.
59 The New Pentecostal Churches include, among others, Grace Bible Church, Faith Harvest Church, Living Word, Revival Church, Rhema Bible Church etc.
60 Hereinafter DRC.
Islam, Hindu and other denominations followed with 1% each. Seven percent did not state a denomination.

One third of all respondents in religious communities described themselves as “re-born in Christ and the Holy Spirit”. The next chapter will analyse this group of reborn Christians.

**Denomination and social characteristics**

The break-down of survey respondents – *black, coloured, Indian or white* – by denomination is as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
<th>Coloureds</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIC</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>24</td>
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<tr>
<td>Old Pentecostal</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Reformed</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Movements</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Pentecostal</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The country's history and the churches' origins are also reflected in the membership of the individual churches. The AICs and the Old Pentecostal Churches, the Protestant Churches and the Catholic Church have a disproportionate number of blacks in their membership. The Old Pentecostal Churches, the DRC, the Catholic Church, the Anglicans, New Pentecostal Churches and Baptists have an above-average appeal for coloureds. Most Indians are either Muslims or Hindus. White membership of the DRC is well above average; they are also overrepresented in other churches and the Baptist Church; a high proportion of whites did not state any religion.

The break-down of religious communities by *province* reflects not only ethnic differences, but also the waves of immigrants from different religious communities and the missionary work of European churches in South Africa. For instance, the strong presence of Anglicans in the Western Cape dates from the English occupation of the Cape in 1806; the presence of the DRCs in the Western Cape and Free State mirrors the coloured and white populations, who are traditionally members of the DRCs. Catholic missionaries were very active in KwaZulu-Natal.

AICs tend to be concentrated in rural areas, hence it is not surprising that membership is well above average in Limpopo, KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga. The Old Pentecostal Churches are overrepresented in Limpopo and in the Eastern Cape, the Protestants in the Eastern Cape, the DRCs in the Western Cape and Free State, Catho-
lics in KwaZulu-Natal, religious movements in Gauteng, Anglicans in the Western Cape, New Pentecostal Churches in Mpumalanga, Baptists in the Northern Cape, Muslims in North West, Hindus in KwaZulu-Natal and respondents with no religion in Limpopo.

The history of immigration and missionary work is also reflected in the predominant language in each religious community. African languages are the medium in the AICs, but also in the Old Pentecostal Churches – where Afrikaans, the language of the Afrikaners and coloureds, is also prominent. Afrikaans is overwhelmingly the language of the DRCs. Protestant missionaries were successful among the Xhosa, Western Sotho and Zulus, Catholic missionaries among the Zulus and Southern Sotho. Denominations differ little by gender. The proportion of women is above average only in the AICs, whereas that of men is slightly above average among those with no church affiliation.

The only conspicuous results for denomination by age group are the following: AICs have a larger than average following in the younger and middle age groups, the DRCs are overrepresented in the oldest and to a slight degree in the youngest. Observers regularly emphasise that the New Pentecostal Churches appeal particularly to young people; our results, however, do not support this view.

If you go to these charismatics it’s all young people. Everything is geared to working-age people. The majority of these people, their parents don’t go there. They’re energised. Unlike in the US where you grow up with this, with us, it’s only the young.

South African Council of Churches, Johannesburg

As for marital status, married people are underrepresented in the AICs and overrepresented in the DRCs. In both religious communities the number of divorced persons is below average. AIC members tend to be single, DRC members tend not to divorce. Both trends are closely related to the believers’ age structure.

Most people tend to marry or cohabit within the same religious community – more than 70% among members of the DRCs, Hindus and Muslims. With the exception of the last two, members who look outside their own denomination tend to marry or cohabit with people who do not state any religion, except for members of the New Pentecostal Churches, of whom an above-average proportion find partners among members of the Old Pentecostal Churches.

Which religious groups are found in which (residential) areas? AIC members are among the poorer population groups and hence found disproportionately often in informal shacks, black townships, rural areas and hostels. Members of the Old Pentecostal Churches are overrepresented in coloured townships and also in informal shacks, the Protestant Churches in rural areas and mixed urban areas, the DRCs in towns, cities and metropolitan areas, coloured townships and commercial farms. The Catholic Church is overrepresented in cities and metropolitan areas, the religious movements in shacks and the Anglicans in coloured townships. Muslims and Hindus are, unsurprisingly, overrepresented in Indian townships.

The AICs, the Protestant Churches and people with no church are overrepresented in rural areas. This supports the view that the category “no denomination” also includes
practitioners of traditional African religions as well as atheists. Hinduism and Islam are purely urban religions. Catholics also tend to be concentrated in urban areas.

How do the different religious communities differ by education?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No education</th>
<th>1-5</th>
<th>6, 7</th>
<th>8, 9</th>
<th>10, 11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>12+</th>
<th>Ø</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIC</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Pentecostal</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Reformed</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AIC members are overrepresented among those with no formal schooling, members of the Old Pentecostal Churches and respondents with no denomination in the lower educational groups, members of the DRCs in the highest groups. Catholics are slightly overrepresented among those who complete compulsory schooling and those with a post-school education.

Education and occupation go hand in hand. Members of the AICs tend to be artisans, services, and transport and telecommunications workers or unemployed persons. Only 3% of them are managers or senior administrators. Members of the Old Pentecostal Churches are overrepresented among mineworkers and other manual workers and unemployed persons; they are underrepresented among professionals and academics and managers and senior administrators.

DRC members are seldom unemployed persons, but overrepresented among farmers and farm workers – most of whom are coloureds –, managers and senior administrators and professionals and academics – who tend to be white.

Catholics are overrepresented among housewives, administrators and clerical and sales staff.

Members of the New Pentecostal Churches are overrepresented in more skilled occupations. None of them are artisans and only few work in the services sector.

If one looks at respondents' occupational categories, blue-collar workers are overrepresented among the members of AICs and Old Pentecostal Churches. Members of the DRCs, the Catholic Church and the New Pentecostal Churches and Muslims are mostly white-collar or skilled workers.

Household and personal income confirm the occupation picture: Members of the AICs and the Old Pentecostal Churches are overrepresented in the lowest income groups, DRC members in the middle and highest income groups, Catholics and mem-

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bers of religious movements in the middle income groups, and members of the New Pentecostal Churches are slightly overrepresented in the highest income group.

For me, those churches are more about those who have the good jobs. It provides a comfortable theology for those who’ve made it. As long as you give your tithe to where you’re fed.

Respondents who do not belong to any religious group are overrepresented either among the very poor or in highest income group. The following table illustrates the relationship between personal income and denomination.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>No income</th>
<th>R 1-249</th>
<th>R 250-579</th>
<th>R 580+</th>
<th>Refused/Dk</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Reformed</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious movements</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Pentecostal</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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<td>*</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To summarise: In South African membership of a specific or no denomination is indicative of social status: the poor, uneducated, and blacks tend to be members of the AICs and Old Pentecostal Churches. By contrast, the better educated and better off, whites and coloureds are found in the DRCs and the Catholic and Anglican Church. High earners and Indians are overrepresented among Muslims and Hindus.

**Reborns and changing church**

One third of the respondents defined themselves as *reborn*. What is their break-down by religious community?
Unsurprisingly, half of the members of the New Pentecostal Churches, almost half of the members of religious movements and four in ten members of the Old Pentecostal Churches and the AICs define themselves as reborn. However, the mainline churches also have reborn members – from a third of DRC adherents to just under one fifth of the Anglicans. These figures are in line with the global trend since the 1960s: churches and congregations that traditionally are not viewed as charismatic accept charismatic groups, and thus charismatic experiences and services in their own ranks.

One third of whites (36%) and blacks (33%), a good quarter of coloureds (27%) and one sixth of Indians view themselves as reborn, as do more women (37%) than men (27%).

Reborns are overrepresented among the very poor in informal shacks, among the somewhat better off in cities and metropolitan areas and in mixed areas and slightly over-represented in rural areas. They are less common in coloured townships and well below average on commercial farms and in Indian townships.

An above-average proportion of respondents in Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Gauteng and the Free State define themselves as reborn, as do Northern Sotho-, Ndebele- and Tsonga-speakers.

Born-again Christians are overrepresented in the middle and underrepresented in the highest personal income group.\(^\text{61}\)

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\(^{61}\) The correlation between household income and reborn is not significant.
When all is said and done, a good quarter of all respondents stated that they had changed their denomination – about half of them joined their new denomination only in the past five years. An above-average number of the *changers* have joined New Pentecostal Churches, religious movements and Old Pentecostal Churches. This is also true of born-again Christians: One third of them have joined another church or religion.

**Did you ever Change your Denomination?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Now</th>
<th>Previous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIC</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Pentecostal</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>New Pentecostal</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>Dutch Reformed</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Among those who changed their church, the Protestants have lost the most members; their number has fallen by two thirds. Other churches that have lost members to a lesser degree include the DRCs, Catholics and Anglicans.

By contrast, the AICs have gained considerably, the Old Pentecostals have almost doubled, the religious movements trebled and the New Pentecostal Churches quadrupled their number. In other words, on balance the mainline and traditional churches have lost members and the Pentecostal Churches and AICs have gained.

From which denominations have the rapidly growing charismatics drawn members? One quarter of the African Independent Churches is drawn from other AICs, one seventh from each of the Old Pentecostal and the Protestant Churches and one tenth from each of the Anglicans and the Catholics.

The Old Pentecostal Churches have got a fifth of their increase from members of the AICs and Protestants, a sixth from Old Pentecostal Churches and about 15% from members of the DRCs.

One fifth of the members of the religious movements were previously Protestants, one sixth members of the Old Pentecostal Churches and one seventh members of each of the AICs and the Catholic Church.

Of the current membership of the New Pentecostal Churches, previously one fifth were Protestants, one sixth each members of the Old and the New Pentecostal Churches and a good tenth each members of the DRCs or non-believers.

Our members come from mainline churches, Methodists, also AICs, not so much from the Catholic Church. You see, when the Catholic Church is established in a country, they are well established. And people are not so attracted.  

Rivers of Living Water Global Ministries Evaton, Sebokeng

Most AICs you would find them also charismatic. Charismatic movement which is not part of the old development started in 1979 and had its peak in 1990s. Singing, healing, preaching and speaking in tongues are very much the same.  

Apostolic Faith Mission, Pretoria

Where have members of the traditional churches moved to?

Members of the DRCs found other DRC congregations, the Anglican Church, the Old Pentecostal Churches and the Baptists particularly appealing.

Catholics changed primarily to the New Pentecostal Churches, the religious movements, Baptists, Protestant Churches and African Independent Churches, while Anglicans preferred the Catholic Church, the AICs and the New Pentecostal Churches.

Who has joined a new church?

They tend to be white, black or coloured – Indians, most of whom are Muslim or Hindu, are well below average –, women rather than men, married or widowed persons or cohabitants. Divorced and unmarried persons are underrepresented. Most respondents who change are over 35, i.e. in the two oldest age groups. There is no significant correlation between type of accommodation, urban-rural divide, level of education, occupation, personal income, mother tongue and ethnic background and change in religion. An above-average number of the respondents in the Northern Cape and Eastern Cape, in Limpopo and Mpumalanga have changed to another denomination; the
The proportion of changers is lowest in KwaZulu-Natal and the Free State. By household income, respondents in the lowest income group are overrepresented.

It was not that easy to leave the Charismatic church. That was a big pressure. That was almost considered you were going backward. How can you go back to an Anglican church after being in a free church? There’s great pressure to conform. If you ask questions. …

When I returned to the Anglican Church, the majority of my Charismatic church would consider me to have lost the plot. If they do engage with you, they ask questions about why. They felt threatened when I’d invite people from mainline churches to meetings.

Religious perceptions and practices, religion and politics

This section seeks to establish the relevance of faith for individuals – in particular how it shapes people's everyday lives and social environment –, religiosity, religious practices and religious tolerance.

Here are some things that people say about what religious faith means to them personally. Which two (2) mean most to you personally?

| Faith gives me comfort and strength in coping with my problems | 44 | - |
| Faith helps me to love and respect others | 6 | 26 |
| Faith gives me confidence in my ability to succeed in life | 12 | 15 |
| Faith helps me to lead a moral and upright life | 22 | 6 |
| Faith gives me discipline and strength for hard work | 1 | 20 |
| Faith makes me care about the weak and needy | 14 | 7 |
| Faith helps me to overcome temptation and human weakness | 1 | 14 |
| Faith inspires me daily with the presence of the Holy Spirit | * | 13 |

Adding the first and second choices together, more than two fifths of respondents state that their faith helps them cope with their problems in daily life. One third find faith helps them love and respect others, and a good quarter each that it helps them lead a moral life and to succeed in life. Faith is least relevant for the respondents as inspiration through the presence of the Holy Spirit.

In short: faith is a source of strength and support for most respondents. It demands love for one's neighbour and, hence, promotes tolerance. It is almost therapeutic, helps to cope with everyday life and promotes social responsibility and harmonious relations in society.

Faith as a pillar in everyday life finds above-average support among coloureds, respondents in North West and the Western Cape, members of the DRCs, the New Pentecostal Churches and the AICs. Here for the first time we find a phenomenon that will appear repeatedly in the study: members of the New Pentecostal Churches and the AICs often have similar views.

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62 In this and the following questions the figures show agreement in percent.
Here in South Africa we have a strong integration of Pentecostal, Charismatic and classical evangelist churches. It’s much stronger than I have seen in the US. There they are quite exclusive, the lines are much clearer. I personally promote that we make borderlines less distinctive.  

_Apostolic Faith Mission, Pretoria_

Inspiration through the Holy Spirit plays a greater role for whites, respondents in urban areas, in the Free State, Limpopo, with the highest level of education, in high and above-average income groups in the corresponding occupations, and members of the DRCs and the New Pentecostal Churches.

**Religiosity**

How strong is respondents' religiosity?

*I believe in a life after death where good people will be rewarded and bad people will be punished* 78

*I try hard to live my daily life according to the teachings of my religion* 77

*Whatever people say, there are hidden forces of good and evil which may help or harm me* 73

*I can be happy and enjoy life without believing in God* 26

Almost eight in ten respondents believe in a life after death with divine reward or punishment63 – a belief held most strongly by coloureds and least by blacks. More women than men believe in a life after death, as do widowed and married people and those in the oldest age group.64 By education, the highest and two lowest levels are overrepresented, as are unskilled workers, housewives, economically inactive persons, pensioners, artisans, farmers and farm workers65 as well as respondents with no household income, Ndebele-, Tsonga- and Afrikaans-speakers66 and respondents in the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal. By contrast, fewer respondents in Gauteng and the Northern Cape share this view.

Disproportionate numbers of reborns (85%), Muslims, Anglicans and members of the DRCs the Old Pentecostal Churches believe in a life after death.

In short: the question of a life after death is of crucial significance for Christians and Muslims across all social and ethnic barriers. Only blacks and respondents in economically booming Gauteng attach slightly less importance to it.

Almost as many respondents as believe in a life after death try to live their lives according to the teachings of their religion.67 The proportion of believers making this effort is slightly lower among blacks and slightly higher among coloureds, Indians and whites. Above-average is the proportion of women, married persons, people over 50,  

63 Urban-rural divide and occupational level are not significant.

64 Among 16+17-year olds belief in a life after death is below average.

65 Among managers and senior administrators belief in a life after death is well below average.

66 Among those who speak both Afrikaans and English at home only two thirds believe in a life after death.

67 Urban-rural divide and educational and occupational level are not significant.
city-dwellers, respondents in Indian townships,\textsuperscript{68} in North West, the Western Cape and Mpumalanga, housewives, professionals and academics, managers and senior administrators, in other words the top executives, and those that refuse to state their household and personal income – i.e. the better-off, those that speak both English and Afrikaans at home, and Afrikaans-speakers.\textsuperscript{69} Anglicans and Protestants are less likely than most to try to live according to the teachings of their religion, Catholics are almost average at 76\%, and all other denominations make an above-average effort; among reborns the figure is 86\%.

I hope that their lifestyle is better. Life with God is better than without. In every way things become better: your marriage becomes better; your kids, your finances come into line, your business prospers. If you live according to the word of God things become better. That is the reason for living according to the word of God. \textit{Glenridge Church International, Durban}

Almost three quarters of respondents believe in supernatural powers, which can, of course, particularly in an African context, include witchcraft and traditional beliefs.\textsuperscript{70} Coloured and blacks are most, Indians least, and just under two thirds of the whites convinced of the existence of supernatural powers. Women believe in these powers more than men, as do people living in hostels, on commercial farms and in shacks, respondents in rural areas, in the Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, the Northern Cape and Mpumalanga. Doubt about the existence of supernatural powers correlates directly with the level of education.\textsuperscript{71} Among farm workers and farmers, whose job keeps them in contact with nature, this belief is above-average, as it is among housewives, manual workers, respondents with no household income\textsuperscript{72} and in the lowest personal income group and Ndebele- and Zulu-speakers; far fewer English-speakers share this belief.

By religion, belief in supernatural power is weakest among Muslims, members of the DRCs and Baptists as well as Protestants and strongest among Anglicans.

Given that the belief in supernatural powers correlates closely with the level of education, a higher level of education obviously serves to disenchant the world.

Only a little more than one quarter of respondents share the opinion that a happy, enjoyable life is possible without God.\textsuperscript{73} Blacks are most and Indians least likely to take this view, somewhat more men than women, more cohabiting and single people than married persons, more respondents in hostels and shacks than respondents in urban areas, mixed areas, coloured townships and Indian townships, more in the Free State and KwaZulu-Natal and the least in Limpopo. By level of education, respondents with no education and up to Grade 9 are above average, Grade 10 and above below average. Respondents with no household income,\textsuperscript{74} Southern Sotho and Xhosa are more likely to imagine a happy life without God, whereas Swazi, Ndebele, Northern Sotho, Venda and Afrikaans-speakers are less likely to.

\begin{itemize}
  \item The proportion among respondents in the black townships is below average.
  \item The proportion of two thirds for both Xhosa and Venda is below average.
  \item Marital status, age and reborn are not significant.
  \item Agreement from the lowest to the highest level of education: 86-83-82-74-71-69-67.
  \item Agreement falls linearly from the lowest to the highest household income group: 77-75-73-66.
  \item Age, urban-rural divide, occupation, occupational level and personal income are not significant.
  \item Agreement from no income to highest income group: 36-28-26-22-21 (linear).
\end{itemize}
Reborns are slightly below average, as are Muslims, Hindus and members of the DRCs and AICs. One third each of Baptists and members of the New Pentecostal Churches can imagine a happy life without God, as can 31% of the Catholics.

The main purpose is to have a relationship with God.

Christian Revival Church, Umgeni, Durban

In short: South Africans of all religions and races are very religious, with minor divergences by level of education and cultural background.

People are religious; but do they also practise their religion? They were asked how often they pray.

**How often do you pray?**

More than two thirds of respondents pray often, at least once a day, and many more often. One fifth pray sometimes and a good tenth hardly ever or never.

All population groups are overrepresented among those who pray daily or often, except blacks, who are overrepresented among those who pray sometimes. Coloureds pray most assiduously.

City-dwellers, including those in Indian and coloured townships, cities and metropolitan areas, pray more often than people in rural areas. Inhabitants of hostels and respondents in rural areas pray on average more often than others. This includes the inhabitants of KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo and those of the Northern Cape and Mpumalanga. By contrast, 84% of the inhabitants of the Western Cape pray often or at least once a day.

Women pray disproportionately often, as do the oldest. In general there is a direct correlation between frequency of prayer and the level of education; correspondingly, the proportion of those who hardly ever or never pray falls as the level of education rises.\(^7\)

What is true of education also holds for income. A good half of those with no household income pray often; on the other hand, four fifths of those in the highest

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\(^7\) Agreement from the lowest to the highest level of education: 56-64-61-65-70-72-76.
income group pray daily or more often.\textsuperscript{76} Although the correlation for personal income is not linear, the trend is similar.

Afrikaans-speakers are among those who pray assiduously; the Venda are the group most likely to pray hardly ever or never.

By denomination the picture is as follows:

Apart from Muslims, those that pray often, thus daily or more frequently, and, hence, more often than average, are adherents of the religious movements, members of the DRCs, and, each with about three quarters of their members, the Old Pentecostal Churches, the Anglicans and the New Pentecostal Churches. At only 35\%, the Baptists are overrepresented among those who pray sometimes or seldom. Those who never pray are above all those who have not stated any religion. Only 1\% of the members of the New Pentecostal Churches and 4\% of the Old Pentecostal Churches are found in the category of those that never pray. Hence, it is only consistent that 85\% of reborns pray often or daily.

In short: an above-average proportion of reborns pray daily, several times a day or often. Muslims, who pray five times a day as normal religious practice, are among those who pray daily or often; better educated respondents and those with better jobs also pray regularly. Where do respondents pray when they do not pray in a church?

\textit{In prayer outside of church do you pray}

\begin{table}
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|}
\hline
\textit{in a prayer group?} & 7 \\
\textit{alone or with your family?} & 53 \\
\textit{both?} & 34 \\
do not pray, no answer & 6 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

Personal prayer practice is very diverse: more than half of the respondents pray alone or with the family, 7\% in a prayer group, a third in both and 6\% state, as in the previous question, that they do not pray.\textsuperscript{77}

Indians, men, divorced persons, respondents in mixed areas, in cities, in the Free State and Gauteng, with a Grade 8,9 level of education, skilled workers, those who refuse to state their household income, Southern Sotho, Tsonga, Venda and those who speak both Afrikaans and English, Muslims and Baptists, Catholics and members of the New Pentecostal Churches pray in a prayer group slightly more often than average.

Coloureds and whites, respondents in cities and hostels, in North West and the Western Cape, those with Grade 6,7 and the best educated and, hence, the top occupational groups, Afrikaans-speakers and those who speak both Afrikaans and English, two thirds of the members of the DRCs and six in ten Protestants pray alone or with the family – which can also include grace.

Those who do both are found disproportionately often among Indians, blacks, widowed and divorced persons, respondents in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal, with Grade 1-5, who have not stated their household income, Southern Sotho, Zulu and Tsonga, members of the religious movements and AICs and Hindus.

\textsuperscript{76} Agreement from the lowest to the highest household income group: 52-62-74-79.

\textsuperscript{77} Age, urban-rural divide, occupation and personal income are not significant.
Those who do not pray or did not reply are overrepresented among once again Indians as well as cohabitants, respondents in hostels, metropolitan areas and traditional rural areas, in Mpumalanga and Limpopo and in the Northern Cape, respondents with no formal schooling and the lowest level of education, those in the highest occupational groups and respondents in the lowest income group, Venda, Ndebele, English-speakers and Swazis, Northern Sotho and Hindus.

*Reborns* are slightly overrepresented among those that pray in a prayer group (9%) and both in the family and in a prayer group (44%).

To summarise: the prayer group appeals to urban respondents, those with an average level of education, the well-off and artisans. Coloureds and whites – in this case predominantly Afrikaners – and respondents with a low or the highest level of education attach great importance to prayer alone or with the family. Blacks, Indians, respondents in Gauteng, with the lowest level of education and the better-off pray both in prayer groups and with the family. Those that never pray are overrepresented among the less educated, respondents in traditional rural areas and the highest occupational groups, hence, in particular Indians and Hindus.

**How often do you attend religious services?**

![Pie chart showing frequency of attendance at religious services](image)

Just under two thirds of respondents attend religious services daily, often or at least once a week – thus their figure is a little lower than those who pray often or daily –, one fifth attend sometimes, and one sixth hardly ever or never.

With few divergences, the results are similar to those for the frequency of prayer. This should also be reflected in the comparison between the frequency of prayer and the frequency of attendance at religious services. A good four fifths of those who pray often or daily attend church services often or weekly – a total of 56% of all respondents. Nine in ten respondents who never or hardly ever pray also do not attend church services – a total of 10% of all respondents.
**A church service at the Rhema Church in Johannesburg, 3 March 2006**

We attend a Rhema service held at the Rhema centre during their annual conference. This year’s theme is ‘be free’. The gathering is mixed, mostly young to middle aged with a few older couples and even whole families. The audience is mixed but well-dressed blacks are in the majority. There are three groups of singers and the band on the stage dressed mainly in black but not uniformly. A white man and a woman lead the praise singing. The master of ceremony (MC) is white middle-aged. All are dressed casually, but not as glamorously as you’d expect in a rock concert. The pattern is the same as the one in the Grace Bible Church meeting which we had attended. An introduction by the MC, the lead singers rouse the audience in praise songs. A pastor encourages all to give generously and the collection baskets are passed around. The news broadcast follows on one of the screens. A young well-groomed young African woman gives the news from the conference seated on a patio. She invites people to enrol for next year’s Rhema conference at reduced fees and announces tomorrow’s activities which seem to be mainly recreational. There is a run-down on the ‘awesome’ messages imparted by the various keynote speakers at the conference who come from all parts of the world. “Awesome” seems to be the buzzword and is used by the MC many times. Then the evening’s speaker is introduced. He comes from Wales and could be a stand-up comedian. He tells the story of how Eve was named. The message is that by naming things we take control. Members of the audience consult their Bibles when he refers to various passages. Adam initially made the mistake of not giving Eve a name so she lacked an identity. Adam was given control over all the animals of the creation and was allowed to name them. He rejected all as his future partners; the giraffe was too tall to kiss, the camel had enormous humps etc. So Eve was created from his rib and called woman, the man with a womb. The audience is appreciative of his wit and responds to each wisecrack. It is indeed a very entertaining sermon.

In between the audience is called upon to raise their hands, one or both, to commit themselves to some call or other. And there is singing and dancing. The rows of seats in the auditorium are far apart and the congregation sway and shake their bodies on the spot. Others take to the aisles. Some tall white men dance with buxom African women. The only person who remains rigid seems to be the video operator who is labelled as such on the back of her t-shirt.

At the end of the service, a notice flashes on all the screens asking all those who feel that the service has moved them, that it has been a life-changing experience, to collect their belongings and come to the front. About 60 go forward to be blessed. They are ushered out by the front exit. They are followed by a second group who wish to be prayed for. The audience leaves by the back exit. There will be a second service at eight o’clock. Members of the audience are invited to have something to eat and to visit the bookshop before returning.

**Religious tolerance and practice**

What do respondents feel about religious tolerance?

There are many acceptable, different ways of conducting a religious life  
No matter what people’s religious beliefs are, the most important thing is that everybody leads an honest life and is a good human being  
I am convinced that my religion is the only true one
Eight in ten respondents favour religious pluralism\textsuperscript{78} and tolerance\textsuperscript{79} towards their fellow human beings – irrespective of confession or denomination. Almost half are convinced that their religion is the only true one.\textsuperscript{80}

Respondents in rural areas are more tolerant of different kinds of religion. This is most pronounced in North West and the Western Cape, among both the very poor and the highest earners, among the Western Sotho, Xhosa and almost all Hindus and five in six Anglicans. Respondents in urban areas, in Indian townships – 58\% of the Muslims – and in shacks, in Gauteng, Mpumalanga, with average household incomes, Swazi, Southern Sotho, Zulu and Tsonga are less tolerant. In short: both the very poor and the better-off are more pluralistic than other respondents.

Whites and coloureds, respondents in cities, metropolitan areas and hostels, in the Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga, with the highest income,\textsuperscript{81} Afrikaans-speakers and Swazis, almost all Hindus, five in six members of the DRCs and an above average-number of reborns feel that honesty and tolerance are more important than a person's beliefs. By contrast, beliefs are more important for blacks, respondents in mixed areas, in the Northern Cape and Gauteng, for people with no income, Venda, Western Sotho and Southern Sotho, Muslims, members of the religious movements, New Pentecostal Churches and Protestants.

Those who think their religion is the only true one are overrepresented among Indians, respondents in cities and on commercial farms, in the Free State, Mpumalanga and the Western Cape, artisans and housewives, among farm workers and farmers, Ndebele, Swazi, Tsonga, Afrikaans-speakers and those who speak both English and Afrikaans at home, Baptists and members of the DRCs and reborns (55\%). In particular Hindus express religious tolerance, although they – albeit to a much lesser extent than Muslims – also believe their religion is the only true one. Only one third of Protestants share this opinion.

Associating the answers on religiosity and those on religious tolerance gives the following noteworthy results:

Respondents who believe in supernatural powers also believe in a life after death, that their religion is the only true one, that they can not be happy without a belief in God, and, to a lesser degree, accept that there are different ways of leading a religious life.

Respondents who believe in a life after death are overrepresented among those who believe that their religion is the only true one, but also among those who can be happy only if they believe in God, who accept diverse expressions of religious life, try to live according to the teachings of their religion and think that faith and religious values should determine all aspects of society and state.

\textsuperscript{78} Race, gender, marital status, age, educational and occupational level, occupation, personal income and reborn are not significant.

\textsuperscript{79} Gender, marital status, age, urban-rural divide, educational and occupational level, occupation and personal income are not significant.

\textsuperscript{80} Gender, marital status, age, urban-rural divide, educational and occupational level and household and personal income are not significant.

\textsuperscript{81} Agreement from no income to highest income: 64-77-80-86 (linear).
Almost half of the respondents who believe their religion is the only true one tend not to believe that there are many ways of conducting a religious life, but they are over-represented among those who think that faith and religious values should determine all aspects of society and state.

Unsurprisingly, respondents who believe they can live a happy life without God tend not to live according to any religious teachings; that said, only one in ten respondents share both of these opinions. Three in five respondents say that they are happy because they believe in God and that they try to live according to the teachings of their religion.

Every Christian and Muslim is expected to give to the poor. In particular charismatic churches emphasise that members have a duty to tithe. What do respondents think of these guidelines?

Do you give donations to your church?

One quarter of respondents never donate, half of them sometimes, 16% regularly less than ten percent of their income and 8% regularly tithe.

Among respondents who never donate, Indians, in this case Hindus, are overrepresented. Men are more likely than women never to donate, as are younger people, respondents in leading positions, in rural areas, in KwaZulu-Natal, in the Northern Cape and Limpopo, unemployed persons, farm workers and farmers, respondents with no personal income82 and almost one third of the Baptists.

An above-average number of those who sometimes donate are blacks, tend to be women, younger people, respondents in black townships, mixed areas, in North West, Mpumalanga, the Free State, have an average level of schooling, are clerical and sales staff, unemployed persons, pupils and students, work in transport and transportation, Swazi, Southern Sotho, Western Sotho, Ndebele and Tsonga as well as members of the AICs (63%) and Anglicans (59%), in other words, on the whole poorer groups in the

82 Agreement from no income to highest personal income: 48-28-19-12.
population. This is illustrated by personal income: willingness to donate is inversely correlated to level of income.83

Those who regularly donate less than ten percent of their income are overrepresented among the better-off: whites, coloured, women rather than men, divorced, married and widowed persons, respondents over 50, in mixed areas, metropolitan areas and cities, in the Western Cape, Eastern Cape, the best educated, professionals and academics, housewives, the highest occupational groups, those with the highest household and personal income,84 Venda, speakers of both Afrikaans and English, one quarter of the members of the DRCs and a good fifth of the New Pentecostal Churches and reborns.

Those who regularly give ten percent or more of their income are also overrepresented among the better-off, i.e. they tend to be white, Indian, coloured, married or widowed and once again, in the oldest age group, respondents in metropolitan and other urban areas, in the Western Cape and the Free State, among the best educated, professionals and academics, managers and senior administrators, people working in transport and telecommunications, artisans, housewives, economically inactive persons, as well as respondents in the highest household85 and personal income groups,86 Ndebele, Afrikaans-speakers, speakers of Afrikaans and English, one quarter of all Muslims, members of the DRCs and New Pentecostal (15% each) and Old Pentecostal Churches (12%), and 14% of reborns. One striking result is the proportion of Muslims who regularly donate. Almsgiving is one of the five pillars of Islam and – like the pilgrimage to Mecca, ritual prayers five times a day, fasting and testimony – is obligatory for all Muslims.

Although regular donating is closely tied to an individual's economic situation, members of the New Pentecostal Churches, the Old Pentecostal Churches and the Reformed Churches as well as Muslims are more conscientious about this duty than members of the mainline churches. Reborns are also among regular almsgivers.

Religion and Politics

Do respondents ascribe much importance to the Bible in solving personal and private and public social problems? Do they think the Bible and inspiration by the Holy Spirit offer the means for solving their problems or should the church find solutions to these problems?

The scriptures and inspiration by the Holy Spirit will solve all problems, private or public 53

Or

The Bible is no handbook for quick fix solutions – churches have to work and think hard to find solutions for personal and social problems 47

83 Agreement from no income to highest personal income: 54-52-47-37.
85 Agreement from no income to highest household income: 1-5-11-16.
86 Agreement from no income to highest personal income: 4-8-14-17.
There is no clear preference for either Scriptures or church. There is almost a tie between the responses.

The Bible and inspiration by the Holy Spirit tends to be favoured by blacks, respondents living in shacks and in rural areas, but also in towns, people in all provinces except for KwaZulu-Natal, North West and the Western Cape, by three fifths of the lowest educational groups, six in ten pupils and students, transport and telecommunications workers, Venda, Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Xhosa and Tsonga, members of the religious movements (68%), the New Pentecostal Churches (64%), the AICs (60%), the Old Pentecostal Churches (58%) and reborns (65%).

The active responsibility of the church and, thus, of the clergy draws above-average support from Indians, respondents in hostels, in KwaZulu-Natal and North West, from two thirds of the respondents with no formal education, but also from managers and senior administrators, manual workers, transport and telecommunications workers, English-speakers, Zulus and Western Sotho, Hindus (87%), Muslims (74%) and Baptists (58%). Support among Anglicans (56%) and Catholics (54%) is only slightly above average.

Support for biblical inspiration tends to come from the poor, the less educated and members of churches that can be called charismatic. Muslims and Hindus as well as Anglicans and Catholics tend to see this as the responsibility of the churches.

Asked to decide whether churches have only a spiritual mission or also a political mission, respondents answered as followed.

A church should not only be concerned with its own members but also with social, economic and political policies to deal with such problems in the country

Or

A church should only be concerned with the lives of its own members and not become involved in social, economic and political policies

On this question, preferences are clearer. Somewhat fewer than six in ten respondents concede that the church has a social, economic and political role. A good four in ten, on the other hand, take the view that the church should be concerned solely with the lives of its members and not become involved in politics. Similar groups as in the previous alternative question, though with a broader range, support the church's social and political role: two thirds of the best educated and a slight-

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87 Gender, marital status, age, urban-rural divide, occupational level and household and personal income are not significant.
88 Race, gender, marital status, age, socio-economic position, urban-rural divide, province, occupational level and personal income are not significant.
ly smaller proportion of those with an education up to Grade 5, more than three quarters of transport and telecommunications workers, two thirds of professionals and academics, as well as workers in offices and retail and farm workers and farmers, respondents in the highest personal income group,89 Tsonga and Ndebele. However, this group was also slightly overrepresented among members of those churches, with the exception of the DRCs (61%), who stated, as seen above, that the Holy Spirit would solve all problems – namely more than three fifths of the members of the religious movements, New Pentecostal Churches, Old Pentecostal Churches as well as reborns (61%).

Although they look to the Holy Spirit to solve all problems, respondents with no formal education or income and members of the Old und New Pentecostal Churches prefer a church that is concerned with political and social problems. This trend is also apparent in the choice of questions.

The following choice looks beyond social, economic and political concerns to determine respondents' views about the separation of church and state.

Religion should be kept out of politics 61
Religious leaders should stay clear of politics 62

A good six in ten respondents support keeping religion out of politics90 and religious leaders keeping out of politics.91

In 1976 Bhengu proposed we, the Assembly of God, join the SACC. The rationale was they’d lost their spirituality and were more involved in the struggle. We’d become so spiritual that we’d lost sight of the struggle of the people. This would bring about a balance.

Assembly of God, Durban

In most cases, the same groups expressed above-average support for both statements: respondents in the cities and metropolitan areas, in the Free State, with the highest household income, Xhosa, Anglicans, Catholics and Muslims.

Respondents in coloured, black and Indian townships, students, respondents in senior administrative positions, but also those with no household or personal income and members of the New and Old Pentecostal Churches and reborns (58%), tend towards the view that religion has a role to play in politics and that religious leaders should be actively involved in politics.

There is not a great difference between the opinions, as following quotation illustrates:

… church leaders should not participate in party politics. That would corrupt them. Those who have a calling for politics should go for it but leave the church.

Grace Bible Church, Soweto

89 Agreement from no income to highest income: 45-55-60-64 (linear).
90 Race, gender, marital status, age, urban-rural divide and educational level are not significant.
91 Race, gender, marital status, age, urban-rural divide, occupation, educational and occupational level, personal income and reborn are not significant.
Cross tabulating these two questions shows that about half of all respondents are of the opinion that religion should be kept out of politics, and that they also expect their religious leaders to behave accordingly. A good quarter of the respondents would have nothing against religion and religious leaders in politics.

The following questions investigate the degree to which respondents accept the authority of the state or – in particular conservative Christians – their religious values as paramount.

*Please tell us for each one of the following statements whether you agree or disagree.*

**Official authorities are there to be obeyed**

Almost nine in ten respondents supported this statement. Almost all Indians and an above-average proportion of coloureds and whites, all respondents in Indian townships and more than nine in ten in rural areas accept that the state is to be obeyed; all in all, acceptance of authority is greater in rural areas. A disproportionate number of respondents in the Western Cape, the Eastern Cape and North West also support this view, as do housewives, farm workers and farmers, members of higher occupations and almost all who speak both English and Afrikaans at home.

This statement finds below-average support among people in shacks, in the Northern Cape and Gauteng and transport and telecommunications workers.

*We cannot respect the authority of a government that permits abortions, homosexuality, same sex marriage, and has abolished the death penalty*

Almost six in ten respondents qualify the previous when the state permits abortion, homosexuality and same sex marriage and abolishes the death penalty – as in South Africa.

Support for this fairly fundamentalist approach is overrepresented among whites and coloureds, married and divorced people, people over 35, respondents in hostels, in cities, in coloured townships, in the Northern Cape, the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, among respondents in the middle and upper educational levels, Afrikaans-speakers and Zulus.

More tolerant respondents include those in Indian townships, people with no personal income and in the highest personal income group, inhabitants of North West, Limpopo and Mpumalanga, speakers of both Afrikaans and English and Tsonga- and Venda-speakers.

We’d be against abortion. We have a lawyer working on adoption. We’d be universally against same-sex marriages but not against homosexuals. We’d expect them to be celibate, as we’d expect heterosexuals to be who are not married. If someone is heterosexual and is in a relationship without being married we wouldn’t use them in leadership.

*Anglican Church, Durban*

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92 Gender, age, educational and occupational level, household and personal income, denomination and reborn are not significant.

93 Gender, urban-rural divide, occupation, occupational level, household income, denomination and reborn are not significant or of minor significance.

94 Agreement rises linearly from the youngest to the oldest age group: 51-54-57-62-65.
The church has a secular mission as well as a spiritual one. Yes, definitely. We always hear government to dictate to the churches what to do. But the churches are quiet. When the government approves abortion, prostitution the church should speak out.

Shekinah Ministries International, Cape Town

Do all groups stick to their views when fundamentalist ideas are more generally formulated?

*Faith and religious values must determine all aspects of society and state*

Seven in ten respondents agree with this statement. In other words, almost three quarters of the respondents are of the opinion that religious values should be binding on society and state.95

Apart from respondents older than 35, in the Northern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, with the highest level of education, Afrikaans-speakers and Zulus, among whom agreement with the two statements is disproportionately high, almost three quarters of women, almost all respondents in North West and more than three quarters in the Western Cape, people with a low level of education – although support is lowest among those with no formal schooling (57%) – close on 90% of the Western Sotho, Muslims (89%), members of the religious movements (85%) and three quarters of the reborn exhibit fundamentalist tendencies. Support is lowest among members of the New Pentecostal Churches (63%).

Do faith and traditional thinking go hand in hand?

*Women should stay at home and look after their children and family*

Every third respondent expresses the conviction that women should stay at home and take care of their family.96 The most traditional in this respect are coloureds and whites and the most progressive Indians, even though, or perhaps because, this group has the highest number of housewives. Support for keeping women at home is slightly above-average among men, widowed persons and cohabitants. Unsurprisingly, this view correlates directly with age;97 it is also preponderant on commercial farms and in the cities, the Free State and North West. The higher the level of education, the lower is the level of agreement with this view.98 The view that women should stay at home finds below-average support among housewives (29%) as well as managers and senior administrators (only 7%) and pupils and students (one quarter); farm workers and farmers want women to stay at home. Most of the highest earners by both household and personal income are against women chained to the stove. Afrikaans-speakers – in this case coloureds –, and members of the DRCs are most in favour, Venda, Hindus and Baptists most strongly opposed.

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95 Race, marital status, residential area, urban-rural divide, occupational level, occupation, and household and personal income are not significant.
96 Urban-rural divide and reborn are not significant.
97 Agreement rises from the youngest to the oldest age group: 29-30-31-36-43.
98 Agreement from the lowest to the highest level of education: 42-51-41-38-30-28-30.
Can religion and its symbols promote understanding? To answer this, the following question was asked in a representative survey for the first time after the free elections of 1994. Even before the end of apartheid, Desmond Tutu, Anglican archbishop and anti-apartheid activist, used the concept of the rainbow, the biblical symbol of reconciliation, as a symbol for a new identity. At a thanksgiving service after the first free elections he described South Africans as the “Rainbow People of God”. The political leadership – first and foremost Nelson Mandela, the first black president of the country – immediately took up the symbol. It is still a much-used term for the new South Africa.

Over the last years a lot has been said by religious and political leaders about the rainbow, symbol of peace, and about a new covenant with God as a sign for the future of South Africa. People differ in what they think about this. Which of the following opinions is closest to yours?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>1994</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For me, it has no meaning at all</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For me, the covenant is a religious matter only and should not be used in politics</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that God has offered to all South Africans, black and white, a new covenant for a peaceful life in a common nation</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A comparison of the 2007 and 1994 figures shows that enthusiasm for the covenant has diminished somewhat – in 1994 only 11% chose the first option. However, half of the respondents are still convinced that God's covenant, which the Afrikaners once claimed for themselves, now applies to all South Africans. A good fifth disapprove of religious symbols in politics, and for a good quarter the covenant has no meaning at all.100

Who believes in what the rainbow symbolises and who does not?

The rainbow has no significance for almost one third of men, the poorer population groups in rural areas, for half of the respondents in the Northern Cape and about one third in the Western Cape, Limpopo, the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, and hence for the Southern Sotho, Ndebele and Afrikaans-speakers. The rainbow lacks significance for an above-average proportion of respondents with no or little education101 and those with no or little household income,102 and for one third of the Protestants. Reborns at 20% are also below average.

The rainbow is regarded as a purely religious symbol by a disproportionate number of whites, respondents in hostels, in cities and metropolitan areas, in the Free State, among persons who have completed Grade 8,9 at school, higher earners, Southern Sotho and Ndebele, almost one third of the Baptists, a good quarter of the members of the DRCs and reborns (24%).

The rainbow in Tutu's sense of a promise of a new life for all South Africans finds above-average support among Indians and coloureds, but only 45% among whites.

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99 Dickow 1996, p. 262
100 Age, urban-rural divide, occupation, occupational level and personal income are not significant.
102 Agreement from the lowest to the highest level of household income: 39-32-30-22.
women, divorced persons, respondents in hostels, in mixed areas, inhabitants of North West and Gauteng, the better educated and higher earners as well as reborns (56%), Muslims and Hindus (66% and 72% respectively).

The above emphasises particularly clearly the appeal of the rainbow for minorities who identify with the new South Africa and want to be part of it. But reborns also view the rainbow as a sign of the covenant. As there are reborns in all religions, is it possible that they may serve as the glue for a new South Africa?

Charismatic orientations and patterns of belief

This section deals with the attitudes of respondents who explicitly define themselves as “reborn in Christ and the Holy Spirit”. As shown above, members of the Old and New Pentecostal Churches, the religious movements and the AICs are overrepresented among them.

Changes as a result of being reborn

The first group of questions looks at the changes that these respondents have experienced since being reborn.

Since you have been reborn, which of the following have you experienced?

- My family life has improved: 93
- I get more cooperation from others: 86
- My health has improved: 86
- I feel more secure and more self-assured: 86
- I am more relaxed and friendly with colleagues: 85
- My financial situation, my career / business has improved: 60
- I stopped drinking: 52

The effects of faith on respondents' social environment are considerable: more than nine in ten respondents note an improvement in their family life, 86% each experienced greater cooperation on the part of others, feel their health has improved, and have greater self-assurance and almost as many feel more relaxed in the company of col-

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103 Percentages are based on 748 respondents who agreed that they were reborn in Christ and the Holy Spirit, e.g. one third of the respondents.
104 Race, gender, marital status, residential area, province, educational and occupational level, occupation, household and personal income, language and denomination are not significant.
105 Race, marital status, residential area, urban-rural divide, province, educational and occupational level, occupation, household and personal income, language and denomination are not significant.
106 Race, gender, marital status, age, urban-rural divide, province educational and occupational level, occupation, household and personal income and denomination are not significant.
107 Gender, marital status, urban-rural divide, occupational level, occupation, household income and denomination are not significant.
leagues and friends.\textsuperscript{108} Six in ten respondents notice an improvement in their financial situation,\textsuperscript{109} career or business. More than half have stopped drinking.\textsuperscript{110}

Which groups have experienced significant changes? Most social variables, including denomination, are not significant in connection with these questions – with the exception of the question concerning financial situation. That said, there is a certain trend: the respondents perceive changes most closely connected with the circumstances of their respective stage in life.

The results in detail are as follows: the youngest respondents aged 16 and 17 years, most of whom still live with their parents, have all experienced an improvement in family life and more than ninety percent in their relations with other people.

By contrast, health is an important factor for respondents in Indian townships, in rural areas, among Ndebele and Xhosa, Northern Sotho and English-speakers.

Self-assurance seems to play a role for those who are somewhat better off: Indians, whites and coloureds, the 25-34 age group as well as the oldest, respondents in hostels and metropolitan areas, in North West, almost all respondents in the Western Cape, those with post-school education, all those above the lowest income category, Afrikaans-speakers, English-speakers and speakers of both Afrikaans and English.

Those who are still working are more relaxed with their colleagues, as are married people and cohabitants, respondents in urban areas, in the Western Cape, Free State and North West, the best educated, all occupation groups that require cooperation, in other words, respondents with colleagues at work – i.e. excluding housewives, unemployed and students –, almost all of the two highest occupational groups and the highest earners.

The financial situation of the better-off has also improved: almost three quarters of the whites, Indians and coloureds, all residents of hostels, respondents in cities and metropolitan areas, in the Western Cape and in North West, three quarters of those with the highest level of education, white-collar workers, respondents in the highest household and personal income groups, English- and Afrikaans-speakers, almost three quarters of the members of the DRCs, six in ten Baptists and members of the religious movements and of the New Pentecostal Churches (68%). Anglicans and Catholics are below average with 47% and 50% respectively.

The people who stopped drinking were not the very poor, but the lower middle class and those slightly better off than average: coloureds (71%), men, in the 35-49 age group, respondents on commercial farms, in hostels, in mixed areas, in cities and in the Free State, Western Cape, Mpumalanga and North West. Three quarters of farmer workers and farmers, seven in ten artisans and more than 60% each of workers in the services sector, clerical and sales staff, those who refused to state their household income – the lowest figure was for people with no income (25%) –, Ndebele and Southern Sotho as well as English- and Afrikaans-speakers, Venda and Swazi. English-speakers at 42% are underrepresented.

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{108}] Race, gender, age, residential area, occupational level, household income, language and denomination are not significant.
\item[\textsuperscript{109}] Gender and age are not significant.
\item[\textsuperscript{110}] Gender, marital status, urban-rural divide, occupational level, occupation, household income and language are not significant.
\end{itemize}
Alcoholics? We won’t chase them away. I believe they are sick, they must be prayed for.

Rivers of Living Water Global Ministries Evaton, Sebokeng

To summarise: for most respondents being born again meant a new beginning not only in the spiritual sense, but also in their social and professional life as well as healthwise, including overcoming addition.

Self-experience and the appeal of the Charismatic Church

What makes a charismatic church charismatic in the eyes of its members? First we asked the entire sample whether their church was charismatic. Less than one third answered in the affirmative. As an analysis showed, most of these are also reborns. That said, some respondents who identify as reborn do not classify their church as charismatic. And vice versa: about the same number of people characterise their church as charismatic, but personally do not identify as reborn (41% and 38% respectively). Only respondents who classify their church as charismatic,111 are included in the following survey on what constitutes “charismatic” – faith healing and speaking in tongues – and on their personal experiences.

Which of the following applies to you?

- I have seen people with serious diseases healed by the Holy Spirit 78
- I have myself been healed by the Holy Spirit 65
- I have witnessed people of my church speaking in tongues 68
- I personally have spoken in tongues 29

Spiritual gifts are specific. Almost eight in ten respondents have seen people healed by the Holy Spirit112 and two thirds have themselves been healed.113 More than two thirds of the respondents were present when their brothers or sisters in faith spoke in tongues.114 Three in ten have themselves115 spoken in tongues.116

111 Percentages are based on 716 respondents who agree that their church is a charismatic church.
112 Gender, marital status, age, educational and occupational level, occupation, personal income and denomination are not significant.
113 Gender, marital status, residential area, urban-rural divide, educational and occupational level, language and denomination are not significant.
114 Gender, marital status, age, educational and occupational level and personal income are not significant.
115 Race, gender, marital status, age, educational and occupational level, household income and denomination are not significant.
116 In all four questions agreement among members of the Old Pentecostal Churches is above-average, but only in the case of personally speaking in tongues are the result well – and statistically significantly – above average, which is also the case with members of the New Pentecostal Churches.
This was something that turned me on. That Pentecost we were celebrating the Holy Spirit. The priest read 1 Cor. Ch12 about spiritual gifts. That spoke to me. My life became fulfilled. Many churchgoers feel spiritually dead. Is Jesus the Lord of my life? They are pew warmers, wonderful people, but not effective. Not having an effect on the life of the people. When we bring Christ back and the Holy Spirit, we’ll review the same. …

By nature, the church should be charismatic. Too many people think it is standing up, raising arms and shouting’ hallelujah’. It means a gift. If you’re not operating in the Holy Spirit, you’re not alive. I know the gift is healing. I believe in the laying on of hands. You’ve given that person faith and love and you’ve grown to selfless existence, become a vessel of the Holy Spirit.

Alpha Course, Johannesburg

A charismatic service is like going through a rave without the hangover the next morning.

Student, Grahamstown

Which respondents have had these experiences?

Indians are overrepresented among those who experienced healing by the Holy Spirit (85%), respondents in North West, Limpopo and Gauteng, pensioners and economically inactive persons, three quarters each of the workers in offices, retail, and sales, people who gave no details about their household and personal income and those in the lowest personal income group. A disproportionate number of coloureds, people younger than 25, including pupils and students, respondents in the Northern Cape, Free State and Western Cape, housewives, transport and telecommunications workers, workers, managers and senior administrators, respondents with no household and personal income and those in the highest income groups of both have not experienced faith healing.

Koinonia Bible Church, Sebokeng

Respondents who declared themselves receptive to speaking in tongues are over-represented in urban areas and in the provinces of Free State and Gauteng; they include more than two thirds of managers and senior administrators, about four in ten artisans and workers in the services, offices and retail as well as pensioners and economically inactive persons (37%), almost six in ten respondents in the highest and a third of those in the lowest personal income groups, more than four in ten Tsonga, Ndebele, English-speakers and Southern Sotho. Respondents who have not yet spoken in tongues are overrepresented in rural areas, in North West, Limpopo, the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape, among farm workers and farmers, unemployed persons, respondents with no personal income and Venda, Afrikaans- and English-speakers and Western Sotho.

In short: specifically charismatic characteristics express themselves among the better-off and the fairly poor, but are less prevalent among coloureds, the very poor and the very rich.

In recent years there has been a lot of speculation about the declining membership of the traditional and the mainline churches and the growth in the new charismatic churches in
South Africa. We discussed the relative losses and gains of different churches above. Which groups of people are particularly likely to change churches? What in particular makes the new church more appealing than the old one? A good quarter of all respondents attend churches they did not grow up in, i.e. have changed churches. Changing churches is most common among blacks and least common among Indians. It is also common among women, widowed persons, cohabitants and married people, the 35-49 age group, respondents in traditional rural areas, in Limpopo, Mpumalanga and Northern Cape, the lowest household income groups, Venda, Northern Sotho and Ndebele, more than half of the members of the New Pentecostal Churches (56%) and religious movements (54%) as well as more than a third of Old Pentecostal Churches (36%) and AICs (35%).

In short: poorer people in rural areas and members of charismatic churches are more likely to change their church than better-off urban dwellers in favour of churches characterized less by formal structures than by charismatic elements.

What is it about a new church that particularly appeals to the people who change churches?

What has attracted you to your church?\(^{117}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The way my church explains the faith</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives and / or friends are members</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The quality of the pastor</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like the way the services are conducted</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because of faith healing</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It offers an opportunity to actively participate</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The church is in my neighbourhood</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The church offers education facilities</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

About four in ten respondents each give as the main reason the way the church explains the faith and the way services are conducted. About a third favour faith healing. Accordingly, the prime reasons behind a change are spiritual, but also the form of the service. Only then do social grounds follow, namely membership of friends and family in the chosen church. Faith healing is as important. The person of the pastor, the opportunity to actively participate, the proximity of the church are important reasons to change church for a little less than one fifth of the respondents.

\(^{117}\) Respondents gave up to two answers. Percentages are based on 622 respondents not born into the church.
The following are a few quotations given for changing church:

They feel free to sing, to pray, to dance, to preach, to testify.  
**Challenge, Johannesburg**

I go somewhere where I can be happy.  
**Alpha Course, Johannesburg**

Till then I didn’t have a personal relationship with Jesus. Now I want to sing and dance in church.  
**Rhema Church, Johannesburg**

When we praise, it’s purely African. Our service is in English and Zulu. My wife is Venda and we’ve got people with other languages. Our praise and worship is a very charismatic way of worship. I’ve been a teacher. I use this. I use examples, give them outside experience. I keep my ear on the ground and know which music is in. I invite bands and other people and even footballers.  
**Ethekwini Community Church, Durban**

Because the message we preach and the music we’re playing is very current.  
**Conquering Through Prayer Ministries International, Merebank, Durban**

There has been a dramatic change: Most of the Blacks are moving away from the European-centred leadership. Now they’re trying to go to an African type of worship. It was imposed on us, we were forced. People are now adjusting. There is a tremendous change in the country.  
**Rivers of Living Water Global Ministries, Evaton, Sebokeng**

A closer examination of the respondents who have chosen the individual options makes it clear that each decision reflects the individual's circumstances.

The way the church explains faith has greater than average appeal for blacks, people who have never married and respondents in the youngest age group who think about questions of faith and are searching for comprehensible explanations, people in the lowest and the highest educational groups – but not respondents with no formal schooling –, inhabitants of Indian townships, city-dwellers in general and Catholics. Only one in twenty states that the church's education facilities are relevant reason for their decision to change.

The form of the service appeals particularly to cohabitants, widowed persons, the 25-34 age group and the over-50s, respondents without or with average education, inhabitants of Indian townships, of mixed areas, people in hostels and shacks as well as Baptists and Protestants.

The social component in the form of friends and family plays an important role for coloureds, women, divorced persons, the 18-24 age group and the over-50s, respondents in hostels, in metropolitan areas, urban areas, on commercial farms as well as Anglicans and Catholics. Agreement correlates directly with the level of education. This illustrates the significance of social relationships in rural areas, where they are more binding, but also in urban areas, where the danger of isolation is greater and social cohesion therefore more important.

I went to a charismatic service recently. The relationship is very warm. I was astonished at how many people were greeting each other.  
**Catholic Church, Durban**

Faith healing is particularly important for blacks, widowed and married persons, the 50+ age group, finds much higher than average support among respondents with no formal education and those with formal education up to Grade 8 – and much lower than average among respondents with the highest level of education –, in rural areas, in
shacks and mixed areas, among members of the AICs, religious movements and Baptists – in other words, for groups that are still attached to rural life.

By contrast, whites, married persons and Indians, the 35-49 age group, the best educated and respondents in urban areas, Anglicans, Protestants and members of the DRCs attach importance to the quality of the pastor. These last two options highlight the urban-rural divide.

Why do people convert to our church instead of other Protestant denominations? I think it’s because on any given Sunday, the love, care that people receive. Every person feels loved. We have free services. They are exciting, exuberant! We have a dynamic pastor. He is inspiring, challenging. And very truthful: What’s right is right, what’s wrong is wrong. It’s like Christ preached. Our pastors lead by example; they ‘walk their talk’.

Rhema Umtata Christian Church, Mthata

Active participation appeals in particular to blacks, Indians, men, respondents in the youngest age group and the 25-34 year olds, those with education up to Grade 10,11, respondents in hostels and in coloured townships and members of the New Pentecostal Churches and religious movements – in other words, respondents in churches that encourage active involvement.

Charismatic churches provide for their members to be active. They are very strong on cell groups. They look for those who are gifted and encourage them and send them to missions to Africa.

African Enterprise, Pietermaritzburg

Having the church in the neighbourhood is particularly appealing to whites, the 18-24 age group, respondents with an education up to Grade 10,11 – but excluding those with no formal schooling –, respondents in the metropolitan areas and on commercial farms and members of the Dutch Reformed Churches – in other words, proximity is appealing for people who have long commutes in everyday life.

The groups intent on finding opportunities to educate themselves and who chose their church for this reason are primarily women, cohabitants, the youngest age group, people who have completed only Grades 1-5 or 10,11 at school, respondents in black and Indian townships and mixed areas as well as members of the New Pentecostal Churches and Anglicans.

To put it casually, the churches' message is their adherents' needs. The churches that do this best grow the fastest.
The following self-assessments by church leaders support this view:

… Let’s take the church to the people.  
_Ethekwini Community Church, Durban_

There was a feeling the charismatics were making the church relevant, addressing issues like stress, marriage etc. People felt they were relevant. … Their success is, like I said that they’re addressing relevant issues.  
_Apostolic Faith Mission, Pretoria_

There’s a challenge to presenting the Gospel to a secular society. That will only come through relationship evangelism rather than event evangelism. Now coloured, Indian, and even black bourgeoisie – now they’re reached by relationship evangelism. You have to contextualise the work, the political situation. You have to leave a message that people can take into the everyday life.  
_God’s Family Life Centre, Pietermaritzburg_

People are drawn to purpose. We’re bringing purpose to their lives, then we’re giving them a vision. And also: People are drawn by leaders, even the leader makes mistakes. I really believe people are desperate for leadership, for a sense of belonging to something bigger than themselves. We give people direction.  
_Christian Revival Church, Umgeni, Durban_

As you see the Gospel is played out in the spiritual and the secular. The Gospel has to be the answer to our lives. I try to give people tools to be effective as dads, in the marriage, in the workplace etc. I give people Jesus’ principles. It plays out how we prioritise our worlds. We look for the win-win situation in marriage counselling – moving from the blame mentality to the responsibility mentality. Regarding equality of women, we inculcate regard for the male and female roles that complement each other.  
_Heartfield Family Church Westville, Durban_

More people come from mainline churches. In the mainline churches some people don’t come to church every Sunday. What is wonderful here, they come every Sunday. We’re relevant. That’s what the Gospel is about, changing people’s lives. People have been to church all their lives and here they come to fast for the first time!!  
_Conquering Through Prayer Ministries International, Merebank, Durban_

Most are brought by their friends. We’re also on TV they come out of curiosity. They come, they are made comfortable, they like it, they feel it’s a church they would like to make their spiritual home.  
_Rhema Ministries, Johannesburg_

We have a catchphrase. Where everybody is somebody. They must feel a genuine sense of wellbeing. Nobody is judged. We speak the truth but the truth must be spoken in love. Full of grace and truth. We are a multiracial church. That will attract some people. It’s our passion to attract non-believers. Others have to undo a lot of theology.  
_God’s Family Life Centre, Pietermaritzburg_
Theological orientations among Christians

For the next set of questions, which deals with different theological orientations, it is necessary to exclude respondents for whom religion is irrelevant or who do not call themselves Christian.118

I am not a Christian believer 15

Fifteen percent of the respondents do not regard themselves as Christian believers.119 Who makes up this group? An above-average number, a good fifth, are men, respondents in hostels and rural areas, in KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo, people with no or little formal education, artisans, housewives, but also managers or senior administrators, English-speakers and Venda – once again a mix of better educated people in better jobs and the very poor in rural areas.

The 85% of respondents who stated that they are Christian believers were asked the following questions; each represents a different theological orientation:

Among Christian believers there are various opinions on how to reach salvation. Could you kindly tell us whether or not you agree with the following?120

Faith must go with good works – your own effort is needed to obtain God’s grace 87
God’s grace alone will save a person with/of faith – whether deserved or not 83

Respondents agree to almost equal degrees with the Catholic paradigm of good works and the Calvinist-Lutheran one of divine grace: almost as many respondents believe that God's grace has to be earned as believe that God's grace will save a person – whether deserved or not.

Good works are necessary to obtain God's grace.121 This view finds above-average support among widowed persons, respondents in coloured townships, hostels and in rural areas, in Mpumalanga, North West and the Northern, Eastern and Western Cape and South Africans in the lowest and middle household income groups, i.e. people who find life a bit of a struggle, for instance people with no household income, Ndebele, Swazi, Venda, Western Sotho and Xhosa. Agreement among reborns is slightly below average.

If you were just charismatic, to me you would be very inwardly focused. You wouldn’t be outgoing, evangelising. Even within the church we preach salvation, to live a certain lifestyle. Our message is very evangelical that our members are professing Christians. I think we have a very strong missions focus and community focus. Touching lives of people outside of our church.

Barn Christian Fellowship, Randburg

118 Accordingly, statements by Indian respondents are not included as most of them are Hindu or Muslim.
119 Marital status, age, occupational level and household and personal income are not significant.
120 Percentages are based on 1806 respondents who call themselves “Christian believers”.
121 Race, gender, age, educational and occupational level, occupation, personal income and denomination are not significant.
Hope in the grace of God whether deserved or not – is above-average among whites and coloureds, respondents in urban areas and in hostels – less in rural areas –, in the Western Cape, among the highest earners by household income and the two highest income groups by personal income, Afrikaans-speakers and Afrikaans- and English-speakers, nine in ten members of the DRCs and a good three quarters of the New Pentecostal Churches, in short, respondents who have a little more and are slightly better off.

Strong faith and giving to my church will make me prosper during my lifetime on earth

Three quarters of respondents approve of the central message of Prosperity Theology that faith and giving go hand in hand with material prosperity. The “prosperity churches”, and the charismatic churches, employ this message to encourage their members to give alms: faith and giving will bring riches in this life.

Whereas the proportion of coloureds (83%) who agree with this statement is above average and that of blacks is average, and only two thirds of whites agree. Agreement is particularly high in hostels and mixed urban areas, over 90% in Mpumalanga and North West and over 80% in the Western and Northern Cape, above average among respondents with no or little formal education – and lowest among the best educated –, among people with no personal income, among a lot of Venda, Ndebele, Swazi and Western Sotho, among more than 80% of the members of the religious movements, Old Pentecostal Churches and the AICs, but among just less than two thirds of Anglicans and Catholics.

Success in life might indicate that you may be selected by God to join the community of the chosen

In keeping with Calvinist teaching, three fifths of the respondents interpret success in this life as a sign of divine approval. Coloureds are more likely than whites to view material prosperity as an indication of divine grace. The results for blacks, in turn, are average. Respondents in shacks and hostels, in the Western Cape, those with no education, skilled and semi-skilled workers – but fewest white-collar workers –, and respondents with no household income also interpret success as a sign that one is chosen by God. Agreement among reborns is also above-average (65%), as it is among members of the religious movements (72%) and Old Pentecostal Churches (65%); however, only a good half of the members of the New Pentecostal Churches (51%) agree with this statement.

God can save good human beings even if they have not been reached by the Gospel

It is my duty to spread the word of God to whomever I encounter

122 Gender, marital status, age, educational and occupational level, occupation and reborn are not significant.
123 Gender, marital status, age, urban-rural divide, occupational level, occupation, household income and reborn are not significant.
124 Agreement falls with the level of income: 79-77-69-67.
125 Gender, marital status, age, urban-rural divide, occupational level and language at home are not significant.
126 Agreement falls with the rising level of education: 72-69-64-65-61-57-50.
127 Agreement falls with the rising level of personal income: 63-62-56-41.
What are respondents' views about the duty to do missionary work? Eight in ten agree on the one hand that people can be saved even if they do not know of the Gospel and on the other that they have a duty to spread the word of God.

Belief in the possible salvation of non-Christians is above average in rural areas and among Anglicans, members of the DRCs and Protestants (85%), but shared by only six in ten members of the New Pentecostal Churches.\textsuperscript{128}

The second statement,\textsuperscript{129} which carries particular import for charismatics, draws most support from coloureds and whites, widowed persons – and least among cohabitants –, the youngest age group, respondents in urban areas, on commercial farms and in North West and among Afrikaans-speakers as well as reborns (87%) and members of the religious movements, but only two thirds of Anglicans.

The second coming of Christ will occur soon, and it will be preceded by a time of catastrophe, horror and suffering\textsuperscript{66}

Agreeing with the prediction of the evangelicals and Pentecostals, two thirds of respondents are convinced that the second coming of Christ is nigh, and will be preceded by great suffering.\textsuperscript{130}

More than three quarters of respondents in coloured townships and on commercial farms expect it, as do more than 90% of the respondents in Mpumalanga, about eight in ten people in the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, skilled workers, respondents with no income, about nine in ten Ndebele and Swazi, almost three quarters of the Zulus and 71% of the reformed.

Jesus said the kingdom will come and to build the church which is prepared. To prepare his people for his return in every aspect of their lives. \textit{Glenridge Church International, Durban}

\textit{The Bible is the actual word of God and it is to be taken literally} \textsuperscript{84}

More than four fifths of the respondents are convinced that the Bible is literally the word of God and, hence, may not be interpreted\textsuperscript{131} – a view advanced by Christian fundamentalists around the world, and in particular evangelicals.

Why should we teach evolution and that kind of rubbish. Now our teachers go only into schools which are supportive of Christian teaching. \textit{Greenfield Christian Church, East London}

An above-average number or respondents in coloured townships, on commercial farms and in rural areas are of this opinion. These include all respondents in Mpumalanga, almost all in North West and the Western Cape, a large number of workers, also those in agriculture – whereas only three quarters of professionals and academics and just under half of people without income agree. Support for this opinion is found among all Ndebele, almost all Swazis, about nine in ten Afrikaans-speakers, members of the DRCs

\textsuperscript{128} No other categories are significant.
\textsuperscript{129} Gender, age, urban-rural divide, socio-economic position, educational and occupational level, occupation, province and household and personal income are not significant.
\textsuperscript{130} Race, gender, marital status, age, socio-economic position, urban-rural divide, educational level, occupation, personal income and denomination are not significant.
\textsuperscript{131} Race, gender, marital status, age, educational and occupational level, personal income and \textit{reborn} are not significant.
and Anglicans and somewhat fewer members of the religious movements and Old Pentecostal Churches (86%). However, only three quarters of the Baptists and some seven in ten Catholics share this view.

How and at what level should the church practise welfare and social work?

The church should help the poor not only by charity but by helping the poor to help themselves 90

The church should help the poor not only by charity but by helping the poor to defend their rights 83

To love one's neighbour is not enough; you have to help the poor to help themselves. Nine in ten respondents take this view. Somewhat fewer, namely a good eight in ten, think that the poor should be helped to defend their rights.

Helping people to help themselves finds greatest support in less urban areas, in coloured townships, in rural areas, among almost all respondents in Mpumalanga, North West and the Northern Cape, among Swazi, Venda and all Ndebele.

By contrast, helping the poor to defend their political rights has a greater appeal for urbanised respondents in the cities and metropolitan areas, is slightly overrepresented among those in coloured townships, in North West and the Western and Northern Cape, among almost all Ndebele and about nine in ten Western Sotho and Afrikaans-speakers.

How do respondents see the task of the church in society and politics?

The task of the church is spiritual and not worldly. It should never interfere in politics 67

Two thirds of the respondents share the conviction that the church should not interfere in politics.

The church's spiritual role is more important for whites, married people – although least important for cohabitants –, for the youngest age group, for a slightly above-average proportion of respondents in urban areas, in the Western Cape and Free State, for top earners, English-speakers and English- and Afrikaans-speakers, Anglicans, Baptists and members of the DRCs. Support is slightly below average among reborns at 64% and Protestants, only six in ten of whom share this view.

Does the search for salvation help South Africans deal with other problems that face them, namely high crime, poverty, alcoholism and disease?

Seeking salvation helps people exposed to crime, poverty, alcohol and disease 75

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132 Race, gender, marital status, age, educational and occupational level, denomination and reborn are not significant.

133 Race, gender, marital status, age, urban-rural divide, educational and occupational level, occupation, household and personal income, denomination and reborn are not significant.

134 Gender, educational and occupational level, occupation and personal income are not significant.

135 Agreement rises with the level of personal income: 50-67-67-75.
Three quarters are convinced that it does.\footnote{Gender, marital status, urban-rural divide, educational and occupational level and \textit{reborn} are not significant.} An above-average proportion, namely nine in ten, of whites and coloureds and of the 50+ age group believe this, most respondents in urban areas, in the metropolitan areas and eight in ten in hostels and on commercial farms, more than 90\% of the inhabitants of the Western Cape, Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape, about eight in ten in the Eastern Cape and an equal percentage of economically inactive persons, of professionals and academics and office and retail workers – the figure is lowest for farm workers and farmers and unemployed persons –, and a slightly above-average proportion of the two highest household and personal income groups.\footnote{Agreement correlates directly with personal income: 71-75-78-83. Those that refused to reply to this questing (79\%) are among the better-off.} More than nine in ten Afrikaans-speakers and English- and Afrikaans-speakers and more than eight in ten English-speakers agree with this statement, as do just as many Ndebele and four in five Xhosa. Almost 90\% of \textit{Baptists} and members of the \textit{DRCs} agree, whereas only a good two thirds of the members of the \textit{AICs} share this view.

Two striking aspects of the responses to this set of questions are, on the one hand, the high level of agreement with the individual items on the part of all respondents and, on the other, the low divergence between the responses of adherents of the different denominations – with one exception: members of the \textit{New Pentecostal Churches} are far less likely than members of other churches to believe that non-Christians can be saved. In other words, not only is there a vibrant diversity of religion in South Africa, but the members of the different churches pick and chose between the various orientations and positions are very similar.

\section*{Identities}

South Africa is still a country marked by considerable ethnic and religious cleavages. How do the people in this country perceive themselves? What roles do religion, ethnicity and other factors play in people's cultural identity?

\subsection*{People's perceptions of themselves}

The following question has proved useful in exploring people's views of themselves:

\begin{quote}
People in a country can be in different social groups at the same time. You have a job, a religion, a language, a nationality, you live in a homestead, village, town or city, you may belong to a political party – and all these things may be of different importance to you. If somebody asks you what you are, how would you describe yourself?
\end{quote}
The responses in descending order of first choice are as follows:

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<th>1st choice</th>
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<tr>
<td>Personality traits*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Positive characteristics**</td>
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<td>Ethnicity/language***</td>
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<td>Other</td>
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* including details such as name, personal characteristics and self perception etc.
** for example friendly, good, happy etc.
*** Information on ethnic group and language affiliation were added together.

There is a clear preference for personality traits and positive characteristics: one in three select personality traits, and one in four positive characteristics as first choice, and also as second and third option in each case, respectively. Ethnicity/language is the first, second or third option of one in ten; slightly fewer respondents choose religion and gender. Only in the case of the race as first option are the second and third options somewhat lower. Four percent each give a geographical reference of each option.

Who can be identified with which first-place option?

In detail the results are as follows: people who define themselves by personality traits are overrepresented among young respondents, those in mixed urban areas, on commercial farms, in hostels, black townships, in Mpumalanga and Gauteng, among the best educated, artisans transport and telecommunications workers, managers and senior administrators, professionals and academics, skilled workers, clerical and sales staff and respondents in the second highest household and personal income groups.\(^{138}\) Whereas almost four in ten Hindus define themselves in terms of personality traits, only about a third of the members of the AICs, Catholics and reborns (30%), i.e. slightly above average, do, and only a good fifth of coloureds.

Positive characteristics are the preference of Indians, coloureds, the 18-24 age group, respondents on commercial farms, in rural areas, in Limpopo, those who have completed Grades 1-5, the lowest level of education, the lowest household and personal income groups and Northern Sotho.\(^{139}\) Hindus (34%), members of the New Pentecostal Churches (31%) and religious movements (29%) are below average, whereas reborns (23%) are slightly above.

Ethnicity and language play the main role for whites, respondents in metropolitan areas, in the Eastern Cape\(^{140}\), those with no formal education and who have completed Grades 6 to 9, managers and senior administrators, housewives, top professionals, i.e. people with the highest personal incomes, English-speakers and 14% each of Protest-

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\(^{138}\) As well as Ndebele and English- and Afrikaans-speakers.
\(^{139}\) As well as in Northern Cape and Tsonga and Swazi.
\(^{140}\) As well as in North West.
ants and Catholics. The number of reborns (9%) who choose these descriptive is slightly below average.

People who define themselves through religion are found above all among married and widowed persons, the oldest age group, respondents in coloured and Indian townships, on the whole, though, people in rural rather than urban areas,\textsuperscript{141} for respondents with a mid-level education, transport and telecommunications workers, housewives and pensioners and people in the second highest occupational level; they are well above average among respondents with no personal income,\textsuperscript{142} among Muslims (23%) and above average among reborns (12%).

Those who define themselves via gender are found disproportionately often among coloureds, whites, women, and, thus, housewives, respondents in mixed urban areas and in towns and cities, in the Western Cape,\textsuperscript{143} respondents in the lowest and highest household and personal income groups, Western Sotho, English-speakers and Anglicans. On 7%, reborns are below average.

Race is the prime defining descriptive for a slightly above-average proportion of blacks – and a slightly below-average proportion of whites –, men, the youngest age group, respondents on commercial farms, in rural areas,\textsuperscript{144} the Grade 8,9 level of education, farm workers and farmers and those with no personal income, Western Sotho, Southern Sotho, Baptists (11%), and Protestants (10%). On this point reborns (6%) are also slightly below average.

A geographic reference is the first choice of Indians, respondents in metropolitan areas, the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, the best educated, housewives, professionals and academics, artisans, the highest household and personal income groups and English-speakers; on the other hand, geography is the preference of only a below-average 4% of reborns.

To summarise: better-off and better-educated respondents in urban areas in occupations that require training prefer to define themselves individually. Poorer, less educated people in rural areas tend to define themselves in terms of positive characteristics. Ethnicity and language is the favoured identity descriptive of both well-off and less well-off city-dwellers. Older people, those in rural areas and Muslims also define themselves in terms of religion. Gender is more likely to play a role for urban coloureds and whites, housewives and respondents in higher income groups, while racial group is more important for the black majority, the youngest age group and poorer people in rural areas; 20 years after the end of apartheid “racial awareness” appears to be the preference of in particular young blacks. Geographic reference is the prime descriptive for Indians and the better-off.

Correlating the first, second and third choices produces the following picture of identity patterns:\textsuperscript{145}

\textsuperscript{141} In particular in Mpumalanga and Limpopo.
\textsuperscript{142} As well as Venda, Swazi and Ndebele.
\textsuperscript{143} And in North West.
\textsuperscript{144} As well as in North West and the Free State. Agreement is particularly high in North West at 34%.
\textsuperscript{145} "Other" and values under 10% disregarded in the following.
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The correlation of first, second and third choices shows that preference is given to the individual and the personal. Persons who choose one of the two options as first or second descriptive also choose them as second or third descriptives. Religion appears once, and then as 10% of second choices where positive characteristics is the first. The results for the third choice, namely ethnicity/language, illustrate how closely interlinked ethnicity, language, religion and geographic reference, but also gender, are. That said, where religion is the first option, ethnicity/language is only in third place as second and third choice. Similarly with gender: ethnicity/language is in third place for each of the following choices. Those who choose race as their primary identification have ethnicity/language, personality traits, religion, gender and geographic reference as second choice and personality traits, gender positive characteristics, ethnicity/language and geographic reference as third choice. Similarly, geographic reference as first choice is closely interlinked with personality traits, ethnicity/language, religion, positive characteristics and gender.
Perceptions of other groups

Even though self-assessments give precedence to the personal, South Africans are very aware of ethnic and religious differences. Does this mean that there is demonstrable solidarity within individual ethno-linguistic and religious groups?

*I feel very close to people of my religion, whatever their education, wealth or political views* 76

*I feel very close to people of my own ethnic group, whatever their education, wealth or political views* 75

*I prefer to be with people who speak my own language* 65

Three quarters of the respondents feel very close to members of both their religious and their ethnic group, and two thirds prefer the company of people of their own language group.

Close ties with their brothers and sisters in faith appears to be particularly strong in the Indian minority (82%) – less so for whites (70%) and respondents with the highest incomes (62%) – and among respondents who needed or made use of religious support, namely widowed persons. It is higher in rural areas, among Western Sotho and Ndebele as well as reborns (83%) and all religious groups with the exception of members of the DRCs (74%) and the New Pentecostal Churches (69%).

Closeness is greater in rural areas and among members of almost all churches. Whites, members of the DRCs and New Pentecostal Churches tend to be better-off urban respondents, for whom closeness in their religious community is not so important.

The respondents who feel very close to members of their denomination are similar to the respondents who feel close to members of the same ethnic group – namely the poor, respondents in hostels, in rural areas, without formal education, in the lowest personal income group – people in the highest income group feel least close (67%) –, Western Sotho and, with minor significance, reborns (78%).

Minorities, i.e. three quarters of the whites and more than two thirds of both the coloureds and Indians, prefer to be among people of their own language group. At 62%, blacks are below average. Respondents who feel particularly close include older people, respondents in rural areas, in mixed areas, in the Eastern Cape, those with no formal education or have completed Grade 8,9, eight in ten housewives and almost as many transport and telecommunications workers, but also pensioners, artisans, respondents in the lowest income group, Swazi, Xhosa, Western Sotho and Afrikaans-

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146 Occupation and household income are not significant.
147 Particularly high in North West and Mpumalanga.
148 As well as Swazis and Tsonga.
149 Race, gender, marital status, age, occupation, occupational level, household income and denomination are not significant.
150 As well as in North West and Mpumalanga.
151 As well as Ndebele and Swazis.
152 Gender, marital status and reborn are not significant.
154 And in North West.
speakers and Baptists (85%), Hindus (78%), Muslims (73%) and members of the DRCs (69%).

Denominational and ethnic ties are stronger in rural areas and among the poor. However, closeness to one's language group appears to be growing in urban areas, too, and is slightly above-average among coloureds, whites and Indians. Whites, on the other hand, attach less importance to close denominational ties.

Cross-tabulating denominational, ethnic or linguistic closeness produces the following picture: those who feel ties of above-average strength to one group also feel such ties to the other two groups. About one tenth of all respondents did not feel close to any group.

**Interreligious and interethnic marriages**

Is this tendency to closeness with members of one's own religious or language group also apparent in attitudes towards interreligious and interethnic marriage?

*I would not mind if a child of mine married someone from a different religion provided they love each other*  
73

*I would be quite happy if a son/daughter of mine married someone from a different ethnic group if they loved each other*  
71

More than seven in ten would not object to a child of theirs marrying someone of another ethnicity or religion.

Blacks and coloureds have the least objection to interreligious marriage.\(^{155}\) Acceptance is also slightly above average in the youngest and 25-34 age groups and among respondents in mixed urban areas, in rural areas and on commercial farms, i.e. is greater in less urbanised areas,\(^ {156}\) among workers in transport and telecommunications and in agriculture, semi- and unskilled workers as well as economically inactive persons, among respondents with no household\(^ {157}\) or personal income,\(^ {158}\) the Western Sotho, Northern Sotho\(^ {159}\) and Zulus as well as Anglicans (82%), Catholics (80%) and members of the AICs (78%).

Whites and Indians on the other hand have reservations. Only a good third of Indian respondents agree with this statement, almost half the whites and a good two thirds each of married persons and the 50+ age group. People in cities and metropolitan areas were also less sure,\(^ {160}\) as were skilled workers, artisans and pensioners, the highest household income group and the two highest personal income groups, Ndebele, and English-speakers and Afrikaans-speakers (58%).\(^ {161}\) Agreement was also below average among Muslims (29%), Hindus (49%) and members of the DRCs (54%) and reborns (70%).

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155 Gender and educational level are not significant.
156 In particular in North West and the Northern Cape.
157 Agreement correlates inversely with the level of household income: 82-79-69-66.
158 Agreement correlates inversely with the level of personal income: 77-74-67-63.
159 As well as the Tsonga and Venda.
160 As well as in the Free State.
161 As well as Swazis and English- and Afrikaans-speakers.
Four in five blacks accept interethnic marriages, as do people who have never married, the 25-34 age group, respondents in rural areas, in black townships and mixed urban areas and on commercial farms, i.e. in rural rather than urban areas, those with lower and mid-levels of schooling, unemployed persons, transport and telecommunications workers and semi- and unskilled workers. Acceptance of mixed marriages is also above-average among respondents with no household or personal income, Western and Northern Sotho, Zulus and Xhosa as well as Protestants, members of the AICs, Anglicans and Catholics.

Almost one third of whites and Indians, divorced and married persons, the oldest, respondents in cities and metropolitan areas, the Western Cape, among well and very educated people, clerical and sales staff, pensions, housewives, managers and senior administrators are less accepting of interethnic marriage. Persons in the highest household and personal income groups, Afrikaans-speakers, English-speakers as well as only a good quarter of Muslims and Hindus and a little under half the members of the DRCs do not view interethnic marriages as desirable and their agreement is accordingly below average.

My church is fully multicultural. I’ve done cross-cultural marriages. I’ve got three daughters. I’m not perfect, but the beauty for us believers is we can be forgiven. The pastor tells an anecdote that shows he’d be willing for his daughters to marry a black man if that is what God wants.

Heartfield Family Church Westville, Durban

The groups that express the least enthusiasm for the two options are groups in which ethnicity and religion overlap, namely Indians, i.e. Hindus and Muslims, as well as coloureds, whites, thus members of the Dutch Reformed Churches, and higher earners and respondents in higher level jobs.

Those who tolerate or approve of marriage between members of different religions are disproportionally accepting of marriages between members of different ethnic groups. More than three fifths of all respondents opt for both possibilities, whereas about one sixth generally reject both interreligious and interethnic marriage.

In short: the poorer, the uneducated and respondents in rural areas are more open to interreligious and interreligious marriage than the better-off, whites, Indians, better-educated people and members of the DRCs. This openness towards other groups is confirmed by the responses to the following question, and in this case shared by Indians:

A good friend is a good friend whether he is called Jannie, Sipho, Michael or Mohammed

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162 Gender and reborn are not significant.
163 In North West.
164 Agreement correlates inversely with the level of household income: 84-80-67-55.
165 Agreement correlates inversely with the level of household income: 75-75-63-49.
166 As well as the Tsonga and Venda.
167 And in the Free State.
168 As well as English- and Afrikaans-speakers and Swazis.
Six in seven respondents agree with this statement\(^\text{169}\) – most frequently, i.e. above 90%, among respondents in Indian townships, on commercial farms and in rural areas, in other words, rural respondents, almost all respondents in the Northern Cape, North West, Limpopo and the Western Cape, almost all Ndebele, Tsonga, Western Sotho and Venda. Agreement is below average among respondents in shacks, in the Free State, Swazis and Southern Sotho.

Although the self-perception results show that respondents define themselves primarily through personality traits, at the same time South Africans, in particular those in rural areas, express a high measure of interethnic and interreligious tolerance, even though, when given the choice, the majority still feel closer to people of their own race or denomination. Muslims and Hindus attach great importance to marriage within the same language or religious group.

### Perceptions of differences and coexistence

#### Perceptions of conflict

What do respondents think about the potential for conflict and the chances of peaceful coexistence? Are some groups more open to compromise or conflict than others?

\textit{Conflict between groups in our society would cause everyone to lose in the long run} \(^78\)

Eight in ten respondents believe that in the long run everyone loses from conflicts between different groups.\(^\text{170}\) In particular whites and a slightly above-average proportion of coloureds share this opinion, as do respondents in cities and metropolitans, in rural areas and in hostels, in the Northern Cape, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, North West, the Western and Eastern Cape, nine in ten workers, almost as many people in transport and communications and an above-average number of pupils and students. The same holds for Afrikaans-speakers, Western Sotho and Xhosa.\(^\text{171}\) Muslims and members of the DRCs (85% each) and religious movements (84%) also take this view. Catholics at 69% are below average. All in all, those in a weak position demographically, socially and politically believe they are on the losing side in the long-term.

\textit{Violence and killing can never be justified no matter how important the struggle} \(^71\)

More than two thirds of respondents agree with this statement.\(^\text{172}\) Peaceable people are overrepresented among the whites (90%) and the coloureds (85%), the oldest age group, respondents in cities and metropolitan areas and in hostels,\(^\text{173}\) professionals and academics, managers and senior administrators, workers in office and retail and transport and

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\(^{169}\) Race, gender, marital status, age and socio-economic category, educational level, occupation, household and personal income, denomination and \textit{reborn} are or minor or no significance.

\(^{170}\) Gender, marital status, age, educational and occupational level, household and personal income, and \textit{reborn} are of minor or no significance.

\(^{171}\) As well as Swazis, Ndebele, Tsonga and Venda.

\(^{172}\) Gender, urban-rural divide, educational level and \textit{reborn} are of minor or no significance.

\(^{173}\) In Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape.
telecommunications, housewives, economically inactive, respondents at all occupational levels, semi- and unskilled workers, the highest household and personal income groups, Afrikaans-speakers and English-speakers, eight in ten Baptists and six in seven members of the DRCs, but only 62% of the members of the New Pentecostal Churches.

Agreement on this point is above-average among groups that have something to lose, either because of their skin colour or because they are already old enough to have achieved something in life.

Does this make them more willing to compromise?

In the present conflicts of our country all sides concerned should seek compromises and try to find agreement

More than nine in ten respondents are open to compromise. Blacks are least open. Most open, by contrast, are almost all respondents among minorities – Indians, whites and coloureds –, both in metropolitan areas and in rural areas, almost all respondents in North West, the Western Cape and Mpumalanga, by language almost all Tsonga, and an above-average number of Afrikaans-speakers, English-speakers and Western Sotho as well as almost all Hindus, Protestants and members of the New Pentecostal Churches (96% each).

Ethnic and cultural diversity

In addition to the regulation of conflict and conflict potential, the perception of ethnic and cultural diversity has a role to play in coexistence.

Even very different ethnic groups living in one country can accept each other as they are and respect each other's mutual rights

Ethnic diversity makes a country culturally richer and more interesting

Whether one likes it or not, when groups of different ethnic origins and different religious live in one country, a group will either control others or be controlled

Indians are overrepresented among those that favouring acceptance and respect of others' rights, as are very many whites, respondents in towns, cities and metropolitan areas, in North West and KwaZulu-Natal, an above-average number of the better and best educated, Afrikaans- and English-speakers, Ndebele, Western Sotho, Xhosa and English-speakers. Less tolerant, and thus unlikely to share this opinion, are more than two thirds of respondents with no income. It is generally the wealthier, better-educated minorities who demand that people show mutual respect and acceptance.

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174 Agreement correlates directly with household (61-63-72-85) and personal (66-67-81-85) income.
175 As well as Ndebele, Swazis and Afrikaans- and English-speakers.
176 Gender, marital status, age, urban-rural divide, educational and occupational level, occupation, household and personal income and reborn are of minor or no significance.
177 As well as Swazis and Ndebele.
178 Gender, marital status, age, urban-rural divide, occupational level, occupation, personal income, denomination and reborn are of minor or no significance.
Ethnic diversity as cultural enrichment\textsuperscript{179} is the view again of a disproportionate number of Indians. Less strong, but still above-average is the support among whites, respondents in metropolitan and other urban areas and hostels,\textsuperscript{180} among the best-educated,\textsuperscript{181} transport and telecommunications workers, manual workers, housewives and – only slightly above average – managers and senior administrators, respondents in the highest household and personal income groups, English-speakers\textsuperscript{182} and Western Sotho, further almost all \textit{Muslims} and \textit{Hindus} and nearly four in five members of the \textit{DRCs} and \textit{New Pentecostal Churches}.

In countries with different religions and ethnicities one group controls the others.\textsuperscript{183} This tends to find support among people who have experienced this situation, namely the oldest age group, respondents on commercial farms, in cities, hostels, Indian townships, in KwaZulu-Natal,\textsuperscript{184} without formal schooling and with the lowest and highest levels of education, transport and telecommunications workers, manual workers, pensioners, Venda, English-speakers and Zulus.

Unsurprisingly, minorities, the better-off and city-dwellers favour mutual acceptance and praise ethnic diversity as a plus for a country. The Indians and Venda appear to have had negative experiences: they tend to believe that, regardless of the amount of diversity, one group will dominate all the others.

Does this mean that respondents view the differences between whites and blacks as the most serious facing the new South Africa?

\textbf{Which of the following differences would you consider to be the widest in South Africa?}

\begin{itemize}
  \item Differences between language groups 10\%
  \item Differences between Christians and others 16\%
  \item Differences between Blacks and Whites 31\%
  \item Differences between rich and poor 43\%
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{179} Gender, marital status, age, urban-rural divide, occupational level, household and personal income and \textit{reborn} are of minor or no significance.

\textsuperscript{180} In North West and Mpumalanga.

\textsuperscript{181} Least among respondents with no formal schooling.

\textsuperscript{182} As well as Ndebele, Venda and Afrikaans- and English-speakers.

\textsuperscript{183} Race, gender, marital status, age, urban-rural divide, occupational level, denomination and \textit{reborn} are of minor or no significance.

\textsuperscript{184} And in the Northern Cape.
South Africa has become a class society. Some four in ten respondents view differences between rich and poor as the country’s most serious problem, ahead of differences between blacks and whites, the choice of somewhat less than a third. Sixteen percent consider differences between Christians and others to be the greatest gap and one tenth those between language groups.

Among Indians, by and large a fairly prosperous group, almost two thirds, i.e. much higher than average, think the greatest differences are those between rich and poor, a view shared by half the coloureds, by respondents in rural areas, in the Western Cape and Eastern Cape, respondents in the highest education group and those with level Grade 1-5, i.e. with a few years of schooling, farm workers and farmers and manual workers as well as half of all professionals and academics, three in five Venda, more than half the Tsonga, English-speakers, English- and Afrikaans-speakers and half the Ndebele; Muslims (55%) and Hindus (52%) are overrepresented and reborns (39%) underrepresented.

Respondents who are better-off and those who are above the poverty line are particularly aware of class differences. In other words, the differences between rich and poor are most important not for the very poor, but for those who have something to lose and are afraid that this could happen.

The Indian and coloured ethnic minorities (23% each) do not attach as much importance to differences between blacks and whites. On the other hand, men, respondents in urban areas, in North West and KwaZulu-Natal, in the two highest household and personal income groups, Western Sotho and Zulus as well as four in ten of both Catholics and Hindus and more than one third of the Protestants are disproportionately aware of these differences.

The ethnic minorities – apart from Hindus – tend to negate this cleavage; they are not directly affected by it and are anyway better off. This reflects their perception of ethnic differences and coexistence.

Differences between Christians and others are viewed with particular alarm by respondents in shacks, the 18-24 age group, the Western Cape, without formal schooling, workers in transport and telecommunications, pupils and students, reborns (22%) and more than one in five members of religious movements, the New Pentecostal Churches and the AICs.

Those that attach importance to differences between Christians and others tend to be young, uneducated, poor and members of the Charismatic churches.

185 Occupational level is not significant.
187 In 2002 this figure was also 31%; op. cit.
188 This figure has risen from 9% to 16%; op. cit.
189 As well as in the Northern Cape and North West.
190 Housewives (65%) also share this opinion. Indian housewives are overrepresented in the overall sample.
191 Und in Mpumalanga.
192 As well as Swazis (45%), Ndebele and Tsonga.
Differences between language groups are emphasised particularly by coloureds, the 18-24 age group, respondents in hostels, in Gauteng, artisans, housewives, Southern and Northern Sotho as well as Baptists (19%) and Anglicans (13%). As in the results to the previous statement, the poor and young are overrepresented.

Real or imagined discrimination or preferential treatment in awarding jobs in the private sector, the public sector or the army can also precipitate conflict in multiethnic states. Respondents were asked to choose which criteria should be used in awarding jobs.

How should jobs in private business be filled?

- With the people best qualified: 65%
- According to the rules of affirmative action: 35%

How should jobs in government service be filled?

- By people who are best qualified: 69%
- By people of different races according to their numbers in the population: 31%

About two thirds of respondents think that jobs in the private sector and in the public sector should go to the best qualified.

Awarding private sector jobs on the basis of merit is favoured by an above-average proportion of whites (more than 90%) and almost nine in ten Indians, respondents in cities and metropolitan areas, almost all respondents in the Northern and Western Cape, respondents in the highest education group, housewives, managers and senior administrators, professionals and academics and almost seven in ten pensioners and pupils and students. There is also above-average support for merit among white-collar workers, the two highest household and personal income groups English-speakers and Afrikaans-speakers, almost nine in ten Hindus, eight in ten members of the DRCs, three quarters of Anglicans and somewhat more than seven in ten Catholics and Muslims also favour qualifications as the criterion for filling jobs. In short: These are for the most part people who benefit from a merit-based system.

The following respondents favour civil service appointments on the basis of qualifications: once again more than 90% of whites as well as Indians, people in cities and metropolitan areas, in the Western Cape, and the well and best educated, an above-average proportion of housewives, manager and senior administrators, office and retail workers, professionals and academics, pensioners, artisans, the top occupations and skilled workers, and, hence, the two highest household and personal income groups, English-speakers and Afrikaans-speakers. In addition, more than nine in ten Hindus, re

193 As well as in the Northern Cape and Free State.
194 Gender, marital status, age, urban-rural divide and reborn are of minor or no significance.
195 As well as in Limpopo and North West.
196 As well as English- and Afrikaans-speakers, Western Sotho and Ndebele (70%).
197 Gender, marital status, age, urban-rural divide and reborn are not significant.
198 As well as in the Northern Cape, North West and Mpumalanga.
199 Agreement rises with the level of education: 52-52-61-68-65-74-84.
200 Agreement correlates directly with household income: 57-63-74-85.
201 As well as English- and Afrikaans-speakers, Swazis, Western Sotho, Ndebele and Tsonga (71%).
and eight in ten Muslims and members of the DRCs think merit the preferred method of filling government jobs.

Given historical developments it is not surprising that support for affirmative action is overrepresented among blacks, respondents in Gauteng\textsuperscript{202} and the Eastern Cape, those with no or little formal education,\textsuperscript{203} transport and telecommunications workers, farm workers and farmers, those with no income or in the lowest income group, Southern Sotho, Venda, Xhosa, Zulus and members of the AICs.

Blacks and the poor would like to see quotas imposed.

Minorities and better-educated respondents want to fill jobs on the basis of qualifications – a criterion of choice which gives them an advantage in competition for jobs. On the other hand, blacks, people with little or no formal education and the poor place their hopes in a quota system rather than competition.

Social and economic perceptions

Since the end of apartheid the South African economy has grown steadily. The much-criticised neoliberal economic policy of former President Thabo Mbeki produced annual economic growth of 5\%. He introduced a number of successful social programmes, and in particular government training programmes to promote a Black middle class. However, they did not benefit the poor population in the townships: the official unemployment rate is 25\%; unofficially it is put at 40\%. There is a high crime rate. The frustrations and disappointment of the poorest exploded in xenophobic outbursts and killings in May and June of 2008 and again after the 2010 World Cup.

Factors of success and scarcities

Against this background, what opportunities do respondents see for advancement?

\textit{In your opinion, which of the following factors is the most important for achieving success in life?}

The responses in descending order of frequency are as follows:

1. Working hard for yourself 43
2. Education 25
3. Working together with others as a team 12
4. Experience 9
5. What your parents taught you 3
6. Religious belief 2
7. Other 6

\textsuperscript{202} As well as in Mpumalanga and the Free State.
\textsuperscript{203} Agreement falls with the rising level of education.
More than four in ten respondents believe that hard work leads to success, one quarter put their hopes in a good education, one in ten in team work or experience, 3% in parental upbringing and only 2% in divine assistance.\(^{204}\)

Individuals who trust in their own efforts are overrepresented among coloureds, men, people over the age of 34, respondents in rural areas, in the Western Cape and North West, people with a low level of education, transport and telecommunications workers, farm workers and farmers, artisans, housewives, those who leave the personal income box empty, the lowest income group, Afrikaans-speakers, almost half each of the Protestants, members of the DRCs and Muslims.

Respondents who regard education as the key to success in life are overrepresented among Indians, women, younger persons, in particular pupils and students, people living in mixed urban areas, in the Northern Cape, professionals and academics, the highest household and personal income groups as well as respondents with no income, Northern Sotho, Zulus,\(^{205}\) a good four in ten Hindus and members of the New Pentecostal Churches (35%). Although whites are among the better educated, they are less convinced than any other group that education is the key to success. This seems to reflect their negative experience with affirmative action and the corresponding low likelihood of getting a job. Despite this, the following holds: the higher the level of education, the higher the level of agreement with this statement.

Team players are blacks, the 18-34 year olds, people in hostels, respondents in the Free State, those with no household income,\(^{206}\) Venda, Northern and Southern Sotho and Catholics (16%).

Experience is selected disproportionately by whites, Indians, respondents in urban areas, in the Free State, among farmers and farm workers, those with no household income and three in ten Hindus.

Upbringing is favoured by Indians, coloureds, more women than men, the youngest and oldest age groups, respondents in cities and metropolitan areas and in the Western Cape and members of the New Pentecostal Churches (6%).

Religious beliefs are mentioned disproportionately by whites, coloureds, the 50+ age group, respondents in cities, metropolitan and urban areas and the Western Cape, by Afrikaans-speakers and by reborns (3%), Muslims (13%) and members of the religious movements (8%). Agreement rises with the level of income.\(^{207}\)

To summarise: coloureds, respondents with little formal schooling and the lowest income group see hard work as the key to success. The better educated and those still at school or in post-school education place their hopes in education or training. Solidarity is favoured by young blacks and Catholics, experience by whites and Indians, upbringing by the youngest and oldest and members of the New Pentecostal Churches. Faith is a choice of whites and coloureds, Muslims and members of the religious movements.

\(^{204}\) The results to this question correspond by and large with those of the 2002 survey. See Møller/Hanf, p. 37.

\(^{205}\) As well as Swazis and Tsonga.

\(^{206}\) Agreement is inversely correlated with personal income: 13-12-12-6.

\(^{207}\) Agreement is directly correlated with personal income: 1-2-3-8.
The following question looks at whether respondents prefer to spend or invest their money, and if the latter, how?

*Imagine you were lucky enough to win a large amount of money in the lottery. What is the first thing you would do with it?*

- Starting a business: 33
- Investing in a bank with good profit: 28
- Enjoying to spend the money on myself or my family: 20
- Improve my house and furniture: 19

One third of all respondents are willing to take the plunge and start their own business, a good quarter would prefer to put the money in a bank, and one fifth each would spend it, either on themselves or their family or on improving their living situation. Those who would prefer to invest their winnings in their own business are disproportionately blacks, men, people under the age of 35, those living in rural areas or hostels, in KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo, the educated, managers and senior administrators, artisans, pupils and students, white-collar workers, respondents with no household income, Tsonga, Northern Sotho, Zulus, rehorns (39%) and almost 40% each of members of the AICs and New Pentecostal Churches.

Those who hope for a good income from bank investments are overrepresented among whites, Indians, city-dwellers, respondents in the Northern Cape and Gauteng, the educated, clerical and retail staff, most workers, white-collar workers, respondents in the highest household income group, almost half of those in the highest personal income group, English-speakers, Muslims (43%) and Hindus (57%).

In particular coloureds, the 50+ age group, respondents in mixed urban areas and towns, farm workers and farmers, pensioners, economically inactive people, Western Sotho and Southern Sotho and members of the DRCs (29%) would happily spend their money on themselves or their family.

Coloured, women, the 50+ age group, respondents in rural areas, in the Eastern Cape, without formal schooling, unskilled workers, housewives, unskilled workers and economically inactive persons, respondents in the lowest household and personal income groups, Xhosa, Baptists (29%) and one quarter each of the Anglicans and members of the Old Pentecostal Churches would spend the money on home improvements or furniture.

Younger respondents, men, people with a high educational level and a good job would grasp the opportunity for investment. Older people and those with little education and income would prefer to use their winnings to improve their living conditions; obviously they do not have the resources for this in normal circumstances.

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208 The results to this question largely correspond with the results of the 2002 survey. See Möller/ Hanf, p. 36.
209 Agreement rises linearly with education.
210 Agreement rises linearly with education.
211 Agreement rises linearly with personal income: 22-22-29-40.
212 As well as Venda and Swazis.
213 In North West.
214 Agreement correlates inversely with education.
Work, working environment and personal expectations

What kind of work would you prefer?
A job in a factory or in an office with a good salary you can rely on? 51
Or
Your own business where you can win a lot or lose a lot? 49

Given the choice between a secure job and income and a possibly uncertain existence as a self-employed businessman, about half chose the one option and half the other.\(^{215}\) In 2002 more respondents favoured job security (57%) than the uncertainty of self-employment (43%).\(^{216}\)

Above-average support for security is found among Indians and coloureds, women, respondents in rural areas,\(^{217}\) those with a mid-level education, semi- and unskilled workers and economically inactive persons, the lowest household income group, respondents with no personal income,\(^{218}\) Western Sotho and Northern Sotho,\(^{219}\) Muslims (63%) and six in ten each of Protestants and members of religious movements.

Those willing to take risks and put all their eggs in one basket are found among whites, men, respondents in mixed urban areas, on commercial farms, in the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, people with no formal schooling, skilled and white-collar workers, people with no income and those in the highest household income group, Zulus, Baptists (60%) and Anglicans (55%).

Of course, people always like to earn more, but I consider my income to be reasonable 52

It doesn’t matter what workers and/or employees do, they can never win again the bosses 50

A good half of the respondents are satisfied with their income.\(^{220}\) Agreement with this statement has risen slightly since 2002.\(^{221}\)

Satisfaction is above-average in the better-off group, namely the whites (71%), respondents in the cities and towns, also in metropolitan centres, in Gauteng and Limpopo and among respondents with no formal education and those with the highest level of education as well as white-collar workers, pensioners and economically inactive persons, those working in administration, office jobs and retail, respondents in the highest household and personal income groups,\(^{222}\) Northern Sotho,\(^{223}\) reborns (57%), members of the DRCs (61%), religious movements (60%), Baptists (59%) and Muslims (56%).

\(^{215}\) For this question marital state, age, urban-rural divide, occupation and reborn are not significant.
\(^{216}\) See Møller/Hanf, p. 36.
\(^{217}\) In North West and Mpumalanga.
\(^{218}\) Agreement is inversely linear with income: the higher the income, the lower the desire for a secure job.
\(^{219}\) As well as Swazis and Tsonga.
\(^{220}\) Gender and age are not significant.
\(^{221}\) See Møller/Hanf, p. 40.
\(^{222}\) Satisfaction is linear with personal income: 48-48-58-75.
\(^{223}\) And Tsonga.
Those less satisfied with their income include coloureds (44%) and Indians (45%), respondents on commercial farms, in rural areas, in KwaZulu-Natal, respondents on commercial farms, in rural areas, in KwaZulu-Natal,\textsuperscript{224} those who have completed only Grades 1-5, workers in the services sector as well as unemployed persons, semi- and unskilled workers, respondents in the lower household income group, Hindus (59%) and Catholics (57%).

Similarly, half the respondents believe that they cannot win against bosses.\textsuperscript{226}

In particular coloureds feel powerless; whites and Indians are least likely to agree with this statement.

Respondents who are confident that they can improve their condition are more common in the metropolitan and other urban areas, in Limpopo,\textsuperscript{227} among white-collar workers, organised workers and those who have no experience of bosses, i.e. pupils and students. These are people in top jobs and the highest household and personal income groups, English-speakers,\textsuperscript{228} Muslims (76%), Hindus (69%), members of the DRCs (61%) and Protestants (56%).

Those that feel powerless include the inhabitants of coloured townships, people living in informal shacks in urban areas, respondents in mixed urban areas and on commercial farms, in the Western and Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, farmers and farm workers and service sector workers as well as unemployed persons, semi- and unskilled workers, respondents in the lowest household income group, Xhosas, Anglicans (56%), members of religious movements (56%), Baptists (55%) and members of the Old Pentecostal Churches (54%).

The better the level of education and type of job, the less powerless respondents feel.\textsuperscript{229}

To summarise: Satisfaction is well above average among the better off, namely whites; satisfaction with income is below average in all other groups. Likewise, the former feel less powerless in dealing with their bosses. City-dwellers are more satisfied that rural inhabitants, e.g. respondents in the metropolitan areas and cities compared to those on commercial farms, who have difficulty getting bosses to agree with their demands. Of course, employees in good or very good jobs express above-average satisfaction with their income. Economically inactive persons and unskilled workers see opportunities to improve their position. The level of satisfaction rises with the level of personal income.\textsuperscript{230}

\textsuperscript{224} As well as in Mpumalanga, the Northern Cape and North West.
\textsuperscript{225} And Ndebele, Swazis, Western Sotho and respondents who speak both English and Afrikaans.
\textsuperscript{226} Gender, marital status, age, urban-rural divide and reborn are not significant.
\textsuperscript{227} As well as in Mpumalanga and North West.
\textsuperscript{228} As well as Swazis, Northern Sotho and Venda.
\textsuperscript{229} Agreement from the lowest to the highest level of education: 55-70-63-56-51-40-36.
\textsuperscript{230} 48-48-58-75.
Do respondents feel that they and their children will fill their expectations and goals in life?  

*Young men and women of a family like mine have a reasonably good chance of reaching their goals in life*  
72

*I am afraid that our children might not enjoy as high a standard of living as we have*  
64

*Whatever my personal efforts, I will not get the education and job I am entitled to*  
49

Almost three quarters of the respondents are confident that their children have a good chance of fulfilling their expectations. However, almost two thirds fear that their children's standard of living may be lower than their own. Almost half are of the opinion that they will not get the education and job to which they feel they are entitled.

Indians, people who have completed Grade 10 or higher, professionals and academics, clerical and sales workers, pupils and students, Venda, Swazis, Tsonga, reborns (75%), Muslims (92%) and Baptists (84%) are relatively positive about their children's future.

Coloureds, respondents in hostels, in KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape, farm workers and farmers, semi- and unskilled workers and Zulus are more pessimistic.

Agreement rises almost linearly with age, in other words: the younger the respondents, the more optimistic they are. English-speakers are slightly overrepresented among the optimistic respondents and Afrikaans-speakers among the pessimistic.

In particular whites and Indians fear that their children's standard of living will be lower than their own; blacks and coloureds are less worried. Concern rises linearly with age, is greater in rural areas, in North West, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu-Natal and the Northern Cape, among clerical and sales workers, manual workers, people in good positions – i.e. mainly whites and Indians who fear that their children will be victims of affirmative action –, Western Sotho, Afrikaans-speakers, Hindus (74%) and members of the DRCs (73%).

There is less concern in hostels and black townships, in the Eastern Cape, Gauteng, among professionals and academics, transport and telecommunications workers, pupils and students, Northern Sotho and Xhosa, among almost half the members of the New Pentecostal Churches and four in ten members of the religious movements.

The fear that they will not get the education or job they feel entitled to is particularly strong among coloureds and lowest among Indians. Agreement rises almost linearly

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231 The responses to these three statements show that confidence and satisfaction has improved slightly since 2002. See Møller/Hanf, pp. 41-42.
232 Gender, marital status, urban-rural divide and household and personal income are of no or minor significance.
233 Gender, marital status, education, household and personal income and reborn are not significant.
234 Gender and reborn are not significant.
235 Respondents in Mpumalanga.
236 On the other hand, not civil servants.
237 Agreement declines from the youngest to the oldest age group: 81-76-70-69-71.
238 Agreement rises from the youngest to the oldest age group: 57-58-64-66-71.
239 As well as in the Free State.
240 As well as Venda and Afrikaans- and English-speakers.
with age, and falls linearly with education and household income. Primarily respondents in rural areas, in particular on commercial farms, and those who have only recently left the rural areas are afraid of being disadvantaged, as are people living in hostels and in deep rural areas, in other words, in North West and the Western Cape, farm workers and farmers, labourers, economically inactive persons, people in the lowest personal income group and those who refused to give information – i.e. the better off –, Afrikaans-speakers and Baptists.

Inhabitants of the Indian townships, mixed urban areas and metropolitan areas, the Eastern Cape, professionals and academics, managers and senior administrators as well as pupils and students, white-collar workers, respondents in the highest personal income group, English-speakers and Muslims have an outlook on their professional future that is far more optimistic than average.

*When I see what rich people have I feel that I should have the same*

Six in ten respondents envy the rich.

Envy is above-average among blacks and much less pronounced in other groups. Unmarried persons are most envious; there is also marked envy among respondents in rural areas and hostels, workers, Western and Northern Sotho, members of the AICs (70%) and Baptists (68%).

There is less envy among the over 50s, respondents in mixed urban areas, in coloured townships, in the metropolitan areas and cities, in the Western Cape and Gauteng, the two “highest” occupational groups, but also pensioners and economically inactive persons as well as half of all housewives, Afrikaans-speakers, English-speakers, Muslims (73%), Hindus (72%) and members of the DRCs (62%). Agreement falls almost linearly with rising level of education, with the level of household income and personal income.

Thus, envy is a phenomenon of the poor in rural areas. By contrast, older, educated, better-off and urban respondents tend to be satisfied.

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241 Agreement rises from the youngest to the oldest age group: 43-42-47-52-56.
243 Agreement from the lowest to the highest household income: 54-51-45-37. This includes the better-off: 50% of respondents refused to answer.
244 And Mpumalanga.
245 And Swazis.
246 Gender and reborn are not significant.
247 Young blacks are overrepresented in this item.
248 In North West, the Northern Cape and Limpopo.
249 As well as Tsonga and Ndebele.
250 And Mpumalanga.
251 And those that speak both English and Afrikaans, and Swazis.
252 Agreement from the lowest to the highest level of education: 76-64-67-65-62-55-43.
253 72-69-55-32. Here, too, it is clear that the "refusers" (51%) must belong to the better-off. They are less envious than average.
254 65-64-45-31. Here, too, the "refusers" (52%) are less envious.
Social differences

Here are two descriptions of social differences in this country. Which is the most accurate description of the situation in this country at present?

A small minority has most of the wealth at the expense of the majority of poor people

Or

A majority of people are at a middle level, with fewer people who rich or poor

The view that a small minority lives at the expense of the poor is shared by 56% of the respondents; 44% see a broad middle class with relatively few poor and rich. However, the gap between rich and poor appears to have widened: In 2002 the figures for the two statements were about equal. This reflects the results of the question above about the greatest differences in society: South Africa is on the way to a class society.

A disproportionate number of respondents living in impoverished circumstances choose the first option, namely respondents in shacks and hostels, in the Eastern Cape, Western Sotho, English- and Afrikaans-speakers, Muslims (67%) and members of the religious movements (64%). Better-off respondents tend to opt for the alternative: those in Indian townships, in KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape, but also respondents with no personal income and "refusers" – for example Indian housewives –, Zulus, Hindus (66%) and Anglicans (57%).

Against this background, how do respondents evaluate social changes in the past ten years?

In the last 10 years, have differences between rich and poor in the country ...

Half of the respondents think that social differences have increased, and a quarter each that they have decreased or remained the same.

255 Race, gender, marital status, age, urban-rural divide, education, occupational position and "reborns" are not significant.
257 As well as in the Northern Cape, North West and Mpumalanga.
258 In 2002 six in ten were of this opinion. See Møller/Hanf, p. 49.
259 Gender, urban-rural divide and reborn are not significant.
An above-average number of Indians and whites think that social differences have widened, whereas an above-average number of coloured do not notice any change.

An equal proportion of married and divorced persons believe that the differences have increased. This view is also the predominant view of a group that cannot have much memory of the past, namely the 16 and 17-year-olds, but also of the over-34s, respondents in the metropolitan areas and cities, in Gauteng\(^{260}\) and among those in the two highest education groups, English-speakers\(^{261}\) and Western Sotho, Hindus (71%), Muslims (67%) and members of the *New Pentecostal Churches* (61%).

One quarter of the youngest age group and almost a third of the 18-24 age group believe that differences have narrowed, as do respondents in the Eastern Cape,\(^{262}\) those with the lowest level of education, Zulus,\(^{263}\) Anglicans (31%) and members of the *AICs* (29%).

An above-average number of respondents in shacks in urban areas, in hostels and in coloured townships, in the Western Cape, with no formal schooling and in the two lowest levels of education \(^{264}\) as well as Baptists and members of the *Old Pentecostal Churches* (29% each) do not see any difference.

To summarise: The better educated, in particular whites and Indians and those in better jobs with higher income\(^{265}\) think differences have increased, the worse educated that they have remained the same, and the younger and poorly educated people that they have decreased.\(^{266}\)

How have changes affected people's life circumstances?

**As regards your life conditions, are you better or worse off than 10 years ago?**

- **Better** 37%
- **About the same** 42%
- **Worse** 21%

\(^{260}\) As well as in the Northern Cape and North West.
\(^{261}\) As well as Venda.
\(^{262}\) And in the Free State.
\(^{263}\) As well as Swazis and Southern Sotho.
\(^{264}\) As well as Ndebele and Swazi.
\(^{265}\) Agreement rises linearly with household (44-44-49-67) and personal (47-46-57-76) income.
\(^{266}\) Agreement falls with rising household (32-27-30-20) and personal (27-26-24-17) income.
A good third of respondents say their life conditions have improved over the past ten years, slightly more see no change, and one fifth state that their situation has deteriorated.267

Only blacks feel their life circumstances are better than they were ten years ago, which, given the political changes, is not particularly surprising. By contrast, Indians, coloureds and whites state that their life conditions have worsened. The 18-24 and 25-34 age groups take a positive view of the past ten years, while the situation of the over 50 years has deteriorated. Respondents in the mixed urban centres and metropolitan areas draw a positive balance, as do those in Gauteng and Limpopo, among the Northern Sotho,268 half of the members of the New Pentecostal Churches, almost as many Catholics and members of the religious movements. The higher the level of education, the more positive is respondents' evaluation of developments;269 this also holds for the level of household income and the quality of jobs. Respondents in the two highest personal income groups feel they are better-off and those without income that they are worse off or that their position is the same. An above-average 47% of reborns think their own conditions have improved.

Respondents in hostels, in Indian and coloured townships and on commercial farms and in the Western and Eastern Cape270 assess developments in their life conditions more negatively, as do Afrikaans-speakers, Ndebele and Southern Sotho, respondents in the educational levels up to and including Grade 9 and in particular economically inactive persons as well as Muslims (40%) and Hindus (45%).

Another revealing result is respondents' self-assessment of their social class.

**Some people say that there are different levels in society sometimes called classes.**

**Here we are thinking of economic levels and not of language groups.**

**What level of society are you closest to?**

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267 Gender, marital status and urban-rural divide are not significant.
268 As well as Tsonga and Venda.
269 Agreement from the lowest to the highest level of education: 32-28-32-33-36-43-46.
270 As well as in the Free State and Northern Cape.
Three percent of respondents place themselves in the upper class, one in ten in the upper middle class, almost four in ten in the middle class – as in most countries –, and about a quarter each in the lower middle and lower class.\textsuperscript{271} Compared with five years ago, there has been an upward shift: 12% fewer than in 2002 assess themselves as lower class, placing themselves instead in one of the higher classes.\textsuperscript{272}

How do the different population groups assess themselves?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Upper class</th>
<th>Upper middle class</th>
<th>Middle class</th>
<th>Lower middle class</th>
<th>Lower class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>2 (2)</td>
<td>7 (3)</td>
<td>34 (29)</td>
<td>29 (24)</td>
<td>28 (41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloureds</td>
<td>2 (3)</td>
<td>6 (10)</td>
<td>43 (41)</td>
<td>24 (21)</td>
<td>25 (27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>11 (4)</td>
<td>11 (13)</td>
<td>55 (67)</td>
<td>21 (11)</td>
<td>3 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>10 (6)</td>
<td>30 (23)</td>
<td>56 (61)</td>
<td>4 (8)</td>
<td>* (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>3 (2)</td>
<td>10 (6)</td>
<td>39 (35)</td>
<td>25 (22)</td>
<td>23 (35)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In parentheses: 2002 survey figures

First, a direct comparison of the survey results of 2002 and 2007 reveal two fundamental developments: Fewer blacks classify themselves as lower class and more as middle class. A greater number of Indians and whites place themselves in the upper middle and upper class.

In the 2007 self-assessment, Indians and whites are overrepresented in the upper, upper middle and middle classes and blacks and coloureds are overrepresented in the lower class; almost half the coloureds see themselves as the middle class and almost a third of blacks as lower middle class.

Younger and urban respondents appear more willing to place themselves in higher classes, while respondents older than 34 and in rural areas tend to assess themselves as lower middle or lower class.

Inhabitants of the Free State tend to see themselves as upper and upper middle class, those of Mpumalanga and Gauteng as middle class. Self-assessed lower middle class people are found primarily in the Free State, the Eastern Cape and North West and self-assessed lower class in North West, Limpopo and the Eastern Cape.

Level of education and self-assessment go hand in hand: The higher the level of education, the higher their self-assessed class is. Respondents up to Grade 9 tend to place themselves in the lower middle and lower classes.

Professionals and academics and pupils and students tend to see themselves as upper class, and managers and senior administrators, as well as artisans, as upper middle class.

White-collar workers are overrepresented in the upper class and upper middle class, as are students. All occupations, housewives too, are overrepresented in the middle class, except for those that are overrepresented in the lower class, in particular farm workers and farmers, unemployed persons, transport workers, economically inactive persons and pensioners.

\textsuperscript{271} Gender is not significant.
\textsuperscript{272} See Møller/Hanf, p. 46.
The class self-assessment seems to be very realistic when seen in the context of respondents' jobs: Respondents in top positions place themselves in the upper class, whereas semi- and unskilled workers and economically inactive people are overrepresented in the lower middle class or lower class.

Results by household and personal income are similar: The higher the level of income is, the higher the self-classified class. It is also clear that by household and by personal income half the refusers place themselves in the middle class and as many as one sixth in the upper middle class. The results discussed earlier had already pointed in this direction (see footnote 49).

An above-average number of Afrikaans-speakers, English-speakers and respondents who speak both at home categorise themselves as upper, upper middle or middle class. A majority of respondents in the other language groups see themselves as lower middle or lower class.

Members of the New Pentecostal Churches are overrepresented in the upper class and members of the DRCs in the upper middle class. On the other hand, Anglicans and members of the religious movements self-classify themselves as lower middle class and Baptists and members of the Old Pentecostal Churches as lower class. A disproportionately large number of reborns – one in twenty – place themselves in the upper class and the upper middle class (14%).

My impression is that a cultural change has taken place in the black middle class. They are the people who have moved into formerly white residential areas and towns, who no longer live in the townships, and work for white firms. They have worked their way up, their children go to white private schools; those that can afford it hire private tutors, they all speak English, perhaps still Afrikaans at home. But the young generation speaks more English. A cultural shift has taken place in people; they are adapting more and more to the western lifestyle. Although they still have cultivate relationships in the townships and the rural areas, they are in the process of losing their cultural roots, they no longer feel at home in their traditions. They are receptive to Pentecostal and Charismatic influences, to personally experiencing the Holy Spirit. In the traditional churches that is a community experience.

Lutheran Church, Johannesburg

With whom do South African respondents compare themselves when they think about their life?

When you think about your progress in life and work, with whom do you compare yourself most often?

- With nobody: 31
- People like myself ten years ago: 15
- People of other language groups in my country: 11
- My neighbours: 10
- My schoolmates: 10
- White people: 8
- Rich business people: 8
- People with political connections: 7

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Three in ten respondents do not compare themselves with anybody, 15% with people like themselves ten years ago, one in ten each with members of other language groups, their neighbours and their schoolmates and to a lesser extent with whites, rich business people or people with political connections. Coloureds and Indians tend not to compare themselves with anybody, whites with whites, and blacks with people with political connections and to a lesser extent with themselves ten years ago.

The 16-17 year olds have fewer reference points and most often compare themselves with their classmates (as does the 18-24 age group), with members of other language groups and rich businesspeople. Respondents over 34 prefer to look back at themselves ten years ago.

In rural areas the most important reference groups are classmates and neighbours, for those in informal shacks the people they need to get ahead or for whom they work, i.e. those with connections and whites. Hostel residents compare themselves with themselves or their neighbours.

In black townships respondents also tend to compare themselves with themselves ten years ago or with other ethnic groups, in coloured townships with nobody or the neighbours, in Indian townships with nobody and in the mixed urban areas with people with connections or with themselves ten years ago, in the metropolitan areas and large cities with whites, nobody or classmates, and on commercial farms with nobody.

In short: City-dwellers tend to compare themselves with themselves ten years ago, with members of other ethnic groups, with whites or with people with connections. In rural areas the horizon is closer: Basically, one has the choice of not comparing oneself with anybody, or comparing oneself with classmates and neighbours.

References for respondents without education are themselves, neighbours and whites, for respondents with the lowest level of education also themselves as well as people in other language groups, and for those with Grade 6,7 nobody, other language groups and neighbours. For Grades 8,9 and 10,11 the comparison appears to be limited to the school, since respondents name their classmates or pupils in the next highest educational group. The comparison stops at Grade 11. Respondents in the two highest educational groups do not mention anybody.

By occupational group it is striking that the majority of white-collar workers and housewives do not compare themselves with anybody, and pupils and students compare themselves with their classmates. The picture is the same by occupational level. The higher the level of household or personal income, the more independent respondents are, i.e. unlikely to compare themselves with anybody. Afrikaans- and English-speakers compare themselves to an above-average degree with nobody, and Southern Sotho, Tsonga and Venda on the whole with members of other language groups.

South Africans' responses present a realistic picture of their own economic situation. Poorer people would like more and are envious. The educated and better-off are more satisfied, even though the white and Indian minorities in particular fear that their

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273 Gender and reborn are not significant.
children will not enjoy the same high standard of living that they have. Class assessment correlates realistically with income.

Members of the New Pentecostal Churches tend to place their hopes in education, are more willing to take risks and are less concerned about the future of their children, are satisfied with their economic situation and tend to place themselves in the upper class.

Psychosocial Attitudes

Despite widespread assumptions, political attitudes and behaviour towards others are influenced not only by hard facts such as age, gender, income, education, etc., but also, as investigations in many countries have revealed, subjective factors such as trust, fear and openness to change.

Fear or confidence in the future

When I think of the future, I feel uncertain and afraid

Almost half of all respondents – still, one would like to add – feel uncertain or fearful about the future.\textsuperscript{275} Compared with 2002, this represents a significant change. Then more than six in ten respondents agreed with this statement.\textsuperscript{276} Obviously, South Africans now feel safer and more confident.

Respondents in the 18-24 age group, those in largely Indian townships,\textsuperscript{277} the better educated,\textsuperscript{278} those in the two highest household income groups and in particular Swazis, Xhosa and Ndebele have considerably less fear than average. Respondents who define themselves as \textit{reborn} (45\%) are also less fearful, as are Muslims (33\%), Hindus (43\%) and members of the religious movements (42\%).

Fear is above-average among older people, in rural areas and in particular on commercial farms, but also slightly above average in cities; it is particularly high in North West, less so in the Free State and among respondents with a low level of education, a poor or no job – especially among farm workers and farmers, unemployed persons and housewives – persons with little or no income.\textsuperscript{279} Western Sotho, Afrikaans-speakers\textsuperscript{280} and Southern Sotho as well as members of the \textit{Dutch Reformed Churches} (54\%) are also more fearful than average.

The following bar chart illustrates that more than two thirds of farm workers and farmers are afraid of the future. Academics and professionals show least fear.

\begin{itemize}
\item Race, gender and marital status are not significant.
\item See Møller/Hanf, p. 32.
\item In Mpumalanga.
\item Agreement from the lowest to the highest level of education: 53-59-56-57-49-43-36.
\item Agreement falls almost linearly with personal income: 51-52-40-36.
\item On this point there is no difference between Afrikaans-speakers and coloureds.
\end{itemize}
Respondents' assessments of whether they are satisfied with life or not are coloured by the current political and economic situation in South Africa. To assess optimism about the future, respondents were also asked to say how they thought they would feel in ten years' time. To examine these, respondents were asked the following two questions:

*Taking all things together, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Generally speaking would you say you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?*

And

*How do you think you will feel in ten years time?*

### Satisfaction with One's Life now and in 10 Years Time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Satisfaction Now</th>
<th>Satisfaction in 10 Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals, academics</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils, students</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers, administrative</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport, communication</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical, sales</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensioners, economically inactive</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewives</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm workers, farmers</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some four in ten respondents are very satisfied or satisfied with life in contemporary South Africa. In ten years' time more than half are likely to feel this way. Three in ten respondents are currently dissatisfied or very dissatisfied; in ten years this will fall to a little more than one in five. In future values there is a clear shift away from dissatisfaction towards greater satisfaction.

The following table underscores this development.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Satisfied or very satisfied</th>
<th>Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied</th>
<th>Dissatisfied or very dissatisfied</th>
<th>Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Today</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied or very satisfied</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfied or very dissatisfied</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Who are these persons and groups – today and in ten years' time?

An above-average number of whites (66%) are satisfied today. In ten years the whites will still be satisfied, but the differences between the groups will no longer be so wide. In the future an above-average number of whites will be in the middle category, where the Indians are both today and in ten years. Unsurprisingly, an above-average number of blacks are still dissatisfied with life in South Africa today. This will still be the case in ten year's time, though less extreme.

This result is reflected in the analysis by language group: English- and Afrikaans-speakers feel satisfied today and will be more or less average in ten years. The Swazis and Northern Sotho expect an improvement in their situation, while the Southern Sotho are disproportionately dissatisfied both today and in ten years.

Inhabitants in rural areas are more dissatisfied than their urban compatriots – both today and in ten years. There is a contrast between respondents in hostels and rural areas on the one hand and those in urban and metropolitan areas on the other. This will not change in the foreseeable future. Respondents in the Free State and North West are dissatisfied today; in ten year's time those in North West will have shifted to the group of neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. People in Limpopo are very satisfied, both now and in the future. That said, it should be noted that in this province whites are slightly overrepresented.

The youngest are the most satisfied and think that they will still be in ten year's time. Does this confidence reflect economic and political developments in the recent past, or is it just youthful optimism?

The more educated the respondents, the more satisfied and optimistic they are about their life now and in ten years. However, it should be noted that the current variance between people without formal schooling at 28% and those in the highest

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282 Agreement from the lowest to the highest level of education: 41-48-45-48-51-61-68.
educational group at 62% narrows considerably and in ten years' time the differences are essentially minor.

By occupational level, semi- and unskilled workers and economically inactive are underrepresented in the satisfied category, both now and in the future. Among the dissatisfied these groups are overrepresented. These results and those for the individual occupations reflect levels of education and income: satisfied respondents are found in the mid-level and highest income groups and unsatisfied disproportionately often in the no-income group – both in respect of household and personal income and both now and in ten years' time.

Reborns are overrepresented among satisfied persons, both now and in the future. These data suggest that there are specific denominations whose members feel this way. Indeed, members of the New Pentecostal Churches (56%), Baptists (55%), Catholics (53%) and members of the DRCs (50%) are overrepresented in this category today. Does this also hold for ten years hence? Yes, the Baptists and the Catholics (64% each) express this expectation, as do members of the religious movements (60%). In the case of the New Pentecostal Churches this is true only to a limited extent, and no longer for the members of the DRCs.

The following box contains excerpts from interviews with church members on their quality of life.

Most definitely members of our church enjoy a better quality of life than others! When one comes to understand God, when one has a personal relationship with him the quality of life goes up tremendously. It’s not only materialistic but joy and all the good things God has created.

Greenfield Christian Church, East London

Our people are happy, content. Obviously they have needs like anybody else. But generally, they’re happy. We become a better people in our jobs. More confident. An example: Several workers were arguing about tidying up on the workplace. Then one spontaneously encouraged the others to get on with the job: Let’s clean up before the Rhema Christian Church comes. – Church members are taught standards of excellence. You are taught how to present yourself, how to present your home. We are taught basic life skills: ‘How to fix a bulb (laughs)! How to live with your wife’.

Members of our church enjoy a higher standard of living than others. There are priorities in finance. You know how to use your money. We challenge those from poorer backgrounds to reach a better standard of living. Most of the people when they join us, their lifestyle improves. We even end up losing some to other provinces! The quality of ministry builds a person. We’re a church that thinks, not only prays.

Rhema Umtata Christian Church, Mthata

… We had a couple of experiences where our members have been targeted for insults. They’ve got work, their life-style has improved. They cope with that, they can afford to move to another place. We tend to offer counselling, advising on the side to enable them to face what they go through.

Father’s House, Port Elizabeth

It’s our hope; it’s our intention that their lives will improve from having Christ in their lives. We see people coming in broke – and then to see them being restored in two to three years’ time! You then think it is working! Ultimately, we’re only giving Biblical advice. … We have an incredibly strong relationship with each other. People don’t go through things alone. We all have our problems. The benefit of being in the body of Christ is that you don’t have to go through them alone.

New Covenant Fellowship, Port Elizabeth
In short: Those who already walk on the sunny side of the street expect to still be there in ten years – even if it is a little less bright. On the other hand, most of those in the shade today remain there. However, the number of satisfied persons will have increased.

Powerlessness and change

The following statements measure distrust and detachment in respect of one's social environment.

One must be very cautious with people; you cannot trust the people you live and work with

Three quarters of respondents are deeply distrustful of their social and working environment.\(^{283}\) Distrust has risen by eight percent since 2002.\(^ {284}\) Respondents in urban hostels exhibit extreme caution, those in deep rural areas, in the Western Cape\(^ {285}\) and Anglicans (83%) somewhat less.

Respondents in urban areas and the Free State, the Southern Sotho and the Muslims (56%) are less cautious. Respondents who stated that they spoke both English and Afrikaans at home, shorthand for better educated coloureds and Afrikaans-speakers, are somewhat less distrustful than the average respondent.

One should be sure that something really works before taking a chance on it

As many respondents agreed with this as agreed with the previous statement. This is hardly evidence of openness to risk; indeed, it indicates very strong social conservatism.\(^ {286}\)

The South Africans most prepared to take risks are Indians, respondents under the age of 25, including an above-average number of pupils and students,\(^ {287}\) professionals and academics, those working in transport and telecommunications and the services sector, Southern Sotho and Muslims (60%).

Eight in ten white respondents are extremely cautious, as are respondents older than 24, those in rural areas, in the Western Cape and Limpopo,\(^ {288}\) managers and senior administrators – many of whom are civil servants –, housewives and Western and Northern Sotho.\(^ {289}\)

If you start to change things, you usually make them worse

Almost four in ten respondents agree with this statement.\(^ {290}\) This attitude is more common among respondents in rural areas, in KwaZulu-Natal and the Free State, with

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\(^{283}\) Race, gender, marital status, age, education and job level, occupation, household and personal income and reborn are not significant.

\(^{284}\) See Møller/Hanf, p. 32.

\(^{285}\) As well as Swazis, Tsonga and Venda.

\(^{286}\) Gender, marital status, socio-economic categories, education and job level, household and personal income and reborn are not significant.

\(^{287}\) As well as persons in the Free State.

\(^{288}\) In North West and the Northern Cape.

\(^{289}\) As well as Venda, Ndebele and Afrikaans- and English-speakers.

\(^{290}\) Race, gender, marital status, age, socio-economic categories, personal income and reborn are not significant.
mid-level schooling (Grade 8, 9), well above-average among transport and telecommunications workers, farm workers and farmers and service sector workers, and, thus, half the semi- and unskilled workers. Agreement falls with the level of household income.\textsuperscript{291} Tsonga, Zulus and Northern Sotho are also sceptical of change, as are 41\% each of members of the \textit{Old} and \textit{New Pentecostal Churches}.

Respondents in the Eastern and Northern Cape, the highest educational group, i.e. on the whole white-collar workers, professionals and academics, managers and senior administrators as well as pupils and students have fewer reservations. Xhosa\textsuperscript{292} tend to view change positively, as do members of \textit{religious movements} (26\%), \textit{Muslims} (29\%), \textit{Hindus}, \textit{Anglicans} and \textit{Protestants} (32\% each).

Whereas poorer people and the uneducated in rural areas tend to be cautious, respondents with a good education and high earners are more open to reforms.

\textit{There is very little a person like me can do to improve the life of people in my country\textsuperscript{58}}

Almost six in ten respondents agree with this statement. They feel powerless and unable to do much to improve the life of their compatriots.\textsuperscript{293}

This view is held by an above-average number of whites and coloureds, older people,\textsuperscript{294} farm workers, farmers, people in hostels and in rural areas,\textsuperscript{295} and those who left school before completing Grade 12; 69\% of respondents with no formal schooling – the highest level of agreement – think this way, but only half of those with a better education. This pattern is repeated by occupation and personal income: This view is held by an above-average number of semi- and unskilled workers, in particular artisans, manual workers and transport and telecommunications workers, and finds least support among white-collar workers\textsuperscript{296} and the highest household and personal income groups.

The Western Sotho, Afrikaans-speaking South Africans and Southern Sotho have the least confidence in their ability to improve the situation of others, on a par with \textit{Baptists} (71\%), members of the \textit{DRCs} (65\%) and \textit{Hindus} (62\%).

By contrast Indian South Africans, the 18-24 age group, respondents in Mpumalanga, the Eastern Cape\textsuperscript{297} and members of the \textit{New Pentecostal Churches} (47\%), \textit{religious movements} (48\%) and \textit{Muslims} (53\%) are more optimistic about their role in society. At a below-average 54\%, \textit{reborns} are also relatively confident.

This attitude is apparent in the interview with a pastor of the Grace Bible Church quoted below:

\begin{quote}
291 Agreement rises from the lowest to the highest income group: 45-37-35-29.
292 As well as Ndebele and Swazis.
293 Gender and marital status are not significant.
294 Agreement rises from the youngest to the oldest age group: 55-51-59-60-64.
295 As well as in North West and the Free State.
296 Agreement among professionals and academics: 38\%; among managers and senior administrators: 46\%.
297 And Tsonga and Swazis as well as English- and Afrikaans-speakers.
\end{quote}
We believe that something can only develop when things come from within. The more consistent you work the better you become.

And we value enormously ordinary people. It is extraordinary what they can do. And they can do wonders with training and education.

Grace Bible Church, Soweto

In short: Well-educated, younger South Africans and members of newer churches as well as Muslims do not feel as powerless as their older compatriots.

Right is right and wrong is wrong and there are no grey areas

More than four fifths of respondents agree with this statement. More than four fifths of respondents agree with this statement.298

People in deeply rural areas, in hostels and mixed urban neighbourhoods, in other words, an above-average proportion of rural respondents, respondents in the lowest household income group and nine in ten Western Sotho and Xhosa make a point of distinguishing between right and wrong. The level of education is less significant, but the results are almost linear: Agreement falls with rising level of education.

Whites are more likely to accept grey zones between right and wrong, as are respondents in shacks, in metropolitan areas and cities, in the Free State and Gauteng, office workers, people in leading occupations, those with no household income and in the highest household and personal income groups, Southern Sotho and English-speaking South Africans.

To summarise: In South Africa there is not only a divide between black and white and between rich and poor, but also between urban and rural areas. The population groups in the rural areas are poorer; as a rule, they are less educated and do physical work. Rural inhabitants may have more trust in their social environment, but they are more cautious, less willing to take risks, and morally more fundamentalist than their wealthier and more educated compatriots. Interestingly, the same holds for people who live in hostels; obviously they are still caught up in the traditions and behaviour patterns of rural life.

Political orientations

The first democratic general elections in South Africa were held in 1994. The constituent assembly drew up one of the most liberal constitutions in the world, enshrining the separation of powers and a catalogue of civil rights. White South Africans have a long democratic tradition; blacks, in the other hand, voted for the first time in 1994.

Political information and perceptions of political problems

What are voters' sources of information about society and politics in what is still a young democracy?

298 Gender, marital status, age, occupation, denomination and reborn are not significant.
299 Almost all respondents in Mpumalanga and North West.
300 As well as almost all Swazis and Ndebele.
301 Agreement from the lowest to the highest level of education: 94-86-89-85-83-82-80.
Almost half of respondents watch television, a good quarter listen to the radio and one fifth get their information through other media such as the Internet and print media. Only six percent rely on second-hand information from friends and colleagues. A closer analysis of the preferences of blacks, whites, Indians and coloureds reveals a division between the first and third worlds. As in the rest of Africa, blacks obtain an above-average proportion of their information about their social environment from the radio, whereas seven in ten Indians, six in ten coloureds and every second white prefers to watch television. White use of other media, such as newspapers and the Internet, is also above-average.

Respondents who spend an above-average amount of time in front of the television include the youngest age group, respondents in cities, in the Western Cape, those with an education higher than Grade 10, white-collar as well as manual workers, respondents with a mid-level household and personal income, Ndebele, Afrikaans-speakers and English-speakers, Muslims and Hindus (64% each) as well as more than half of the members of the Dutch Reformed Churches, Anglicans and Baptists.

The radio is the main source of information for an above-average number of respondents in hostels, in rural areas and on commercial farms, in the Eastern Cape, with no or little formal schooling, among semi- and unskilled workers and economically inactive persons, i.e. one third of unemployed persons, the lowest household and personal income groups, Xhosa and Tsonga and one third each of the members of the Old Pentecostal Churches and AICs.

Other media are the main source of information for an above-average number of respondents in top jobs, the highest income group by both household and personal income, but also for almost one third of respondents with no income, for pupils and students, Swazis, Afrikaans- and English-speakers and English-speakers and for about one in four Baptists, members of the New Pentecostal Churches and Hindus.

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302 Gender and reborn are not significant.
Information exchange among friends, family and colleagues is particularly important in the coloured townships and rural areas, in the Northern Cape and Limpopo, for respondents with no formal schooling or with elementary school, farm workers and farmers, semi- and unskilled workers, respondents with no household or personal income and the lowest personal income group, Tsonga and Northern Sotho as well as members of the religious movements (11%).

What in your opinion is the most serious problem confronting our country today which should be urgently addressed?

The answers in descending order of frequency are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment, poverty</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health, AIDS</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic, social and educational issues</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious problems</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For four in ten respondents crime is the most serious problem that should be addressed in South Africa today. For about a third it is unemployment and poverty, and about one in ten each choose health and HIV/Aids or housing. Politics plays a role for just six percent; two percent each mention problems that do not directly affect them such as economic, social and educational issues or issues associated with religion. It is worth noting that in 2002 crime was named only in second place, far behind unemployment. This puts in perspective the degree to which crime affects people's daily lives.

For whom are which problems the most serious?

High crime is mentioned as the most serious problem by an above-average three quarters of Indians and almost as many whites and coloureds – but only by three in ten blacks –, the 50+ age group, respondents in cities and metropolitan areas, in the Western Cape and Gauteng, the two highest educational groups, all occupational groups except farm workers and farmers, unemployed persons, pupils and students, a very high number of managers and senior administrators and housewives, respondents in the highest household and personal income groups, English-speakers, English- and Afrikaans-speakers, Afrikaans-speakers, Hindus (77%), Muslims (68%), members of the DRCs (58%) and New Pentecostal Churches (49%) as well as reborns (44%). In other words: This reflects the perception of the wealthy; the better-off white, coloured and Indian minorities feel more threatened by crime than the black majority, although in particular whites and Indians can take effective measures to protect themselves.

Unemployment and poverty is named by an above-average number of blacks, respondents in rural areas, in North West and KwaZulu-Natal, people with no formal schooling and with an education up to Grade 9, unemployed and economically inactive

303 This includes corruption and discrimination.
304 In 2002 unemployment and poverty was felt to be the most pressing problem, followed by crime and health. See Møller/Hanf, p. 69.
persons and those with no household or personal income and in the lowest household and personal income groups, Xhosa, Zulus, Venda, Western Sotho, Protestants (38%), Catholics (36%) and members of the Old Pentecostal Churches (35%); on this item reborns are below average.

Health and HIV/Aids is chosen as the most serious problem almost exclusively by blacks, as well as by unmarried persons, the 18-24 age group, respondents in mixed urban areas, in black townships, in shacks, in KwaZulu-Natal, by those with no household income, Zulus, members of the AICs and Catholics (12% each).

The lack of housing, too, affects primarily blacks, and among them the 18-24 age group, respondents in rural areas, in shacks, in the Eastern Cape, with little or no formal schooling, but also artisans, pupils and students and economically inactive persons, those in the lowest household and personal income groups, Xhosa, Western Sotho, Baptists (13%) and members of the New Pentecostal Churches (12%).

Politics receives above-average mention from whites, men, 16+17 year olds, respondents in towns and on commercial farms, those with the highest level of education, farm workers and farmers, artisans, workers, respondents in the two higher household income groups, Swazis, Afrikaans-speakers, Muslims (15%) and members of the DRCs (12%).

Other economic, social and educational issues affect an above-average number of the 18-24 age group, respondents in rural areas, including commercial farms and in the Eastern Cape, those with formal schooling up to Grade 8,9, farm workers and farmers and housewives.

There are no significant features in the responses to religiously motivated problems.

As already mentioned in another context, the number of mentions reflects the issues that most occupy or affect respondents. For the poor it is housing and unemployment, for the rich high crime, for Zulus HIV/AIDS, for which the infection rate is particularly high in KwaZulu-Natal. HIV/AIDS is also the most serious problem for younger people.

Against the background of this problem complex, how do the respondents perceive the distribution of political and economic power and influence? Given this situation, do they have clear political perceptions? They were asked in which situation they had a good chance of being treated fairly and justly.

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305 Agreement from the lowest to the highest household income (49-39-26-15) and personal income (38-36-19-11) illustrates how little the upper income groups are affected by unemployment and poverty.

306 In the Northern Cape, Free State and Mpumalanga.

307 Agreement from the lowest to the highest level of household income: 1-4-7-8.
Things being what they are at present in which one of the following situations has one a good chance to get fairness and justice?

- Getting government contract: 3%
- Tax office: 5%
- University entrance: 6%
- Job recruitment: 6%
- Police station: 11%
- Elections: 16%

Trust in the courts is mentioned most often; more than half of respondents think they will receive fairness and justice there. Unsurprisingly against the backdrop of the “most recent” past, elections are in second place: One in six South Africans think they are fair and just. One in ten is convinced that they will be treated with fairness and justice by the police, and six percent each in job recruitment and university entrance. Few look for fairness and justice from the tax office or when applying for a government contract. Although the courts are trusted more than other institutions, if respondents had had the possibility to make more than one choice, others would have got greater support.308

Which respondents give priority to which situations or methods?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
<th>Coloureds</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In court</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In elections</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In a police station</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In job recruitment</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In university entrance</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At a tax office</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In getting a government contract</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Almost two in three Indians, well above average, have trust in the courts, as do persons who, one may assume, do not yet have much experience of the courts: the 25-34 age group, but also the oldest, rural inhabitants in Limpopo and the Eastern Cape,309 housewives, respondents with no household income and in the lowest personal income group, Northern and Western Sotho,310 Hindus as well as almost two thirds of the members of New Pentecostal Churches and six in ten Baptists.

308 Gender and reborn are not significant.
309 As well as in North West.
310 As well as Tsonga, Venda, Afrikaans- and English-speakers.
The first choice of an above-average number of Indians and coloureds is *fair and just elections*, as of whites, older respondents who have seen a lot in life and have gained confidence in the election process since the end of apartheid, namely the 50+ group, respondents in cities, in the Western Cape, with the highest level of education, professionals and academics, transport and telecommunications workers, farm workers and farmers, artisans, manual workers, housewives, respondents in the two highest household and personal income groups, English-speakers, Afrikaans-speakers, Southern Sotho, members of the DRCs, Muslims (24% each) and Hindus (22%). By contrast, the youngest respondents, unemployed persons and those with no personal income clearly prefer other options.

Blacks, respondents in hostels, with no formal education, in the two lowest educational groups, pensioners, respondents with no household income and members of the Old Pentecostal Churches (14%) must have had good *experiences of police stations*, or at least better than in the apartheid era. In above-average numbers they are convinced that there is a good chance of being treated fairly and justly there. This point gets fewer mentions from those respondents that one is less likely to meet in police stations, namely those in the highest educational group, housewives, professionals and academics.

*Justice and fairness in job recruitment* is the choice of above all blacks, slightly above average of respondents in mixed urban areas, in Gauteng and the Northern Cape, among managers and senior administrators and Catholics (12%).

*Fair university access* is affirmed in particular by whites, the youngest age group, those intending to study or already at university, namely professionals and academics, pupils and students, respondents in the two highest household and personal income groups, in urban areas, in the Free State and members of the DRCs (10%).

In South Africa the *tax office* seems to be less daunting for high earners than in some countries: Apart from whites, an above-average number of respondents in black townships, in the Free State, in top jobs and the highest personal income group give this option preference for fair treatment.

How do respondents feel about becoming politically involved?

*If you keep out of politics you have peace and a clean conscience* 61

Six in ten respondents agree with this statement, woman slightly more often than men, as do respondents older than 24, on commercial farms, in metropolitan and in rural areas, in KwaZulu-Natal, in the Eastern Cape, in the highest and lowest educational groups, the two lowest personal income groups, Zulus and Xhosa, Anglicans (73%), members of the religious movements (67%) and Catholics (65%) and reborns (64%), but only four in ten Hindus.

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311 As well as in Mpumalanga.
312 Agreement from the lowest to the highest household income: 9-15-19-21.
313 Agreement from the lowest to the highest personal income: 14-14-20-21.
314 As well as Ndebele and Swazis.
315 In the Free State and North West.
316 Race, marital status, occupation, job level and household income are not significant.
317 Agreement rises from the youngest to the oldest age group: 52-59-63-62-63.
How do respondents assess their political leaders? Do they trust them politically? And how far does support go? The answers to the following questions provide information on this:

Thinking of political leaders that you support, would you agree or disagree with the following statements?

*Given the situation in the country these leaders cannot do very much to improve our lives*  
*Even if these leaders act in a way I do not understand or agree with, I would still support them in an election*

Almost seven in ten respondents believe that the situation in the country makes it very difficult for political leaders to improve people's lives.\(^{318}\) There has been an enormous change in sentiment on this point since 2002. At that time only a good half of the respondents thought that their political leaders could not do very much.\(^{319}\) The sense of hope in the early post-apartheid years has given away to a certain sense of resignation. By contrast, in both 2002 and 2007 four in ten would give their leader unconditional support even if he did not understand him.\(^{320}\)

Democracy is a new thing. Africans grew up under chiefs. He is the father of the community. So whatever he says, he is right. There is a local saying, you need to build a wall around the word of the chief. The chief is right because of this belief, people would be loyal. Back then chiefs were not selfish. They were part of the family. The family was intact. The leaders now work for their own pockets, but the loyalty remains. We are trying to educate our people: You cannot be victims of your blind loyalty.

I'm shocked that people still vote for Mugabe when they eat grass. Unquestionable loyalty has been taken to extremes in Africa. If we can break this thing, so no government that is corrupt can stay, then there is hope for Africa. We cannot be loyal to our veteran strugglers forever.

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Hope of Glory Tabernacle, Cape Town

More than 70\% of the blacks and coloureds tend to show understanding for their leaders and are of the opinion that they cannot improve their life circumstances. By contrast, only six in ten whites and four in ten Indians, i.e. far fewer, show the same equanimity. Patience, or wisdom, are traits of respondents over the age of 24 – certainly not of the 16+17 year olds –, about three quarters each of respondents in hostels, on commercial farms, in shacks and in black townships, people in rural areas, in the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, those with no formal schooling and in the lower educational groups, transport and telecommunications workers, farm workers and farmers, artisans, and a slightly above-average proportion of semi- and unskilled workers, respondents in the lowest household and personal income groups, Zulus and Northern Sotho.

Thus, it tends to be blacks, poor people, those with a low level of education and living in rural areas who do not think that their leaders have a lot of scope to act.

An above-average number of those who would support their leaders unconditionally are black; this view is not shared by whites, coloureds and Indians. Accordingly,

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318 Gender, family status, denomination and reborn are not significant.
319 See Møller/Hanf, p. 77.
320 Gender, marital status, age, occupation, occupational level and reborn are not significant.
unconditional support for leaders is above average among respondents in hostels and
shacks and on commercial farms, in the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga, among persons with no formal education and in the lowest two levels of education, the lowest household and personal income groups – but not those with no income –, and among Xhosa, Swazis and Zulus as well as Baptists (57%) and Anglicans (47%). Agreement with this statement is lowest among respondents in the highest personal income group; only a little more than one in four Muslims and Hindus and one in three members of the DRCs agree with it.

Blacks, the less educated, fairly poor people – but not the very poor, who obviously think that social reforms have done nothing for them – would support their leaders without reservations.

**South African politicians and their followers**

Is this also reflected in respondents' voting preferences? The questionnaire included the following questions:

*Think of political leaders in our country. Which leader do you admire most?*  
*Whom else do you admire? Your second choice?*  
*Which political leader in our country do you most dislike?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leader</th>
<th>1st choice</th>
<th>2nd choice</th>
<th>Most disliked leader</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thabo Mbeki</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Zuma</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson Mandela</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tony Leon</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patricia de Lille</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangosuthu Buthelezi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyril Ramaphosa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bantu Holumisa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pieter Mulder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zwelinzima Vavi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None of them</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted that this question was answered during the presidency of Thabo Mbeki. He is the most admired leader, the first choice of 42% of the respondents; his rival and current president is the second most popular with 18%. Although retired, the first president of the new South Africa, Nelson Mandela, is in third place with eight percent. He is still as popular as ever. The following politicians in order of descending support all have fewer votes. Tony Leon, at the time leader of the Liberal Party, gets 7%, Patricia de Lille, in 2007 still leader of the PAC, 5%. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chairman of the KwaZulu-Natal-based Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), gets 3%, as does Cyril Ramaphosa, Mbeki's rival to succeed Mandela; he subsequently withdrew from politics and became a businessman. He gets considerably more support as a second choice.
Chairmen of smaller parties and trade unions each receive one percent: Bantu Holumisa, former freedom fighter and chairman of a party that split off from the ANC in 1996, the United Democratic Movement (UDM), Pieter Mulder, the only surviving politician from the apartheid era, today leader of the Freedom Front Plus, and Zwelinzima Vavi, general secretary of COSATU.

The second choice does not substantially diverge from the first.

The most unpopular politicians are Jacob Zuma, Thabo Mbeki and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Tony Leon and Bantu Holumisa. There were virtually no votes against Nelson Mandela.

Who votes for which politician?321

Thabo Mbeki is disproportionately popular among blacks, the two youngest age groups up to 24, in black townships, on commercial farms, in Limpopo, in the Eastern Cape322 among respondents with no formal schooling and the educational groups up to Grade 9,323 among farm workers and farmers, manual workers, unemployed persons, respondents with no household and personal income and the lowest household and personal income groups. He enjoys above-average popularity among all black (language) groups – among the Xhosa, his ethnic group, an above-average 53% –, and among more than half the members of the New Pentecostal Churches.

Mbeki's support is weakest among whites, respondents in cities and metropolitan areas, coloured townships, hostels, Gauteng, the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, transport and telecommunications workers, housewives, professionals and academics, clerical and sales workers, artisans, managers and senior administrators, those in the highest household and personal income groups Afrikaans-speakers, Afrikaans- and English-speakers, English-speakers, Zulus, members of the DRCs (28%), Hindus (25%) and Catholics (37%).

Jacob Zuma is also popular among blacks and the three youngest age groups up to 34, among respondents in shacks, in rural areas, in KwaZulu-Natal – from where he comes – and among the Zulus, his ethnic group, but also the Ndebele, who are related to the Zulus, among respondents in the services sector, managers and senior administrators, artisans, people with no household income, among one in four Catholics and the same proportion of members of the AICs. Almost no whites, only one coloured and not a single Indian voted for Zuma. His support is below average 324 also among respondents in Limpopo,325 in the Western and Eastern Cape, those with no formal schooling and with education up to Grade 6,7, manual workers, pensioners, farm workers and farmers and housewives, among people in the highest personal income group among Xhosa, Southern Sotho and Venda. Not one English-speaker and few Afrikaans-speakers and English- and Afrikaans-speakers would vote for him.

321 Reborn is not significant.
322 As well as in Mpumalanga, the Free State and North West.
324 Only 8% of married people voted for Zuma. Whether this is due to his permissive way of life or other reasons is an open question.
325 As well as in the Northern Cape and the Free State.
Nelson Mandela enjoys greatest trust among Indians, the 50+ age group, respondents in mixed areas, the inhabitants of the Eastern Cape, North West and the Northern Cape, among the lowest household and personal income groups and those with no personal income. He finds greatest support among the Xhosa, the Western Sotho, and Hindus (20%) and also among Protestants (13%).

Among the few who would not vote for Nelson Mandela are respondents in the highest educational group and Zulus.

Tony Leon finds most support among a third of the whites, but also above-average support among coloureds, respondents in cities and metropolitan areas, in the Western and Northern Cape and the Free State, among the highest educational group, managers and senior administrators, housewives and also artisans, among the highest household and personal income groups, English-speakers, Afrikaans-speakers and English- and Afrikaans-speakers and one fifth of the members of the DRCs.

Tony Leon's following is weakest among blacks, the youngest age group, respondents with no formal schooling and the lowest two levels of education, transport and telecommunications workers, people with no household income and the lowest household income group as well as all black language or ethnic groups.

As a coloured, Patricia de Lille enjoys a high reputation among coloureds – one in four –, but also among whites, respondents in cities and metropolitan areas, in the Western Cape, in the highest educational group, among artisans, the highest household and personal income groups, among English-speakers, Afrikaans-speakers and English- and Afrikaans-speakers and adherents of the DRCs (11%).

On the other hand, almost no blacks and not a single respondent with no household income would vote for her.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi is most popular among the oldest age group, respondents in rural areas, in KwaZulu-Natal, among the mid-level educational groups up to Grade 6, housewives, respondents with no household income and the Zulus.

Very few coloureds, no Indians and few respondents in the youngest age groups up to 24 would vote for him.

Cyril Ramaphosa finds his following in hostels, in Indian townships, in Gauteng, among the best educated, professionals and academics, transport and telecommunications workers, among the two highest personal income groups and among the Venda; only one percent of whites support him.

Bantu Holumisa's following tends to be found in shacks, in the Western Cape, among transport and telecommunications workers, and almost exclusively among Xhosa. There is not a single white, Indian or coloured among his supporters.

Pieter Mulder, by contrast, draws his support almost exclusively from whites, from respondents in cities and metropolitan areas, on commercial farms, with a Grade 12 level of education, from farm workers and farmers, the highest occupational groups, and, thus, from the highest household and personal income group, almost exclusively from Afrikaans-speakers and members of the DRCs (5%); among his followers there is not a single coloured or Indian, and few blacks.

Zwelinzima Vavi's supporters are Indians, respondents in mixed areas, transport and telecommunications workers, artisans and Ndebele.
It is clear that, ethnic affiliation plays a significant role in political leaders' popularity: Blacks vote for black leaders, whites for white leaders, Indians for Indians – with the exception of Mandela – and coloureds for the leader from their ranks. Over and above this, there are other obvious factors that are keys to a specific leader's support, such as poverty, youth or trade union membership. In the following table, which shows which leaders are most disliked by which population group, the ethnic component is even more striking:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mbeki</th>
<th>Zuma</th>
<th>Mandela</th>
<th>Leon</th>
<th>De Lille</th>
<th>Buthelezi</th>
<th>Ramaphosa</th>
<th>Holomisa</th>
<th>Mulder</th>
<th>Vavi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloureds</td>
<td>6</td>
<td><strong>59</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Blacks tend to reject Tony Leon, Patricia de Lille and Buthelezi. The votes against the latter come from non-Zulus. Dislike of Zuma is above average among coloureds, Indians and whites. An above-average number of whites also reject Mbeki – their black president at the time of the survey.

**South Africa's party political landscape and the social profile of their voters**

South Africa has a longer history of political parties than most African countries. The ANC was founded in 1912. After decades as a liberation movement it became the governing party after the 1994 elections. Since the years in exile, the ideological spectrum of the ANC has been covered by a so-called tripartite alliance with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP). The SACP was banned in 1953, after which its members joined the ANC. The two alliance partners are firmly anchored within the ANC and play a crucial role in the party's politics. The survey was conducted before COPE split away from the ANC and, hence, does not measure support for the youngest party in South Africa; however, COPE appears to be disintegrating.

The second largest party now is the Democratic Alliance (DA). It is the successor party to the Democratic Party, which incorporated the Progressive Federal Party (previously the Progressive Party), a liberal opposition party under apartheid whose longest-serving member – for many years alone – was the courageous Helen Suzman. She was the white conscience, as it were, of the apartheid state, who, through her questions in parliament single-handedly kept public awareness of the imprisoned ANC leadership alive.326

Two provinces, KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape, are regarded as measures of ANC strength. They are not traditional ANC bastions where it is for granted that the ANC will win the provincial elections. In 1994 and 1999 the IFP won in KwaZulu-

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Natal and the National Party (NP) and its successor, the New National Party (NNP), in the Western Cape.

The stronghold of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) is KwaZulu-Natal, hence its reputation as a Zulu party. Since the end of apartheid it has been in steady decline. It was originally founded with the agreement of the ANC in exile to determine the possibilities and limits in the apartheid state of a political party in charge of the then homeland of KwaZulu. Since 1994, its leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has been overshadowed by Mandela. Fighting between Zulu migrant workers and other inhabitants of townships in Gauteng and the political violence between ANC and IFP supporters caused more furore than the policies of the IFP.

The NP, the former party of apartheid, did not long survive the collapse of its policies. After President de Klerk, who announced the end of racial segregation and the lifting of the ban on the black liberation movements, withdrew from politics, the party sought to break with its apartheid image by renaming itself the NNP. In 2000 it briefly joined the Democratic Party in the Democratic Alliance (DA) in the hope that an opposition alliance would carry greater weight against the ANC. In 2001 the leader, Marthinus van Schalkwyk, led his party into an alliance with the ANC. By aligning with the ANC the NNP disqualified itself as a political option for whites and coloureds. After a law to permit members of parliament to cross the floor, i.e. to change party allegiance without losing their seat, took effect many NNP members crossed to the ANC. The party disbanded in 2005.

The Freedom Front, now called Freedom Front Plus (FF+), is the sole representative of a small group of conservative whites. It was formed by Constand Viljoen, a former general, shortly before the 1994 elections to represent the interests of the Afrikaners. Its declared goal is self-determination for the Afrikaners.

Two other active small parties are the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP). After splitting off from the ANC in 1959, the PAC pursued a policy of militant opposition to apartheid. It gained notoriety for its slogan of “one settler, one bullet”. In the new South Africa the party's main political plank is land reform to redistribute land to the black population. Since 2003, when the PAC leader Patricia de Lille split with the party to form the Independent Democrats (ID) (now merged with the DA), the PAC has steadily declined into insignificance. The ACDP was formed by Kenneth Meshoe, an evangelical pastor, in 1993. Although it has only three members of parliament, its extra-parliamentary influence is greater. It represents the growing group of evangelical charismatic Christians who want a legal system based on fundamental Christian values and are opposed to, for instance, same sex marriage and abortion.

Respondents were asked which party they would vote for.

If there were elections for our parliament, which party would you most like to vote for?
If you could vote for two parties, which other party would you vote for?

By party preference, the respondents in the survey would vote as follows:328

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>1st choice</th>
<th>2nd choice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA/DP/NNP</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFP</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ID</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SACP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAC/AZAPO</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UDM</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACDP/UCDP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative whites</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would not Vote</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain/dk</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ANC is the largest party, but falls just short of a two-thirds majority. The DA is the second largest party. All other parties lag far behind. Notwithstanding the new party COPE, the results of this survey do not significantly diverge from the 2009 election results. What is the break-down of votes by population group? Who votes for which party as first choice?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population Group</th>
<th>ANC</th>
<th>DA/DP/NNP</th>
<th>IFP</th>
<th>ID</th>
<th>SACP</th>
<th>PAC/AZAPO</th>
<th>UDM</th>
<th>ACDP/UCDP</th>
<th>Conservative whites</th>
<th>other</th>
<th>Would not vote</th>
<th>Uncertain/dk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloureds</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once again the pattern is similar to that noticed in preferences for political leaders: Elections in South Africa are ethnic elections. The overwhelming majority of blacks vote for the ANC, whites and coloureds for the DA or DP; the ID appeals to coloureds, whites and Indians, and the Communist Party particularly to Indians. An above-average number of Indians and whites would not vote and many members of all three minority groups are uncertain about whom to vote for.

What are the social profiles of the electorates of the three largest parties and the ACDP?

ANC voters tend to be young, namely under 34,329 living in shacks (88%), in black townships, in mixed urban areas, in rural areas, in hostels – in short: rural persons –, and in the Eastern Cape,330 with no formal education and education up to Grade 10/11, unemployed persons, pupils, services workers, respondents with no household or per-

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328 In the 2009 elections the ANC won 65.90% of the vote, the DA 16.66%, COPE 7.42%, the IFP 4.55%, the Freedom Front Plus 0.83%, the ACDP 0.81%, the PAC 0.27% and other parties 3.56%.
330 As well as in Mpumalanga, Limpopo and North West.
sonal income and in the lowest household and personal income groups, across all black language groups as well as members of the AICs (77%), Protestants (75%) and in particular Anglicans and members of the Old Pentecostal Churches (71% each) and also of the New Pentecostal Churches (68%) and to a slightly above-average extent – two-thirds – among reborns.

The ANC has least support in cities and metropolitan areas, in the Western Cape, among respondents in the two highest educational groups, housewives and managers and senior administrators, in the highest household and personal income groups, Afrikaans- and English-speakers, English-speakers and Afrikaans-speakers, Hindus (18%), members of the DRCs (24%) and Muslims (30%).

The DA finds support primarily in the oldest age group, in metropolitan areas and coloured townships, i.e. in urban areas, in the Western and Northern Cape – and least in KwaZulu-Natal –, among respondents in the highest educational group, managers and senior administrators, but also among workers, housewives, office and retail workers, economically inactive persons, those in the highest household and the two highest personal income groups, Afrikaans-speakers, Afrikaans- and English-speakers, and English-speakers, among members of the DRCs (35%), Baptists (17%), Muslims (13%) and – to a slightly above-average degree – reborns (13%).

The IFP has greatest support in the 35-49 age group, in rural areas, in KwaZulu-Natal, among respondents in the mid-level educational groups of Grades 6-9, among housewives, transport and telecommunications workers, respondents with no household income, Zulus, Swazis and one in ten Baptists.

ACDP, the small Christian party, tends to find support in the metropolitan areas, in KwaZulu-Natal, among transport and telecommunications workers, Zulus, members of the religious movements, Baptists (3% each), members of the New Pentecostal Churches (2%) and among reborns (2%).

A cross table of first and second votes is revealing about political affinities and potential political alliances. The DA is a possible alternative for ANC members, as are the parties aligned with the ANC in the tripartite alliance, such as the SACP, or split off from the ANC, such as the PAC and the UDM. Most DA supporters would vote for the DP or the ID. This reflects support among coloureds for Patricia de Lille, who is also a member of the coloured community. The ANC or conservative whites are other options. This shows just how diverse DA support really is. It is the party that best reflects the rainbow ideal. Similarly, ID voters see an alternative in the DA, but also in the ANC. Respondents who would give their first vote to the SACP, would give the second to the ANC, DA or IFP. IFP voters would support the ANC or DA as alternatives. PAC followers would support the DA or ANC and to a lesser extent the

331 Agreement falls almost linearly with rising household (74-77-67-35) and personal income (70-74-52-27).
332 Most notably among the Ndebele (96%) and Xhosa (91%).
333 Figures in bold show the highest number of second preferences.
334 Twenty percent of those whose first preference is ANC mention the DA as second preference. This group of 271 respondents, equal to almost 13% of the total sample, has the following sociostructural characteristics: an above-average proportion of blacks, young people, inhabitants of KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng, better to very well educated, pupils, students, people with no personal income and of members of the Old Pentecostal Churches and Catholics.
IFP and UDM. More than half of UDM voters would shift to the ANC and a quarter to the PAC. Most ACDP supporters would not cast a second vote; the minority that would prefer the ANC, the DA or the IFP. Most conservative whites support the DA or the small Christian ACDP. Those that would not vote or are uncertain show the same behaviour in respect of the second vote. In addition, a third each of DA, IFP and ID supporters did not give an alternative or are undecided about which party to give their second vote to.

To summarise: Ethnicity influences voting behaviour with regard to both political leaders and party preferences.

Which country do South Africans see as a model for their own country?

In your mind which country comes closest to being an ideal country, the country which other countries should attempt to be like?

One third of respondents are obviously satisfied with their own country and therefore name South Africa as model. For one quarter the USA is an exemplary country and for one tenth each the UK and other African countries. Seven percent choose other European countries, somewhat fewer Australia; other mentions include countries in Asia and the Middle East, and three percent do not think any country is a desirable model.335

The enthusiastic patriots or those particularly rooted in their native soil are coloureds and Indians – almost half in both cases –, the 50+ age group,336 respondents on commercial farms, in rural areas, in the Northern, Western and Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, two thirds of those with no formal education, those with education up to Grade 7, farm workers and farmers, housewives, pensioners and respondents in the

335 Gender is not significant.
336 The choice of South Africa rises with age: 14-28-29-35-43.
lowest and highest personal income groups, Afrikaans-speakers, Hindus (64%) and members of the DRCs (40%); reborns are only marginally above the average (33%).

African countries appeal particularly to blacks, i.e. inhabitants of black townships, mixed urban areas, transport and telecommunications workers, those in the lowest personal income group, the Western and Southern Sotho and Swazis. Reborns are below average (6%).

The USA is chosen by blacks, respondents under 25 years, i.e. including pupils and students, residents of black townships and respondents in rural areas, in the Eastern Cape and Limpopo, with Grade 10,11 education, transport and telecommunications workers, those with no personal income, one third of the members of the New Pentecostal Churches and a third of the Protestants; reborns are only slightly above average (25%).

The UK appeals to the youngest respondents, those in shacks, in Gauteng, the best educated, transport and telecommunications workers, as well as workers, Anglicans and members of the AICs (15% each) and Catholics (14%).

Other European countries are named by coloureds, respondents in cities, in the Free State, in the three highest levels of education, professionals and academics, managers and senior administrators, Ndebele and Swazis as well as English-speakers.

Australia is the ideal country for almost a quarter of whites, for respondents in cities and metropolitan areas and in coloured townships, for those with the highest level of education, professionals and academics as well as manual workers, farm workers and farmers, the two highest personal income groups, Afrikaans- and English-speakers, Afrikaans-speakers and English-speakers, Muslims (19%) and members of the DRCs (14%).

Asian and Middle Eastern countries are attractive to an above-average proportion of Indians, and thus Hindus (12%) and Muslims (22%), respondents in mixed urban areas, and hostels, those with the second lowest level of education, managers and senior administrators, artisans, respondents in the highest personal income group, Ndebele and English-speakers.

It is clear that respondents perceive as ideal the countries about which they know a lot or have numerous contacts. Thus, blacks and the poor choose African countries, members of the New Pentecostal Churches the USA, where many have partner churches or pastors were trained; Anglicans find the UK attractive, whites Australia – where many South Africans have already emigrated – and Indians, thus Muslims and Hindus, Asian and Middle Eastern countries, with which they already have religious or family connections.

337 North West and Free State.
338 The choice of the USA falls with age: 36-28-26-21-15.
339 As well as Venda, Tsonga and Northern Sotho.
340 And Mpumalanga.
341 As well as Ndebele and English- and Afrikaans-speakers.
342 In North West and the Northern Cape.
343 As well as in Mpumalanga.
Opinions on the political order

The new South Africa faces tremendous problems: Almost half the population lives below the poverty line, the official unemployment rate is over 25%, the gap between rich and poor is growing, the educational system is in a sorry state, the population is plagued by a high level of and violence, and the HIV/AIDS infection rate is one of the highest in the world.

Against this background, what do respondents expect from their government? Which of these pressing problems should the government give priority to?

In the present situation what is the most important thing the government should achieve?

- Complete honesty in government: 36
- Enforcement of the law: 24
- Effective economic development: 18
- The right proportions of races in all positions: 12
- Efficiency of administration: 11

A good third think that corruption in government circles in the country's most serious problem, just under a quarter feel that law enforcement is too lax, almost a fifth would give priority to effective economic development, and a good tenth each the imposition of quotas in all positions and efficiency in the public sector. Which problem is on whose mind?

Honesty in government is the demand primarily of the non-black minorities, in particular more than half the coloureds, four in ten Indians and whites, the oldest age groups, respondents in the Western and Eastern Cape, those with no formal schooling, housewives, pensioners, professionals and academics, Ndebele, Afrikaans-speakers, English-speakers and Northern Sotho. Almost half the Muslims and four in ten members of the New Pentecostal Churches and reborns (40%) want honest government.

As a group, these are generally the better-off minorities, but also the poor and uneducated.

Law enforcement is demanded primarily by whites (more than a third), respondents in metropolitan areas and on commercial farms, in the Free State, Limpopo and the Western Cape, those in the highest educational group, managers and senior administrators, respondents in the highest household income group and the two highest personal income groups, Tsonga, Afrikaans- and English-speakers, Afrikaans-speakers, one third of the members of the DRCs and almost three in ten Anglicans. The proportion of reborns (21%) is slightly below average.

The demand to enforce the law properly tends to be a concern of whites, in particular Afrikaans-speakers, and the better-off.

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344 Gender, urban-rural divide and occupational level are not significant.
345 As well as in North West, Mpumalanga and Limpopo.
Effective economic development is the prime concern of the 18-24 age group, respondents in mixed urban areas and shacks, in the Eastern Cape, the Western Sotho, Xhosa and Ndebele, members of the religious movements (29%) and Baptists (24%).

Racial quotas are a priority for one fifth of the Indian minority, i.e. Hindus (29%) and Muslims (22%), respondents in KwaZulu-Natal, and respondents in hostels and with no household income.

This appears to be the prime concern only for Indians and a small group of poor in hostels and with no household income.

Those who want the government to focus on improving efficiency of administration are primarily respondents in black townships, in shacks, in Gauteng and the Free State, transport and telecommunications workers, manual workers, farm workers and farmers – and very few in the highest household income group–, Swazis, Southern Sotho and Zulus, and members of the AICs and Old Pentecostal Churches (13% each), in other words, the groups that bear the brunt of poor service delivery.

**Democratic attitudes**

Other measures of democratic attitudes include the approval or rejection of the independence of the courts, the separation of powers, controls on power, the freedom of expression and religion and a multiparty system. To examine these, respondents were asked the following questions:

*Here is a list of statements which describes different ways in which a society can be governed. For each pair of statements, which one could you agree with?*

The responses are in order of descending support for the democratic option:

* A president whose power is balanced by the parliament
  * Or
  * A president who can act without interference by members of parliament

* A government which makes laws to make sure that people live according to the rules of religion
  * Or
  * A government which believes that there should be no enforcement in matters of religion and which leaves religion to the believers’ conscience

* Control of newspapers by government in order to prevent disunity
  * Or
  * Newspapers free to criticise government and enjoy freedom of expression

* One political party only, with a single plan for the country's future
  * Or
  * More than one party, each with its own plan for the country's future

* Judges who are influenced by the wishes of government
  * Or
  * Judges who apply the law without considering government’s wishes

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346 As well as in North West and Mpumalanga.
At first sight it is striking that agreement with all democratic statements is considerably lower than in some countries with undemocratic government, e.g. Chad.

Almost seven in ten respondents favour parliamentary control of the president, 65% no government interference in matters of religion, 63% support freedom of the press, 61% think a multiparty system is desirable, and a good half want an independent judiciary.

Control of the president is demanded to an above-average extent by whites, respondents in rural rather than urban areas, those in the highest and lowest household and personal income groups, those in the best jobs, Western and Northern Sotho, Swazis, seven in ten Anglicans and other Protestants, whereas Hindus at 34% are least interested. Six in ten Indians choose the non-democratic option, namely that the president should be able to act without parliamentary interference. Supporters of this option are urban, from the Western Cape and Free State, among them many Southern Sotho.

Nine in ten Indians, well above the average, are opposed to government interference in religious matters, as are a disproportionate number of coloureds and whites, respondents in metropolitan areas, hostels, KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo, in the highest household and two highest personal income groups, English-speakers (83%), Afrikaans- and English-speakers, Afrikaans-speakers, Zulus, more than eight in ten Muslims and Hindus as well as seven in ten Baptists and members of the New Pentecostal Churches.

Those in favour of greater government interference tend to be black, respondents in mixed urban areas, in black townships and shacks, in the Eastern Cape, those with no or low household income, Western Sotho, Xhosa and Southern Sotho, four in ten each of the members of the AICs, religious movements and reborns (39%).

Indians (86%), whites (84%) and coloureds (79%) support freedom of the press and, consequently, freedom to criticise the government, as do the 50+ age group, respondents in metropolitan and urban areas, in the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, the two highest educational groups, housewives, the two upper occupational groups, and, thus, on the whole white-collar workers, respondents in the highest household and personal income groups and Afrikaans-speakers, English-speakers, Afrikaans- and English-speakers.

Analogous to the population groups, those that demand their civil rights are Hindus (86%), Muslims (85%), members of the DRCs (79%) and Baptists (70%). By denomination, support for government control of the press is above average among members of the AICs, the Protestant Church and four in ten Old Pentecostals. As above, they include an above-average number of blacks, people in rural areas and those with no or up to mid-level formal education (up to Grade 11), artisans, and manual workers: in short, semi- and unskilled workers, respondents with no income or in the lowest household and personal income groups, and many Xhosa.

347 Gender, age, marital status, educational and occupational level, occupation, and reborn are of minor or no significance.
348 In North West and the Northern Cape.
349 Gender, marital status, age, urban-rural divide, educational and occupational level and occupation are of minor or no significance.
350 As well as in North West and the Northern Cape.
351 As well as Swazis and Ndebele.
352 Gender and urban-rural divide are of minor or no significance.
353 Fifty percent of the respondents in the Xhosa ethnic group favour government control.
A multiparty system is held to be the best option by Indians (82%) and whites, by respondents in the metropolitan areas, in Limpopo and Mpumalanga, in the two highest educational groups, the two highest occupational groups, the two highest personal income groups, by English-speakers (78%), Hindus (87%) and Muslims (82%). By contrast, a one-party system drew the support of in particular the black majority, city-dwellers and people in informal shacks, once again people with little or no formal education, no income or in the lowest income groups. Here, too, support is above average among the Xhosa and the Western Sotho. Apart from members of the AICs, support for a one-party state is slightly above average among members of Protestant Churches and Catholics.

An independent judiciary draws above-average support from Indians (85%) and whites (77%), the youngest and oldest age group, respondents in metropolitan areas and cities, on commercial farms, in KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga, the two highest educational groups, managers and senior administrators, housewives, clerical and sales staff, i.e. white-collar workers, the highest household income group, the two highest personal income groups, eight in ten English-speakers and seven in ten Afrikaans-speakers and Swazis, more than 80% of Muslims and Hindus and almost seven in ten members of the DRCs. At 54%, the members of Old Pentecostal Churches are exactly average; reborns (49%) tend to favour government-influenced judges. As in the responses to the questions on press freedom and a one- or multiparty system, supporters of the undemocratic option are disproportionately black, people with no or little formal education and little or no income. Xhosa and, once again, members of the Protestant Churches and the Old Pentecostal Churches opt for judges who can be influenced by the government.

In almost all questions black support for the undemocratic option is above average, as is that among respondents with little education and the poor. Members of AICs, the Protestant Churches and Old Pentecostal Churches are less democratic than others. The better-off, better educated and better paid as well as the small ethnic groups, i.e. Muslims and Hindus, and members of the DRCs choose the democratic option.

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354 Gender, age, urban-rural divide, occupational level, household income and reborn are of minor or no significance.
355 As well as Swazis, Ndebele, Venda and Tsonga.
356 Gender and urban-rural divide are not significant.
Attitudes on political systems and administration

Which political system do respondents think is the best option for South Africa?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acceptable</th>
<th>Best solution for South Africa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All people vote for any party they like, and the winning party (parties) rules (rule) with other parties in the opposition</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A joint government with a quota for all major groups</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The country is divided up and groups form their own states</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The most numerous group rules, and the others groups accept what is decided</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A single party open to everyone rules without opposition</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Somewhat fewer than nine in ten respondents opt for majority rule, 357 seven in ten for a government of national unity, 358 roughly four in ten each for partition 359 on a group basis, for the dominance of the largest group, 360 and for a one-party state, 361 and one third of the respondents for the domination of one group and the departure of critics. 362 A comparison with the 2002 survey shows that the ranking of choices has remained steady. However, support for the national unity option has declined by 10%. On the other hand, support for partition and for rule by the largest group has risen considerably.

Asked which possibility was the best solution for South Africa, the results produced the same ranking, with minor shifts in support for the last four options. As they also showed that many of the specifically South African variables were not significant with regard to the general question, the following analysis deals only with the best solution for South Africa. 363

In the course of its history South Africa has experienced all these political options. Apartheid was the dominance of one group over all others, until it was replaced first by a government of national unity and then by majority rule.

Majority rule is the option chosen by an above-average proportion of Indians (63%), coloureds (50%), whites (49%), the oldest and youngest respondents, respondents in hostels, in metropolitan areas, cities, in the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, the two

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357 Race, gender, urban-rural divide, educational and occupational level, personal income, denomination and reborn are of minor or no significance.
358 Gender, educational and occupational level, household and personal income, denomination and reborn are of minor or no significance.
359 Gender, age, educational and occupational level, occupation, personal income and reborn are of minor or no significance.
360 Gender, marital status, age and reborn are not significant.
361 Gender, age, urban-rural divide, educational level and reborn are not significant.
362 Gender, marital status, urban-rural divide and reborn are of minor or no significance.
363 Urban-rural divide and reborn are not significant.
highest educational groups, housewives, the three highest occupational groups, i.e. white-collar workers, respondents in the highest household and personal income groups, English-speakers, Ndebele, Xhosa, Afrikaans-speakers, eight in ten Hindus and a good half of the Muslims.

A government of national unity with quotas for all large groups is preferred by coloureds, a slightly above-average number of Indians, respondents in hostels, transport and telecommunications workers, artisans and skilled workers, Southern Sotho, Afrikaans- and English-speakers, Swazis, Northern Sotho, English-speakers and 27% each of Anglicans and Catholics and one third of the members of the New Pentecostal Churches.

By contrast, the most radical solution, partition of the country, is seen as desirable by whites (12%), men, respondents in the 25-34 age group, on commercial farms, in black townships and in KwaZulu-Natal, in particular among respondents with no formal education, farm workers and farmers (27%), manual workers, the top occupational groups, semi- and unskilled workers, respondents with no household income and the mid-level household and personal income groups, Northern Sotho and Afrikaans-speakers (13%).

Domination by the largest group is a plausible solution for the majority of the population, the blacks (10%), for respondents in shacks, those with no formal education and Grade 6,7, transport and telecommunications workers (15%), unemployed persons and those with no income, Southern, Northern and Western Sotho, and Protestants (12%), but for only 4% of the members of the New Pentecostal Churches, 3% of Muslims and not a single Hindu. It is striking that none of the major language groups, such as the Zulus or Xhosa favour this option.

A single party without opposition is the choice of a slightly above-average number of blacks (9%), the 18-24 age group, respondents in mixed urban areas (18%), in shacks, black townships, in Mpumalanga, the lowest and middle educational groups, artisans, farm workers and farmers, professionals and academics, skilled workers, the top professional groups, respondents with no household income, but also among the highest personal income group, Western Sotho and members of religious movements (15%).

Domination by one group and the emigration of dissidents tends to be an option for blacks, men, the 18-24 age group, respondents in shacks (15%), in mixed urban areas (14%), in the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, respondents in the two lowest educational groups, transport and telecommunications workers, unemployed persons, manual workers, service sector workers, semi- and unskilled workers, respondents with neither household nor personal income and those in the respective lowest income groups, Xhosa, Northern Sotho, Protestants, members of the Old Pentecostal Churches and Baptists (11% each), but only 4% of the members of the New Pentecostal Churches.

364 In the Free State and the Northern Cape.
365 As well as in Limpopo and Mpumalanga.
366 As well as Tsonga, Ndebele, Afrikaans- and English-speakers (12%).
367 In North West.
368 As well as Tsonga.
369 In North West (22%).
370 As well as Ndebele and Swazi.

180
As with the results of the previous set of questions on democratic attitudes, a similar group of people can be identified as supporters of democratic forms of government: the white, Indian and coloured minorities, the better-educated and better-off, Hindus, Muslims, Anglicans, Catholics and members of the New Pentecostal Churches opt either for a system of majority rule or a government of national unity.

Other questions on the political system looked at the degree to which support for democratic options was influenced by personal interests.

_Municipalities elected and controlled by the people of the respective district, town or village_ 58

Or

_Elected councils but with municipal administration by civil servants appointed by the central government_ 42

Whites (64%) wanted greater local autonomy, as did respondents both with no formal education and in the lowest and highest educational groups, the highest household income group, Western and Northern Sotho, Afrikaans-speakers, two thirds of the members of the DRCs and reborns (62%). Support for this opinion is well below average among Hindus (26%) and below average among Anglicans (47%) and Catholics (52%).

_A government which promotes one state language only_ 19

Or

_A government which gives everybody the full right to use his/her own language in public, in offices, courts and parliament_ 81

The demand for multilingualism on the part of the government is the preference of coloureds (87%), Indians (85%), whites (85%), respondents in all residential areas except for those in shacks and black townships, in North West, the Western and Eastern Cape, among all Ndebele, among Afrikaans-speakers (88%), Xhosa, Western Sotho, Swazis, Afrikaans- and English-speakers – with least support among Southern Sotho (58%) –, nine in ten Muslims and almost as many members of the DRCs, Hindus and members of the New Pentecostal Churches.

_Shops and factories owned by private business people who will work hard to make the business grow_ 66

Or

_Shops and factories owned by a government elected by the people_ 34

Private property is favoured by an above-average proportion of whites (83%), Indians (77%), respondents in metropolitan areas, in coloured townships, in cities, by those in the highest education group, and, hence, the highest occupational groups, skilled workers, the two highest household and personal income groups, English-speak-

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371 Gender, socio-economic divide, urban-rural divide, occupational level, occupation and personal income are of minor or no significance.
372 As well as Swazis, Tsonga and Ndebele.
373 Gender, marital status, age, educational and occupational level, occupation, household and personal income and reborn are of minor or no significance.
374 Gender, marital status, age, urban-rural divide, occupation and reborn are not significant.
375 Coloureds as a group are only slightly below average.
376 In Limpopo and Mpumalanga.
ers, Afrikaans-speakers, three quarters of the members of the DRCs and Hindus.

A government which tries to make all people as equal as possible in wages, housing and education, even if incomes are heavily taxed

Or

A government which allows people who are clever and work hard to become wealthier than others, even if some remain permanently poor

Two thirds of respondents voted for greater socioeconomic equality. There is above-average support for this option among blacks (72%), but only 44% among whites – respondents in black townships, in mixed urban areas, in rural areas in the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal – but only 36% in Limpopo –, unemployed persons, manual workers, transport and telecommunications workers, those in the lowest personal income group, Western Sotho, Ndebele, Zulu, Xhosa, Southern Sotho, eight in ten Protestants and Muslims, almost as many members of the New Pentecostal Churches and three quarters of Catholics.

Forms of resistance and protest

It is acceptable to break the law if it is in the interest of my family.

As many as a good third of respondents find it acceptable to break the law in the interest of their family. Obviously there is a fundamentalist minority that is generally not prepared to obey existing law, namely whites (43%), men, respondents on commercial farms, in the Free State, in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal, respondents with no household income (51%), Southern Sotho, Zulu, Afrikaans-speakers, Afrikaans- and English-speakers, Baptists (54%), members of the DRCs (45%) and the Old Pentecostal Churches (41%) and reborns (41%). By contrast, Indians (17%) and 15% of Hindus and 22% of Muslims are of a different opinion.

How do people express their criticism of the government and political opponents?

Think of a situation in which many people are dissatisfied with the government and want to change it. Which of the following do you consider appropriate or not appropriate?

The answers in descending order of frequency are as follows:

- Peaceful meetings, demonstrations and protest marches 84
- Waiting for the next elections 66
- Strikes and boycotts 30

377 As well as Swazis, Afrikaans- and English-speakers and Tsonga.
378 Gender, marital status, age, educational and occupational level, occupation, household income and reborn are of minor or no significance.
379 As well as in North West and the Northern Cape.
380 Marital status, age, urban-rural divide, educational and occupational level and occupation are not significant.
More than four fifths prefer peaceful protest: an above-average number of Indians (92%), blacks (86%), respondents in mixed urban areas, almost everybody in North West, respondents in KwaZulu-Natal, white-collar as well as unskilled workers, Western, Northern and Southern Sotho, Muslims (94%), Hindus (93%), Catholics (89%) and Anglicans (88%). Members of the DRCs (74%) and the New Pentecostal Churches (78%) are less strongly convinced of the appropriateness of exclusively peaceful means.

Two thirds of respondents prefer to wait for the next elections, in particular Indians (82%), respondents in hostels, in KwaZulu-Natal, with no household income, English-speakers, Western Sotho, Zulus, Hindus (84%), members of religious movements (73%) and Catholics (72%), but only 59% of the members of the DRCs. Reborns at 62% are below average.

Three in ten respondents opt for strikes and boycotts: disproportionately blacks, respondents in rural areas, in hostels (33%), in Limpopo, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, respondents with little or no formal education, manual workers, farm workers and farmers, unemployed persons – and only 11% of housewives. In short: The higher their professional position, the less willing respondents are to strike; more willing are those with no household and personal income, Xhosa, Northern Sotho, Tsonga, Protestants (37%). Members of the DRCs at 15% are least supportive of strikes.

We can summarise the above as follows: Whites and members of the DRCs favour greater local autonomy, which would give them more clout in some areas. Minority groups, i.e. not part of the black majority, in which language and ethnicity are closely linked demand multilingualism: Coloureds, Indians and whites, and, thus, Muslims, Hindus and members of the DRCs and the New Pentecostal Churches. Groups who already own something, namely Indians and whites, and, thus, members of the DRCs and Hindus, favour private property rather than state property. The same is true of the rejection of a policy of general equality. The only points on which these groups' interests are not so congruent are the questions of breaking the law in the interest of one's family and criticism of the government. Whites and members of the DRCs would be more ready to break the law and less willing to use only peaceful means to express dissatisfaction with the government than Indians, and, thus, Muslims and Hindus, would be in both cases. Blacks are most likely to opt for strikes and boycotts.

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381 Gender, marital status, urban-rural divide, educational level, occupation, household and personal income and reborn are of minor or no significance.
382 Gender, marital status, age, urban-rural divide, educational and occupational level, occupation and personal income are not significant.
383 And in North West and Mpumalanga.
384 As well as Swazis and Ndebele.
385 Age and reborn are not significant.
386 Agreement falls with rising household (34-34-27-15) and personal (32-33-21-19) income.
387 Ndebele, Venda, Afrikaans- and English-speakers – but only one in six Afrikaans-speakers.
**Special sample: Grace Bible Church.**
**Comparison between members of a New Pentecostal/Charismatic Church and other Christians in Gauteng**

In 2007 the Arnold Bergstraesser Institute in Freiburg commissioned a representative attitude survey\(^{389}\) of South African opinions on politics, society and religious issues. The South African survey is part of a much larger project on Charismatic Churches with special emphasis on Pentecostal/Charismatic churches, especially the mega churches which have mushroomed throughout the world in countries including South Africa since the end of apartheid. To better understand the phenomenal growth of these denominations in South Africa, we included a special survey of a typical charismatic-type mega church in our study.\(^{390}\)

In this paper we will compare results from a sub-sample of the representative South African survey, namely black respondents in Gauteng, with the survey conducted in a Charismatic/Pentecostal church in Soweto, Grace Bible Church. For both samples we have about 400 interviewees, a sufficient number that allows us to draw statistically relevant conclusions. All interviewed members of the mega church are black. In order to exclude a statistically relevant factor such as race, we took as our comparison group the black respondents in the same region of Gauteng province. Gauteng represents South Africa’s industrial and commercial hub. It is the richest of the nine South African provinces attracting the greatest number of immigrants who aspire to share in its opportunities, according to the latest Statistics South Africa Community Survey.

This paper will not discuss the theological differences of Pentecostal or Charismatic churches but take a closer look at members of a particular church – one that calls itself charismatic and exhibits all the specific characteristics of the new Pentecostal churches (such as emphasis on the Holy Spirit, speaking in tongues, faith healing) – and compare them with other people in the same region.

Reading the data one has to bear in mind that as is the case with most Pentecostal churches, women are slightly over-represented in the Grace Bible Church. Its members also tend to have slightly higher levels of education and income than the comparative Gauteng sample. Select characteristics of the two surveyed groups are given in the appendix.

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389 The survey was conducted by MarkData. The authors are indebted to Prof. Theodor Hanf and Prof. Lawrence Schlemmer who developed the questionnaire. Lawrence Schlemmer also translated the items and allowed us to replicate items from his earlier research. Special thanks go to Petra Bauerle at the Arnold Bergstraesser Institute for data processing and statistical advice.

390 We are especially grateful to the leadership of Grace Bible Church for their support and encouragement to conduct the survey in their congregation and to the members of the congregation for their readiness to answer our questions.
Grace Bible Church

Grace Bible Church in Soweto was founded in 1983, that is some 25 years ago. It is a relatively young church which currently has about 11 000 members.391

Its rapid development from a small group of worshipers to its present numbers may be typical of many Charismatic/Pentecostal-type churches in urban centres. However, it initially had to overcome many obstacles to growth, in particular during the turbulent years of the apartheid era. A pastor of Grace Bible Church392 interviewed in 2006, recalled that the church started with about 35 members in September 1983. Members met in a school hall after they were evicted from the community hall where they had first met. Later they rented a church that could seat about 300. The church was free on Sundays because its regular congregation met on Saturdays. When the church building became too small for them, the congregation moved to a school which was burnt down in 1985 (at the height of apartheid). “Only the roof was still there but no walls.” The following year, in 1986, the congregation moved to a former exhibition hall that was also without walls – it had space for 900. When the church again ran out of space, its congregation moved to a structure that could accommodate 3000. In October 2001 the church moved into its own building in Soweto.

Our survey sought to identify what attracts people to a Charismatic/Pentecostal church such as Grace Bible Church in the post-apartheid era that allows for “more opportunity to express faith without oppression and without somebody telling the churches what they have to preach”.393

According to our survey, approximately a quarter of church members are under 25 years, and the average age is some 35 years. Unlike the church elder who recalled how Grace Bible Church grew in spite of many setbacks, a quarter of its contemporary congregation was not yet born at that time. This means that half will have been thirteen years or younger in 1985 when Grace Bible Church found itself in a building burnt down at the height of apartheid.

Itineraries: Paths leading to Grace Bible Church

How did respondents in our survey come to be members of the Grace Bible Church? According to our survey results only 4% were born into their church. In all, 96% belonged to other churches before gravitating to Grace Bible Church. Looking at respondents who actually changed their denomination, the percentage is slightly higher.

What was their religious home before joining Grace Bible Church?

Almost a fifth of the respondents grew up in a Methodist church, approximately a sixth in either an Old Pentecostal or the Catholic Church, and a good tenth in the Anglican or an African Independent Church. When we look at the previous church membership of the respondents before they joined Grace Bible Church, the picture is

391 Information on Grace Bible Church is from interviews conducted with pastors in 2006 and from the church’s homepage (http://www.gbsoweto.org.za/AboutUs/GBCHistory/tabid/64/Default.aspx).
392 The pastor, interviewed in February 2006, had joined Grace Bible Church as a student. He had witnessed its growth since inception.
393 Interview with the same pastor, February 2006.
similar: The transition from the Old Pentecostal and the African Independent Churches and from the three mainline churches (Methodist, Catholic and Anglican) to a new Pentecostal/Charismatic church seems to be an easy one. One can assume that the spirituality of these churches is more compatible with the new Pentecostal churches than with others. In contrast, the transition from other Protestant churches, such as the Dutch Reformed or the Lutheran Churches, is less frequent. Also astonishing is the fact that only 6% of our respondents came from a new Pentecostal-type church – which refutes the common notion that members of the new Pentecostal churches are prone to “church shopping”.

Worth noting is that a sizeable proportion of respondents (10%) grew up in or were former members of an African Independent Church (12%) before joining the Grace Bible Church congregation in Soweto. The African Independent Churches are known to have played an important role in assisting rural migrants to assimilate to urban life and to cope with its economic hardships during the 1990s. It is possible that the newer Pentecostal-type churches may similarly be well placed in the democratic era to cater for the new needs and aspirations of an emergent black middle class. This is a point we shall return to later.

Grace Bible Church:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In which denomination did you grow up?</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mainline Christian churches:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Reformed Churches</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pentecostal-type churches:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Pentecostal</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Independent/Initiated Churches</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Pentecostal</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grace Bible Church</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other charismatic</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentages in this and the following tables are rounded.

---

394 Asked about their previous denominations the other respondents in Gauteng gave the following responses: African Independent/Initiated Churches (8%), Methodist (5%), Catholic (4%) and Old Pentecostal (4%).

395 A point emphasised by Lawrence Schlemmer, the author of the Centre for Development and Enterprise Report, Dormant Capital, 2008.
Mainline Christian churches:
- Methodist 18
- Catholic 14
- Anglican 12
- Lutheran 5
- Dutch Reformed Churches 4
- Presbyterian 2

Pentecostal-type churches:
- Old Pentecostal 19
- African Independent/Initiated Churches 12
- New Pentecostal 6
- Grace Bible Church 3
- Other charismatic 2

None 1
Other 4

Reasons for change of denomination

Our study asked persons who were not born into the Grace Bible Church about the reasons for changing denominations. It is obvious that the majority changed their church for spiritual reasons (‘the way my church explains the faith’). The style of worship and faith healing are attractive. Many join because their family or friends are members and they like the pastor of the church. Interestingly, convenience is not an important factor. It appears that mega churches do not operate as neighbourhood churches but provide a spiritual home for worshipers who are prepared to commute to church.

Grace Bible Church:
What attracted you to your church?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The way it explains the faith</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The way the services are conducted</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faith healing</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives/friends are members</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of the pastor</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunity to participate actively</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is in my neighbourhood</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It offers education facilities</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Respondents gave up to two answers. Percentages are based on 382 respondents not born into the church.

Since moving to Grace Bible Church respondents have seen many improvements in their lives, even though they did not change their church membership for worldly reasons. The same applies to the Gauteng respondents who also state that many aspects of their lives improved after changing church membership. However, if we compare members of the Grace Bible Church and reborn Christians in Gauteng who changed their church...
membership, we find that a higher proportion of Grace Bible Church members have benefitted from improvements to their health, social relations, self-assurance, and finances.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Since you have been reborn, which of the following have you experienced?</th>
<th>Grace Bible Church respondents %</th>
<th>Reborn Gauteng respondents %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>My health has improved</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am more relaxed and friendly with colleagues</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My family life has improved</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel more secure and more self-assured</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I get more cooperation from others</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My financial situation, my career/business have improved</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I stopped drinking</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**More religious than others**

There is further evidence of the importance of the spiritual needs which led to a change of church membership when we examine responses to questions concerning religious behaviour and beliefs.

Looking at religious practices, we find that members of the Grace Bible Church pray far more often than the average black person in Gauteng. Over seven in ten Grace Bible Church members attend religious services at least once a week and almost all try to live according to the teachings of their religion.

As members of a Pentecostal/Charismatic church almost all Grace Bible Church members have had charismatic experiences such as witnessing other people speaking in tongues and being healed by the Holy Spirit. Two thirds have spoken in tongues themselves and 85% were healed by the Holy Spirit.

| I have witnessed people of my church speaking in tongues | 97 | 53 |
| I have personally spoken in tongues | 65 | 47 |
| I have seen people with serious diseases healed by the Holy Spirit | 87 | 82 |
| I have myself been healed by the Holy Spirit | 85 | 77 |

Members of the Grace Bible Church believe in life after death. They cannot imagine living a happy life without God.

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396 Here we compare Grace Bible Church members with those persons in the Gauteng comparative sample, some 39%, who consider themselves to be reborn.
Grace Bible Church members seem to be steadfast in their faith. Some six in ten believe their religion is the only true one. At the same time, they exhibit a higher degree of religious tolerance than the average Gauteng black person when they state that there are many different ways to lead a proper religious life and people of all religious persuasions can lead an honest life.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grace Bible C. respondents %</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I believe in life after death where good people will be rewarded and bad people will be punished – agree</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I can be happy and enjoy life without believing in God – agree</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grace Bible Church members have more fundamental beliefs than others. Studies in other countries have shown that members of new Pentecostal/Charismatic churches tend to be more fundamentalist. Almost all Grace Bible Church members are convinced the Bible should be taken literally. Similarly, most believe there can be no grey areas between right and wrong.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grace Bible C. respondents %</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Bible is the actual word of God and it is to be taken literally – agree</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right is right and wrong is wrong and there are no grey areas – agree</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

397 The belief that their religion is the only true one is above average among women and respondents with the highest and lowest levels of education.
398 See Hofer 2006.
399 Here housewives (75% agreement) are less rigid.
At first glance, a further survey response seems to confirm religious fundamentalism among members of the Grace Bible Church. Almost nine in ten Grace Bible Church members think faith and religious values must determine all aspects of society and the state.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Grace Bible C. respondents</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Faith and religious values must determine all aspects of society and the state – agree</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We cannot respect the authority of a government that permits abortion, homosexuality, same-sex marriage, and has abolished the death penalty – agree</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consider, however, that this response may not be a true expression of fundamentalism but shows a real concern about the lack of moral values in contemporary South African society.

Two-thirds of Grace Bible Church respondents express no respect for a government that condones abortion, homosexuality, same-sex marriage and has abolished the death penalty – the strong measure that might keep crime in check. A good half of the Gauteng respondents are of the same opinion. In a society that is plagued by crime and corruption and many other social ills, it is important to draw a definite line between good and bad behaviour. Transgressions show a lack of respect for fellow human beings.

Since coming into power in 1994, the ruling African National Congress has promoted legislation to uphold free choice and equality for all South Africans in line with the country’s progressive Constitution. However, in the opinion of many ordinary South Africans, such laws promote licentiousness and loose morals. Combating crime was spontaneously identified as the most serious problem facing South Africa by the largest number of Grace Church Bible members (33%).

On the other hand, Grace Bible Church members are not at all conservative about other values such as women’s liberation. Only 6% are of the opinion that ‘women should stay at home’ in contrast to 30% of the Gauteng respondents. Here our Pentecostals/Charismatics are decidedly modern!

400 Pentecostal/Charismatic churches are known to have strong reservations about abortion, homosexuality and same-sex marriages, see Centre for Development and Enterprise 2008.

401 Members of the Grace Bible Church appear to be attuned to current thinking among the general public. The 2003 South African Social Attitudes survey conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council found that 75% of South Africans were in favour of the death penalty for people convicted of murder, 70% disapproved of abortion even in difficult economic circumstances, and 78% disapproved of homosexual sexual relations. See Rule 2006, p. 260.

402 The male-female ratio among Grace Bible Church respondents who are of this opinion is equal. But the over fifties, retired persons, housewives and respondents who work in transport, in the mines and as labourers are less in favour of women at work.

The weekly German magazine ‘Der Spiegel’ provides an interesting comparison: People were asked if a woman who has children should stop working. 34% of male respondents and 62% of female respondents agreed. See Der Spiegel Nr. 17/21.04.08, p. 71.
Members of the Grace Bible Church are not only more religious than their compatriots; they are also more compassionate towards the poor and needy. They are keenly aware of the social problems facing South Africa. They believe their church must lead not only in spiritual but also in worldly matters.

In the view of a pastor, the church should engage government and declare that oppression is unjust and must be condemned. The church should show the right path and not just point a finger. It should seek to rid society of oppressive trends, be a model of justice, and side with the victims of oppression. The church cannot be neutral but should be seen to stand for justice. But church leaders should not participate in party politics. That would corrupt them. Those who have a calling for politics should follow their inclination (“go for it”) but leave the church.

As a matter of principle, Grace Bible Church respondents expect their government above all to be honest. Interestingly, they consider integrity and economic development to be far greater priorities for their government than equity issues.
Grace Bible Church members consider the gap between rich and poor to be far wider than any other difference in South African society including the racial, religious and ethnic ones. At the same time they also appear to be prepared to make their individual contribution to alleviating poverty and underdevelopment in their own community.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Grace Bible C. respondents %</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Which difference do you consider to be the widest in South Africa?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rich and poor</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks and whites</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians and others</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language groups</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Almost all, some 97% of respondents of Grace Bible Church members give to their church – regularly or sometimes – compared to only 78% of other Gauteng respondents. Some of these church funds will go to charity and to the church’s education and skills training programmes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Grace Bible C. respondents %</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do you give donations to your church?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regularly</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not only do Pentecostal/Charismatic church members give, they are also convinced that charity is not enough. They believe the church should also assist the poor to help themselves. Or as the senior pastor of the Grace Bible Church put it: If people help us because we are poor, they should meet us when we are already halfway there.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Grace Bible C. respondents %</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The church should help the poor not only by charity but by helping the poor to help themselves – agree</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Social capital and outlook on life

We have demonstrated that members of a Charismatic/Pentecostal church expect their church to take the lead in addressing some of the social problems in society. In turn, do members of a Charismatic/Pentecostal church have the drive and ambition to play an active role in this endeavour?

404 Interview with senior pastor, February 2006.
South Africa currently faces a number of serious problems. In addition to crime, members of the Grace Bible Church identified unemployment and poverty as the most serious problems facing their country.

A major obstacle to the creation of the jobs that would alleviate poverty in South Africa is the shortage of suitably qualified persons to drive the economy. The skills shortage is the legacy of the past; under apartheid blacks received an inferior education. Similarly, black entrepreneurship was stifled. The new South Africa is placing its hope in the youth to overcome these problems.

The question we ask here is whether members of the new Pentecostal/Charismatic churches perceive the new opportunities in their environment and are keen to grasp them.

In short: Can we detect any differences in the outlook on life between the members of the Grace Bible Church and their regional compatriots?

The differences are quite striking: Respondents from the Grace Bible Church feel less powerless, are less afraid of the future, and are far more willing to accept change than the other Gauteng respondents. The teachings of the senior pastor of Grace Bible Church seem to have fallen on fertile ground. He explained the mission of his church in an interview in February 2006 along the following lines: “If people are filled with the spirit in a charismatic manner, we could have left it at that. But we also want them to gain more self-confidence to change their lives.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grace Bible C. respondents</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There is very little a person like me can do to improve the life of people in my country – agree.</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel uncertain and fearful about my future – agree.</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you try to change things you usually make them worse – agree.</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other hand Grace Bible Church respondents tend to be somewhat cautious when it comes to taking risks and do not show a high level of trust in their social environment. They tend to feel closest to their co-religionists, their brothers and sisters in the church.

405 At the time of the survey in March 2007, crime was a major topic in the media. Many South Africans perceive a link between the country’s high crime rates and its unemployment problem. In March 2007 the official unemployment rate was 25.5% according to the strict definition and 38.3% if discouraged workseekers were included.

406 Interview with senior pastor, February 2006.

407 Among those who feel powerless are the less educated, the over fifties, and more women than men.

408 Those expressing above-average fear of the future include the less educated and unemployed respondents.
One should be sure that something really works before taking a chance on it – agree

One must be very cautious with people; you cannot trust the people who live and work around you – agree.

I feel very close to people of my own religion, whatever their education, wealth or political views – agree.

What do members of Grace Bible Church see as the most important ingredients of success? What ambitions do they hold for their future social status?

In your opinion, which one of the following things is the most important for achieving success in life?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Grace Bible C. respondents</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working hard for yourself</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working with others ... as a group</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious belief</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Education and hard work are important factors for success in both surveyed groups. However, twice as many Grace Bible Church members stress the importance of education. Interestingly, religious belief plays a minor role.

Members of the Grace Bible Church believe South Africans should be appointed on the basis of merit. They do not endorse affirmative action.

How should jobs be filled? According to the rules of affirmative action or by people who are best qualified?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Grace Bible C. respondents</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In private business: By people best qualified</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In government: By people best qualified</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

409 Among the Grace Bible Church members, the older respondents (35-49 years and over fifties) tend to believe more in hard work, while younger respondents up to 34 years set more store by a good education.
There is evidence of energy, drive and ambition among Grace Bible Church members in response to a number of survey items. Consider that respondents in the Grace Bible Church are currently less satisfied with their income\footnote{Unemployed persons and persons working in the service sector are least satisfied with their income.} than members of the comparative group. However, Grace Bible Church members are also more confident that they will eventually get the education and job to which they feel they are entitled.\footnote{The oldest and least educated respondents are least confident.} They continue to be optimistic when they think of the future of their children. In short, our Pentecostals/Charismatics are quite confident that they and their children stand a good chance of achieving their goals in life.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Grace Bible C. respondents</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Of course, people always like to earn more, but I consider my income to be reasonable – agree</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whatever my personal efforts, I will not get the education and jobs I am entitled to – agree</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young men and women of a family like mine have a reasonably good chance of reaching their goals in life – agree</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Grace Bible C. respondents</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I am afraid that our children might not enjoy as high a standard of living as we have – agree</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the new South Africa, there is a need for investment and small business formation to drive an economy that will create more jobs and secure livelihoods. If they had a windfall by winning the lottery, Grace Bible Church members state they would be somewhat more inclined than others to start a business or invest rather than spend the money. Owing to their better-off social status, they may have less need of using lottery money for their immediate needs.\footnote{It is mainly the under 35 years, the better educated, students, and persons with a good job who would invest their lottery money. The over fifties and the less educated would improve their housing.}
Imagine that you are lucky and win a lot of money in the lottery. On which of the following would you spend it?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Grace Bible C. respondents %</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Starting a business</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investing in a bank with good profit</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other: Spend the money on family or home improvements</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Status consciousness**

Members of the Grace Bible Church declare themselves members of the privileged class. Their life circumstances have improved dramatically over the past ten years. Here we find a stark contrast between the Grace Bible Church and the comparative Gauteng group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class self assessment</th>
<th>Grace Bible C. respondents %</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper middle</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower middle</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In most social surveys, when asked about their social class, people tend to place themselves into the lower and lower middle classes. Not so the members of the Grace Bible Church. They clearly see themselves as middle class in contrast to the comparative group of Gauteng respondents and South Africans in general. This self-assessment may in itself inspire both confidence in the future and a sense of entitlement in the new South Africa.

In short, members of the Grace Bible Church are self-confident people who feel their lives have improved over the last ten years. They also have the drive and ambitions that are conducive to improving their lot in life. Some of this energy seems to spill over into charitable works, community upliftment, and entrepreneurship.
Political orientations

In a country such as South Africa that has seen such dramatic political change over the past 18 years, it would be interesting to know if followers of one of the nation’s youngest churches have different political attitudes than others.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grace Bible C. respondents</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Even if political leaders act in a way I do not understand or agree with I would still support them in an election – agree</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only 16% of respondents of Grace Bible Church show unconditional support for political leaders\(^414\) compared to 38% in our comparison group. More than three-quarters are willing to wait for the next election to effect a change of government (compared to two-thirds of the other group).

On the other hand, Grace Bible church members show greater respect for legitimate authorities (88% versus 74%). This is not a contradiction. Respect for the authority of persons occupying an office in government is a different matter from support for aspiring politicians in an election.

Do Grace Bible Church members accept other fundamental pillars of democracy such as free and fair elections, freedom of speech, separation of powers, and a free press etc?

Interestingly enough, here we find no significant differences between the two groups concerning the following items: Six out of ten are in favour of a multi-party system, four in five opt for independent courts of law, and six out of ten for a free press. Some 13 years since the first open elections, it seems that most South Africans are well versed in what constitutes the most important pillars of democracy.

However, there are significant differences in the following instances: Members of Grace Bible Church are considerably more in favour of a president who is accountable to parliament (88% versus 62%). Here we again find less unconditional support for a leader. Grace Bible Church respondents are also more in favour of decentralisation of authority (66% versus 44%).

When asked to assess a range of different political solutions, we find that ‘majority rule’ is considered by both groups to be the best solution for South Africa. However, respondents in the Grace Bible Church agree with 96%, the comparative Gauteng group with only 84%. A power-sharing solution of ‘joint government’ is considered the second-best option by both groups but here the other Gauteng respondents are slightly more in favour (72% versus 64%). Members of Grace Bible Church are least likely to accept ‘partition’ of the country (16%); which is acceptable to a quarter of the other group.

When asked their views about the single best political solution for South Africa we get the following result:

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414 Only 7% of men but 18% of women.
Although both surveyed groups show similar tendencies, Grace Bible Church members are more in favour of ‘majority rule’ and least in favour of ‘partition’.

Given the strong views on morality in Pentecostal/Charismatic churches, one would expect Grace Bible Church members to condemn violence and disrespect for the rule of law in a democracy. Such sentiments were put to the test in our survey in the following items:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Grace Bible C. respondents</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Majority rule</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint (power-sharing) government</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single party without opposition</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The numerically strongest group rules</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One group rules</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partition</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While almost three-quarters of Grace Bible Church respondents think that violence is never justified, two-thirds of the other respondents are of the same opinion. Only 6% of Grace Bible Church members find it acceptable to break the law in the interest of their own family while 43% in the other group do. In the Grace Bible Church we seem to have a peace-loving and law-abiding community which is also determined to keep the peace: 98% of its members favour the search for compromise in conflicts in South Africa compared to 84% among the Gauteng respondents.

**Outlook on the future**

The new South African government has sought to provide a ‘better life for all’ by raising the material living standards. As we have seen, while catering for the spiritual needs of the emergent black middle class and those who aspire to join this group, Grace Bible Church has also awakened social responsibility and the courage to address the economic and moral challenges facing society.

Earlier studies found that the majority of black South Africans were dissatisfied with their lives although they were optimistic that things must get better in future. In contrast, the minority of economically better-off South Africans expressed satisfaction but
projected pessimism and anxiety about what the future might hold. This unique con-
stellation of being ‘satisfied at present’ combined with ‘optimism for the future’ was
classic of the emergent black middle class. Like the Grace Bible Church respond-
ents in our survey, this black middle class in the earlier survey reported that their lives
had improved in the past ten years. It is likely that this sense of success fuels their
confidence in the future.415
Members of Grace Bible Church exhibit precisely this unique combination of current
and future life satisfaction along with a sense of accomplishment that is characteristic of
South Africa’s new black middle class.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Grace Bible C. respondents %</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Better off today than ten years ago</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Taking all things together, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Grace Bible C. respondents %</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very satisfied or satisfied – <em>now</em></td>
<td>65</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfied or very dissatisfied – <em>now</em></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*How do you think you will feel in ten years’ time?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Grace Bible C. respondents %</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very satisfied or satisfied – <em>future</em></td>
<td>92</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfied or very dissatisfied – <em>future</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This positivism on the part of the Pentecostal/Charismatic church along with its energy
and exuberance may well constitute an important driving force that propels South
Africa’s young democracy to achieve its goal of becoming a model society.

**Conclusion**

The new South Africa likes to present itself as a multi-racial, non-racist country. Look-
ing at the following items, members of the Grace Bible Church appear to have interna-
lised these principles and made them their own. Survey results show that they accept
the ethnic plurality of their country to a much greater degree than their compatriots.

They believe cultural diversity is an asset rather than a liability. Friendships can
bridge cultural divides. They strongly support language rights and mutual respect for
their compatriots.

Grace Bible Church respondents are better equipped to cope in a competitive society as they are, as we have seen, far more self-confident than other Gauteng respondents, and positive and optimistic. They do not approve of reliance on affirmative action to achieve one’s goals. For them the colour of one’s skin is not an issue; a good friend is a good friend regardless. Importantly, they stick to their moral principles.

Finally, our Grace Bible Church members are the strongest supporters of the concept of the ‘rainbow-nation’, which helped their country, especially during the first years of the new South Africa, to overcome the shadows of the past.

This is the survey question we asked for the first time in May 1994, one month after the first free elections:416

Over the last years a lot has been said by religious and political leaders about the rainbow, symbol of peace, and about a new covenant with God as a sign for the future of South Africa. People differ in what they think about this. Which of the following opinions is closest to yours?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Grace Bible C. respondents</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For me, it has no meaning at all</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For me, the covenant is a religious matter only and should not be used in politics</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that God has offered to all South Africans, black and white, a new covenant for a peaceful life in a common nation</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Over eight in ten members of Grace Bible Church believe in the rainbow symbol. And they are far more worldly and interested in politics than one might expect: Not even

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three out of ten are convinced that you should keep out of politics to find peace and have a clear conscience. It seems that our Pentecostals/Charismatics are ready to play their part in taking responsibility for a new South Africa.

Appendix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Grace Bible Church respondents</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 24 years</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 – 34 years</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 – 49 years</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50+</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender of respondent</th>
<th>Grace Bible Church respondents</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest level of education</th>
<th>Grace Bible Church respondents</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to Grade 11</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 12</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 12+</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational level</th>
<th>Grace Bible Church respondents</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher professionals, executive</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle, semi, lower professionals</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical, sales</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled manual</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi- , unskilled</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically inactive</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Read newspaper</th>
<th>Grace Bible Church respondents</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Watch TV-programmes</th>
<th>Grace Bible Church respondents</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current affairs and information</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Have access to personal computer</th>
<th>Grace Bible Church respondents</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Have a personal cell phone</th>
<th>Grace Bible Church respondents</th>
<th>Gauteng respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

417 Here it is the women who state a preference to stay out of politics (33% of women versus 19% of men, 29% total).
Comparison between the representative sample and the sub-sample of charismatics and members of Grace Bible Church

Instead of a summary, the following analysis may better serve to highlight the pattern of charismatic tendencies. The first step is to compare the results of the representative survey with the separate survey of members of Grace Bible Church in Soweto\textsuperscript{418} that was conducted at the same time. Grace Bible Church is a church that explicitly calls itself charismatic. The same questions were asked in both surveys. There are substantial differences between the members of Grace Bible Church and respondents in the representative sample who describe themselves as reborn. To determine whether certain charismatic tendencies were stronger, we define a new group of “convinced” charismatics on the basis of the questions used in the representative survey to characterise charismatics.\textsuperscript{419} The principal sociostructural characteristics of this group\textsuperscript{420} are as follows:

Blacks, as well as women, the 35-49 age group, respondents in rural areas, living in informal shacks and the provinces of Limpopo and Mpumalanga are overrepresented in this sample. An above-average number of them are in the middle household income; they speak Tsonga, Northern Sotho, Ndebele, Venda and Xhosa. One quarter each of the members of the New and the Old Pentecostal Churches and religious movements and one fifth of the members of the African Independent Churches are charismatics according to our definition.

The analysis shows that the more charismatic respondents are, the more pronounced certain tendencies become. We shall look at a number of criteria that reveal significant differences between reborns, defined charismatics, members of Grace Bible Church and the representative sample, illustrating this analysis in detail using fear of the future and then considering fundamental aspects of people's lives: religion, economics, politics and democracy.

As seen above, 49% of all respondents in the representative survey say that they were afraid of the future. This is also the view of 45% of the reborns, 39% of defined charismatics, but only of 16% of the members of Grace Bible Church. Charismatics in general are less fearful about their future.

\textsuperscript{418} See chapter “Special Sample: Grace Bible Church” in this book.
\textsuperscript{419} We define “convinced” charismatics as those who describe themselves as reborn, had witnessed or themselves had charismatic experiences, such as speaking in tongues or faith healing, pray daily or often and attend religious services. The resulting sample comprises 312 respondents, equal to 14% of the representative survey.
\textsuperscript{420} Marital status, urban-rural divide, educational and occupational level, occupation and personal income are not significant.
Similarly, defined charismatics do not feel as powerless as others, and members of Grace Bible Church even less so. However, the latter are more cautious about taking risks than defined charismatics and the respondents in the representative sample and exceptionally insistent that there are no grey areas between right and wrong.

There are also clear distinctions between charismatics and others in socio-economic attitudes. They are more likely to attribute success in life to education; they believe that they will get the education and jobs they are entitled to and that their children have a good chance of realising their goals in life. They are less likely than others to think that their children's standard of living will be lower than their own. At the same time, members of Grace Bible Church are less convinced than defined charismatics that their income is reasonable. Charismatics are more likely to place themselves in the middle class, and they feel less powerless in dealing with their bosses; they are less envious, believe that the upper class is only a small minority and that most people belong to the middle class, and feel that their life circumstances have improved significantly in the past decade. However, a greater number of Grace Bible Church members than defined charismatics and respondents in the representative survey think that the gap between rich and poor has widened.

Not surprisingly, reborns, defined charismatics and members of Grace Bible Church believe in a life after death (84-85-95) and in hidden forces of good and evil, and try to live their life according to the teachings of their religion. They do not believe that they can have a happy life without God. Members of Grace Bible Church are more tolerant of other religions and have a stronger belief in a life after death than defined charismatics, reborns and respondents in the representative survey do. Although an above-average proportion of reborns, defined charismatics and members of Grace Bible Church are convinced that faith should determine all aspects of society, they are less
likely than the representative survey to accept that women should stay at home and not go out to work.

Regarding explicitly charismatic attitudes, acceptance rises from the reborns, through the defined charismatics, to the members of Grace Bible Church. To an even greater extent than the other two groups, members of Grace Bible Church say that their life has improved since they were reborn: they are more relaxed, healthier, have a better family life, feel more secure and self-assured, get more cooperation from others, are financially better off and drink less than others – and, as seen above, members of Grace Bible Church defined charismatics and reborns as a group were already considerably better off than members of the representative survey. In addition, the three groups feel closer to their co-religionists than those in the representative survey do. In agreement with the representative survey, they feel that differences between rich and poor are a more serious problem than differences between blacks and whites or between language groups and are less convinced that religion and religious leaders have no place in politics.

On questions about attitudes to democracy, reborns, defined charismatics and members of Grace Bible Church rate honesty in government as the most important goal and the implementation of affirmative action as the least important. They are most in favour of majority rule or a government of national unity for South Africa, more autonomy in local government, people's right to use their own languages, private property and equal treat of all on the part of the government.

All people vote for any party they like, and the winning party (parties) rules (rule) with other parties in the opposition

In contrast to others, members of Grace Bible Church would not break the law, even in the interest of their family. They feel that jobs in both the private sector and the government should be filled on the basis of qualifications. In their view, the most suitable means to bring about a change of government is peaceful meetings; they strongly support the option of elections and are widely opposed to strikes and boycotts.
Already today reborns, defined charismatics and members of Grace Bible Church are generally satisfied or very satisfied with life, and a majority feel that they will feel this way in ten years' time – overwhelmingly so among the members of Grace Bible Church. This is also the group that expresses the greatest belief in the rainbow symbol as a new covenant for a new future for all South Africans: Half of the respondents in the representative survey agreed with the statement, 56% of reborns, 62% of the defined charismatics and 83% of the members of Grace Bible Church.

**Rainbow Symbol**

![Rainbow Symbol Chart]

To summarise: Reborns, defined charismatics and members of Grace Bible Church are among the more intrepid, pious, optimistic and democratic South Africans, and also among those who want to take responsibility for their life and their success into their own hands and build a new, multiracial South Africa.
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