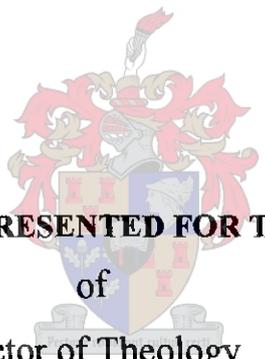


**DEVELOPMENT AS TRANSFORMATION:
THE LOCAL CHURCH IN LAVENDER HILL AS AGENT OF
CHANGE IN A POST-CARNEGIE II CONTEXT**

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The crest of the University of Stellenbosch, featuring a shield with a cross and four quadrants, topped by a crown and surrounded by a wreath of red and white flowers.

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Promoter: Dr. Karel Th. August

Co-Promoter: Dr. Ignatius Swart

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.


SIGNATURE

28/11/2005
DATE

ABSTRACT

The aim of the study is to explore whether the local church is acting as an *agent of change* in addressing the socio-economic needs of an impoverished grassroots community. This study falls within the area of missiology as it takes as point of departure the need for the church to appropriate a missional framework for development. However, this study considers the church in relation to its context, it draws on related sub-fields of theology and various development and social sciences to compose a picture of the current challenges the church faces in engaging poverty. The study focuses on the community of Lavender Hill situated on the Cape Flats of the Western Cape.

Due to the interdisciplinary nature of this study, both theoretical and methodological triangulation have been employed. Chapter 1 introduces the study and provides a theological conceptualisation. Chapter 2 argues for a framework of *Development as Transformation* and presents a distinctive motivation, goal and ecclesial identity, which has to be taken into account when the church 'does development'. It is concluded that, while this framework is distinctive, it does not replace existing development theory, but rather engages it as a dialogical conceptual framework. Chapters 3 to 5 present the *Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in South Africa* (1984) as a useful theoretical tool. This study allows for a comparative historical analysis, particularly as *Carnegie II* poses a challenge to the church regarding poverty. Despite the prominent role accorded the church by history, Carnegie inquiries, government and broader civil society, it is concluded that the church continues to face many of the same challenges in a post-*Carnegie II* context. Both Chapters 3 and 4 conclude that, among the key challenges identified, there is a need for the church to evidence holistic theology and sustainable action with regard to social responsibility. Action remains, for the most part, in a dominant charity mode. Partnership, in its various forms, is identified as a necessary and more sustainable strategy in a context of inequality.

Chapters 5 and 6 focus more specifically on the context of Lavender Hill and utilise the theoretical frameworks in order to analyse data. Methodological triangulation is employed and various methods of data collection are therefore used. Chapter 5 discusses the interlinked dimensions of poverty in Lavender Hill with reference to

both *Carnegie II* and recent scholarship. Chapter 6 utilises the theoretical frameworks to focus more specifically on whether the local church in Lavender Hill is acting as an *agent of change*. The involvement of the church is described and explored with reference to the challenges (both contextual and missional) presented in Chapters 1 to 5. Findings indicate that the local church faces many of the challenges identified by Chapters 3 and 4 and that theology in particular is closely linked to praxis. Particular attention is, therefore, given to the role played by theology in determining action, and *Development as Transformation* is applied as a framework which addresses a lack of holistic theology. Recommendations for action are proposed in order to guide the local church in areas such as Lavender Hill to become more meaningful role players in their communities.

OPSOMMING

Die doel van hierdie studie is om ondersoek in te stel na die vraagstuk of die plaaslike kerk wel optree as 'n *agent van verandering* deur die sosio-ekonomiese behoeftes van 'n arm grondvlakgemeenskap onder die loep te neem. Hierdie studie kan in die gebied van missiologie geplaas word, deurdadig dit die noodsaaklikheid vir die kerk om 'n missionêre raamwerk vir ontwikkeling te gebruik as uitgangspunt het. Hierdie studie beskou die kerk egter in verhouding tot die kerk se konteks, dit maak gebruik van verwante subvelde van teologie en verskeie ontwikkelings- en sosiale wetenskappe om 'n oorsig saam te stel van die huidige uitdagings waarvoor die kerk te staan kom in die stryd teen armoede. Die studie fokus op die gemeenskap van Lavender Hill wat op die Kaapse Vlakte in die Wes-Kaap geleë is.

Weens die interdisiplinêre aard van hierdie studie is teoretiese sowel as metodologiese triangulasie aangewend. Hoofstuk 1 lei die studie in en verskaf teologiese konseptualisering. In hoofstuk 2 word 'n raamwerk van *Ontwikkeling as Transformasie* bepleit wat 'n eiesoortige motivering, doel en kerklike identiteit aanbied wat in ag geneem moet word wanneer die kerk 'ontwikkelingswerk doen'. Die gevolgtrekking word gemaak dat alhoewel die raamwerk kenmerkend van aard is, dit nie huidige ontwikkelingsteorie vervang nie, maar dit eerder as 'n dialogiese konsepsuele raamwerk ter taak stel. In hoofstukke 3 tot 5 word die *Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in South Africa* (1984) as 'n nuttige teoretiese werktuig aangebied. Hierdie studie neem 'n vergelykende historiese ontleding in aanmerking, veral aangesien *Carnegie II* 'n uitdaging aan die kerk stel met betrekking tot armoede. Ten spyte van die prominente rol wat aan die kerk deur die geskiedenis, Carnegie-ondersoeke, die regering en breë burgerlike samelewing gegee is, word die gevolgtrekking gemaak dat die kerk steeds na *Carnegie II* voor dieselfde uitdagings te staan kom. In hoofstuk 3 sowel as 4 word verskeie sleuteluitdagings geïdentifiseer en die gevolgtrekking word gemaak dat dit vir die kerk noodsaaklik is om bewyse te lewer van 'n holistiese teologie en onderhoubare optrede met betrekking tot sosiale verantwoordelikheid. Optrede word steeds grotendeels op 'n liefdadigheidswyse uitgevoer. Vennootskap, in al sy verskeie vorme, word as 'n noodsaaklike en meer onderhoubare strategie in 'n konteks van ongelikheid geïdentifiseer.

In hoofstukke 5 en 6 word meer spesifiek op die konteks van Lavender Hill gefokus en word die teoretiese raamwerke gebruik om die data te analiseer. Metodologiese triangulasie is aangewend en daarom is verskeie metodes van dataversameling gebruik. In hoofstuk 5 word die verweefde dimensies van armoede in Lavender Hill bespreek, met verwysing na *Carnegie II* sowel as onlangse vakkundigheid. In hoofstuk 6 word die teoretiese raamwerke gebruik om meer spesifiek te ondersoek of die plaaslike kerk in Lavender Hill wel as *agent van verandering* optree. Die betrokkenheid van die kerk is beskryf en word verken met verwysing na die uitdagings (kontekstueel sowel as missionêr) soos in hoofstukke 1 tot 5 uiteengesit. Bevindinge dui daarop dat die plaaslike kerk te staan kom voor baie van die uitdagings wat in hoofstukke 3 en 4 geïdentifiseer word, en dat die teologie in besonder ten nouste verbind is aan die praktyk. Besondere aandag word daarom gegee aan die rol wat deur teologie gespeel word om optrede te bepaal, en *Ontwikkeling as Transformasie* word toegepas as 'n raamwerk wat 'n gebrek aan holistiese teologie ondersoek. Aanbevelings vir optrede word voorgestel sodat plaaslike kerke in areas soos Lavender Hill gelei kan word om meer betekenisvolle rolspelers in hul gemeenskappe te word.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to study the response of the churches in the area of Lavender Hill to the socio-economic challenges facing their community, such as poverty, gangsterism, unemployment, domestic violence, drug abuse and related problems, which are so rife on the Cape Flats. With the government's recognition of its inability to take sole responsibility for the overwhelming task of the reconstruction and transformation of communities¹, I wish to put forward the local church as a vehicle for social transformation. I furthermore wish to explore the challenges the local church faces in doing so. This chapter serves as an introduction to this study.

The first section motivates for the local church as a vehicle for development in describing the researcher's deep conviction that the church in this area could and should play a role in the transformation of this community. The possible impact and value of the study will also be discussed with regard to the contribution it could make to theology. Within disadvantaged communities such as Lavender Hill, the church could and should be a key role player in addressing socio-economic challenges. The problem statement therefore poses the question as to the level and or character of the local church's involvement. An overview of the main trends in academic conversation regarding the church and poverty follows. In exploring the problem statement, both the *Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in South Africa* and a missional framework of *development as transformation* are suggested as helpful conceptual tools. The hypothesis therefore proposes that, while the church is perfectly situated to facilitate holistic development in a post *Carnegie II* context, there is a need for the local church to both recognise and understand its socio-economic challenges and transformative identity. Aims, which identify the specific issues flowing from the hypothesis, are stated separately.

¹ Former President Nelson Mandela recognises the need for political and social transformation not to be separated from spiritual transformation in the African National Congress's (ANC) statement on the moral renewal of the nation (Ethical Transformation 1998:2).

The research methodology and design is discussed with regard to sampling, data collection methods and possible limitations of the study. A theological conceptualisation follows, which informs the aforementioned theological framework. This chapter concludes by providing an outline of each chapter, highlighting the key issues addressed by each one, and mapping the logical sequence of the chapters.

1.2 MOTIVATION

As the daughter of a local Pentecostal minister who had congregants in both the areas of Steenberg and Lavender Hill/Vrygrond during the tumultuous apartheid years of the 1970s and 80s, I have witnessed attempts to address the socio-economic related problems of crime, poverty and gangsterism that are rife in this particular area. My parents were deeply involved in ministering to the social and spiritual needs of this community for seventeen years, and my own awareness of poverty and the church's attempts to address it were birthed in this very context. The choice of this area, which is situated less than five kilometres from my birthplace, is therefore a deeply personal one.

These formative years shaped my conviction that the church has much to offer the communities within which it resides. As an undergraduate theology student at the University of Stellenbosch, I became aware of the newly introduced subject of 'community development' as a sub-discipline of theology. These courses awakened my interest in the role the church could play in addressing the issues of our fledgling democracy at a time when I increasingly felt drawn to social justice issues. During this time, I also became a volunteer at an NGO, teaching adult literacy and later beginning a life skills group on one of the wine farms surrounding Stellenbosch. Such community volunteering is also carried out by my own local congregation, and I have subsequently discovered as chairperson of this department of my congregation that it is held in high esteem by other community role players. My attendance as a representative of The Evangelical Alliance of South Africa (TEASA) at a conference on 'gender and development' in 2001 confirmed once again the importance that the church's voice was accorded by other societal role players who eagerly seek partnerships with congregations and other faith-based initiatives in addressing the socio-economic challenges of the community.

However, the initial findings of my Master of Theology² in community development suggested that, while the church is well positioned in terms of both redemptive identity and strategic positioning within society, it was not taking up the challenge. Workshops held with ministers of my own denomination and my experiences in lecturing theological students in 'Mission and Development' provided similar findings. While most ministers and students felt that it was necessary to address poverty, many had at best vague conceptions of the notion of development. Others regarded it with suspicion as being perhaps too 'secular' or 'political'. This led to a suspicion that at the core of holistic action lay the need for a clear theological motivation for development, which could address the misconceptions and fears that may lead to inaction.

The field of development, particularly as an academic discipline in South Africa, is a fairly recent yet essential discipline within a context struggling with high levels of unemployment and inequality (De Beer & Swanepoel 1998:10). Furthermore, 'theology and development' is an even more recent addition to theological discourse and has only been introduced by theological seminaries in South Africa in the last few years (cf. August 1999; De Gruchy 2003: 451-466). Discussions with specialists in the field revealed that, despite the fact that the church contributed more financial assistance to social outreach than the government is able to, little comprehensive research has been done concerning the church in South Africa's role and capacity for holistic community development (Koegelenberg 2001:97-110). A literature review via the search engines of the National Research Foundations' NEXUS database and SA Studies³ revealed that three matches were found of theses dealing with the area of Lavender Hill.⁴ These results exclude the area study done by Dreyer and Naidoo (1984) as part of the *Carnegie II Inquiry*. None focuses on religious organisations or their role in addressing the social challenges faced by this community.

With the above in mind, a study of the church in this area's understanding of the nature of their missiological challenges, self understanding and therefore their ensuing

² My mini thesis was completed at the University of Stellenbosch and was entitled: "A Holistic Conception and Practice of Community Development: A Challenge to the Organisational Structure of the Church". It proposed that hierarchical systems of church organisation would prove a hindrance to community development

³ A journal database.

⁴ All three were dissertations, two of which are education orientated and two of which focused specifically on the area of Lavender Hill.

role could be explored. As 'Theology and Development' is a fairly new discipline, such a study would highlight both the nature of poverty faced by the local church in similar areas, and the challenges and opportunities faced by the church in confronting them. Many churches, as aforementioned, may not have a holistic understanding of mission, which leads to its practice also lacking effectiveness. The study could therefore analyse the role currently played by theology in determining action at the grassroots level. The conscientisation of the ministers in this area, I propose, may thus be a by-product of such a study and pave the way for the revision or implementation of more strategic and holistic programmes. Furthermore, owing to the interdisciplinary nature of the development field, such a study could contribute to the scholarship of the various disciplines that fall both within theology (such as ethics and congregational studies) and outside it (sociology, public management). A study of this nature may assist the post-apartheid church in positioning itself within the broader development debate as having a distinctive identity and role. This in turn may ensure greater involvement and effectiveness of the church's interaction with community.

1.3 RESEARCH PROBLEM

The nature of the study is exploratory and the research question or problem that I wish to pose is the following:

In what ways is the local church in the area of Lavender Hill acting as an agent of change in this area?

Lavender Hill is a sub-economic housing scheme adjacent to the M5 on the Cape Flats.⁵ This community borders the areas of Steenberg, Grassy Park and Zeekoevlei, and arose as a result of the mass displacement of the Group Areas Act (1950)⁶ in the mid 1970s. Prior to the mass removals, the area was known as Rondevlei/Hardevlei. People were evicted by the government and those who were part of the forced removals from areas such as District Six, Plumstead, Steurhof, Newlands and Claremont were "dumped into Lavender Hill and other similar areas" (Dreyer & Naidoo 1984:7, 9).

⁵ See Appendix H for an aerial photograph of the area, position on the map and photographs of the area.

⁶ The Group Areas Act (1950) legislated the unified scheme that provided "for areas to be declared for the exclusive use of one particular racial group" (Terreblanche 2002:334).

The immediate challenges of this context (gangsterism, drugs, high levels of assault and murder) arise largely out of urban poverty, which leads to a vicious deprivation trap of poverty, powerlessness, vulnerability, physical weakness and isolation (Swanepoel & De Beer 2000:12). One of the most tangible consequences of poverty is crime, and the Western Cape (and more specifically the Cape Flats) has in the past been identified as the most crime-ridden centre in South Africa (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:152). Statistics reveal that not much has changed. The Western Cape continues to have the highest incidences of murder, assault, drug related crime and motor vehicle theft per 100 000 of the population in the country (Forgey *et al* 2001). Most of these crimes are concentrated in the Cape Flats in areas such as Lavender Hill. According to a *Financial Mail* article (3/4/1998),

The problem of course is that there are few job opportunities on the Cape Flats and police and associated security and judicial forces are entirely inadequate to cope...There are at least 80 000 members of gang groupings, and the most successful crime bosses and drug lords flourish as role models.

The *South Africa Millennium Survey* estimates Cape Flats gang membership as significantly higher at 100 000 based on South African Police Service (SAPS) estimates (Forgey *et al.* 2001:62). The geographical area of Lavender Hill may serve in many ways as a microcosm of the myriad of challenges faced on the Cape Flats. There are approximately five church buildings in this area, but there are many smaller church groups operating in Lavender Hill. Over thirty congregations have been identified in all and, together with a local FBO, should indicate a significant capacity to affect societal change. Such a context surely demands action from the church.

The challenges of Lavender Hill are only symptomatic of greater challenges faced by the broader South Africa in a post-apartheid context. Poverty has been identified by many as the 'struggle' of post-apartheid South Africa because the discriminatory practices and policies of the Apartheid government have resulted in high levels of poverty and inequality (May 2001:324). This community like many others on the Cape Flats and throughout South Africa remains politically, economically and socially marginalised.

The role of civil society in providing space for these marginalised voices to be heard on the micro and macro level is invaluable (Batista 1995:229). The *Second Carnegie*

*Inquiry on Poverty and Development in Southern Africa*⁷, which focused on the poverty and development of the black majority affected by the policies and practices of apartheid, was initiated in 1980.⁸ During the tumultuous times of *Carnegie II*, the establishment of a democratic society was viewed as being of key importance to “transforming the South African political economy”. However, it is “the actions of independent organizations struggling to make space for themselves and to find ways of operating creatively in what sometimes look like impossible circumstances that will endure” (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:258). The role of such organisations would be to make a difference in present circumstances and to transform power relations; to empower the poor and lay foundations, which will help “determine the shape of society in the long run” (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:261).

Among the organisations identified for change were religious organisations.⁹ The particular role of religious organisations in poverty alleviation and more specifically the role of the church were identified by this *Inquiry* as being central. The church has a long history as a pioneer in social involvement, both globally and locally, and it has played a pivotal role in the creation of soft infrastructure such as schools, hospitals and welfare institutions (Korten 1990:116; Pierson 1993:8; Kritzinger 1996:4-12). Furthermore, during the South African liberation struggle, the church was a prominent opponent of apartheid and often the voice of the disempowered black masses (Hofmeyer & Pillay 1991:275; cf. Hofmeyer & Pillay 1994:276).

In the current South African context, the church is being called upon once again to raise its voice (and put its hands to work) in order to challenge the behemoth that is poverty. Government and broader civil society indeed identify the church as one of the few institutions that has the capacity to address the challenge of poverty in Africa. Julius Oladipo (2001:220) identifies the church’s institutional stability, regular and predictable decision-making systems, moral order, value base of concern for the poor

⁷The first Carnegie Commission on the Poor White Problem in South Africa conducted during the Depression “spelled out the dimensions of poverty amongst white (particularly Afrikaans-speaking South Africans), drew attention to the process of impoverishment and made recommendations for action” (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:x).

⁸ This Inquiry will hereafter be referred to as “Carnegie II”. Rather than merely research poverty, it was decided that there *needed to be both real understanding and participation of those communities that have to endure poverty and a focus on the development of strategies for action against poverty* (Wilson & Ramphele 1989: xi).

⁹ The following movements/organisations were identified: the trade union movement, collective action for job creation, rural development (which we will disregard), para-legal clinics and advocacy organisations, business and private enterprise, research and training organisations and religious organisations (Wilson & Ramphele 1989: 276-303).

and culture of volunteerism as “ideal features of the church that give it an advantageous position in working for sustainable development”.¹⁰ Congregations have recently been identified as effective generators of “social capital” – “those connections of communication and trust that make the organisation of the complex society possible” (Ammerman 1997:362). The South African government has repeatedly called upon the church to become its partner in alleviating poverty (Mbeki 1999:10; Koegelenberg 2001:108). Mayson (2001:28) argues that

Religions have two roles to play that can save both themselves and South Africa: building faith in transformation and building communities. The great majority of our people have elected a government to lead the delivery of a better society, and want strong forces to participate in that governance of transformation. Religious leaders, rooted in the activity of a just and loving God among us have a major role to play in enabling us to believe in ourselves and our country.

Nürnberger (1999:363) identifies religious communities as one of society’s *agents for change*. He argues that their particular expertise includes

... experimenting with new lifestyles; filling in welfare gaps left by the state; channelling the motivations of committed individuals into practical actions, and providing acceptance, belonging and encouragement within a community.

It is in this light that the church, as an integral civil society role player, is being called upon to take up the challenge of poverty. *Carnegie II* furthermore identifies the church as having the capacity to promote conscientisation, inspire and equip people “to work in secular organizations”, promote organised compassion and “create alternative centres of power in society” (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:302). However, despite different denominations in South Africa being active in forms of organised compassion at the time of *Carnegie II*, researchers identified that “somehow the church had failed to respond adequately to the challenges which surround it”. The following challenge was issued to the church:

We believe, however, that there is still room for church initiatives in setting up new structures appropriate to the needs of the situation. Some of the most

¹⁰ Nürnberger (1999:371) adds the following: access to the most deprived local communities, a traditional focus on the family as the most basic unit of society, members in secular professions and “spheres of influence”, “a potential network of cross cultural relationships which can be activated relatively easily and an international network of communication”.

urgent of these needs have been spelt out in the first part of the book so that one test for the church, and those who belong to it, is to examine the extent to which it is allocating its resources...to meeting them. Another no less important test is to examine the extent to which the work of the church has the effect of empowering the poor, of helping shift of power (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:302).

In this post-apartheid era, I find *The Second Carnegie Inquiry on Poverty and Development in Southern Africa* useful in exploring this problem statement. Its aforementioned challenge to the church will be used to explore whether the local church in the Lavender Hill area is acting as an agent of change as proposed by the *Inquiry*. In seeking to explore whether the local church is acting as an agent of change, it is necessary to identify and describe the challenges faced by this community. Furthermore, engagement with government, the marketplace and other members of civil society presents a challenge to the church, which often does not speak the “language” of these sectors. This is often due to not having the tools to analyse social change (Nürnberger 1999:372). The seven dimensions or faces of poverty stemming from *Carnegie II* will be used as a tool to provide a sociological framework to analyse poverty in this area.¹¹ The area study of Vrygrond and Lavender Hill, conducted by Naidoo and Dreyer (1984) as part of the *Carnegie II Inquiry* allows me to be able to analyse and compare data more effectively over twenty years later. Finally, a *Framework for Thinking* developed by Wilson and Ramphela (1989:257) out of *Carnegie II* will be discussed. This contextual conceptual framework highlights some of the central concepts that are possibly relevant to addressing the socio-economic challenges of South Africa in a post- *Carnegie II* context.

However, what determines whether the local church is motivated to act as an agent of change in Lavender Hill and, if it is indeed committed to this role, what determines the character of its action? One of the key findings of an article outlining the role of religion in the rise of social capital is that tension exists between “traditional theologies and priorities in churches and faith communities” and community

¹¹ It is with this in mind that I have sought to employ these faces of poverty as defined by *Carnegie II* as guidelines by which to identify the character and extent of the socio-economic challenges in this area. The dimensions identified include work and wages, unemployment, hunger and sickness, housing and environment, literacy and learning, powerlessness and vulnerability. It should be noted that as Lavender Hill is an urban context the “faces” concerning rural development will be omitted and I as a researcher will be open to new challenges (such as HIV/AIDS) arising out of the present context.

development practitioners in collaborating with regard to poverty (Smith 2002:171). Theological factors in particular, such as “a spiritualised concept of salvation” and “an inflexible orthodoxy which spiritualises human need and offers stereotyped spiritual recipes”, are identified among the weaknesses the church has to overcome in acting as an agent of change (Nürnberger 1999:372). Tsele (2001:214) notes that many Christians regard development as a secular enterprise that distracts people from the “real issue, which is saving people for the Kingdom”:

We must encounter this attitude by a strong affirmation that human, social and economic development is not alien to the Christian concept of mission, even though mission should not be reduced to poverty alleviation...Development is not something that churches are busy with apologetically, or by default. It is the work of God, part of God’s own mission to the world.

Theology is therefore a factor in the church addressing poverty holistically. Wallace (2002:133), in evaluating whether church-based development really works, recommends that “all church-based development needs to start from a clear theological perspective”. Liberation theology indeed provided the theological motivation during the apartheid era. In a post-apartheid era, however, it is suggested that there is the need to move from a “theology of resistance to a theology of assistance” (De Gruchy 2003:452). This may be compounded by the fact that ‘theology and development’, as aforementioned, is a fairly new academic discipline within the South African context. Furthermore, within the missiological debate, evangelicals and ecumenicals have defined ‘development’ differently throughout the 20th century. This stems in part from the theological tension of the two mandates of the church and in part from the evolving secular debate, particularly with regard to the Third World. However, in recent years there has been a convergence of convictions regarding spiritual renewal as a prerequisite for social transformation.¹² This brings us to the hypothesis of this study, which suggests that the theological conceptual framework of *development as transformation* is helpful in overcoming the divide between theology and development.

¹² Cf. Bosch (1991:408) for a discussion on the World Council of Churches’s Mission and Evangelism document. The World Parliament of Religions (of which the WCC is part) has recognised also that the “realisation of peace, justice and sustainability depends on the insight and readiness of human beings to act justly”. This insight and readiness depend in turn on the changed consciousness and inner orientation of people. It comes close to and fundamentally overlaps with the religious demand for spiritual renewal, “for a conversion of the heart” (Swart & Venter 2005:9).

1.4 HYPOTHESIS

The following hypothetical propositions stemming from the above discussion will be used as tools to generate questions and search for patterns for further postulation:

- The area of Lavender Hill faces many socio-economic challenges, which calls for a holistic approach of *development as transformation*.
- The church, particularly in partnership, is missiologically and strategically perfectly positioned to facilitate this development in partnership.
- In order for the local church to respond in a holistic and sustainable manner, it needs to be aware of both the missiological challenges that exist and its ecclesial identity as an agent of change.
- Therefore, a holistic approach of *development as transformation*, which does not replace existing development theory but rather assists the church in understanding her missional identity and role, is imperative.

Such a framework in no way replaces existing development theories, but is rather “an alternative framework for understanding human and social change from a Christian perspective” (Bragg 1987:38). In this way, it offers the possibility of dialogue with other development theories or frameworks, such as the one identified by Wilson and Ramphela (1989:257). The use of the term *Transformation* rather than *Development* stems in part from the fact that the term development has connotations of a “mechanistic pursuit of economic growth” and partly because the goal of Christian transformation is unique (Samuel & Sugden 1987:256).¹³

The goal of transformational development is that of *shalom*, or the New Testament concept of the Kingdom where harmony, peace and justice reign under the Lordship of Christ. Here, sin is viewed as that which has distorted God’s perfect intention, leading to oppression, poverty, injustice and the alienation of individuals, communities and nations. Sin, then, is not merely individualistic, but also institutional or social (Bragg 1987:39; Dayton 1987:52). Myers (2000:64) in discussing the “Church and Transformational Development” describes poverty as a breakdown in relationships between God, self, others, community and the environment, which has to

¹³An understanding and practice of Mission as Transformation has been developed since the Wheaton Conference of 1983 “by an international network of evangelicals who were heavily involved in social ministries” (Samuel & Sugden 1999: viiii). A statement on Transformation was produced by the third track of the conference, entitled “Church in Response to Human Need”. In 1987 a book of the same name was compiled by Vinay Samuel and Chris Sugden of the papers from that particular consultation (Samuel & Sugden 1987:xi).

be addressed from the view of transformational development whose goals are changed relationships with God and people.¹⁴ The key paragraph (11) of the *Wheaton '83 Statement on Transformation* reads as follows:

According to the biblical view of human life, then, transformation is the change from a condition of human existence contrary to God's purposes to one in which people are able to enjoy fullness of life in harmony with God (Jn. 10:10; Col. 3:8-15; Eph. 4:13). This transformation can only take place through the obedience of individuals and communities to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, whose power changes the lives of men and women by releasing them from the guilt, power and consequences of sin, enabling them to respond with love toward God and towards others (Rom. 5:5) and making them new creatures in Christ (2 Cor. 5:17) (Samuel & Sugden 1999: x).

It is interesting to note that this definition encapsulates many of the other key theological concepts the researcher wishes to use as it seeks to "overcome polarities in the evangelism, social action and development debates that had developed at that time" (Samuel & Sugden 1999: x). The core aspects of transformational development¹⁵ are the following: a holistic, rather than individualistic understanding of the gospel,¹⁶ the notion of the Kingdom of God as both present and future¹⁷ and the importance of the local church as an agent of change.¹⁸ Recent 'unpacking' of the elements of transformation reveal that the notion of the Kingdom and holistic mission have emerged strongly as key elements.¹⁹ Other aspects include the following:

...an integral relation between evangelism and social change; Mission as witness and journey in the world; Mission in context; Truth, commitment to change and

¹⁴ This view clearly finds currency with secular development thinkers who have now concluded that we cannot compete ourselves into a co-operative future, and if the future of the world depends on co-operation then clearly we must try something different. This may, they argue, require a fundamental shift in values and the recognition that this kind of choice is more likely to be made by human beings who have experienced a transformation of the heart (Edwards & Sen 2000:606).

¹⁵ These core concepts are included in the researcher's theological conceptualisation towards the end of the chapter.

¹⁶ Cf. Article V & II of the Wheaton '83 Statement (Samuel & Sugden 1987:260)

¹⁷ Cf. Articles I & VII of the Wheaton '83 Statement (Samuel & Sugden 1987:254)

¹⁸ Cf. Articles VI & V of the Wheaton '83 Statement (Samuel & Sugden 1987:261-264)

¹⁹ Samuel and Sugden (1999:xiii), in their most recent compilation of the latest documents and missiological expressions concerning Transformation as Mission, note that the contribution of the Pentecostal movement has added the additional theme of the role of the Spirit in bringing about transformation for the poor. In addition, the concept of Transformation has been explored with regard to economics¹⁹ and the environment. These developments have led to a more Trinitarian understanding of Transformation when viewing themes of God as creator and God the Holy Spirit.

imagination; Theology, Christian mission and understanding are always local; Freedom and power for the poor; Reconciliation and solidarity; building communities of change (Samuel & Sugden 1999:xii, xiii).

1.5 AIMS OF STUDY

A number of goals arise out of these hypothetical propositions, which will give direction to the study:

- to gain an understanding of the many socio-economic challenges faced by the community of Lavender Hill;
- to discover whether any socio-economic issues, as identified by the *Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa*, are being addressed by local congregations or para-church groups (whether alone or in partnership) in the area, and the challenges faced by the church in addressing them;
- to investigate whether the local church's understanding and awareness of these challenges are congruent with that of its mission task and ecclesial identity and that of the expectations of other state and civil society role players; and
- to discuss the approach of *development as transformation* and the manner in which it could assist the church in responding holistically to the challenges posed by the context

1.6 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The study uses a combined qualitative and quantitative methodology, often termed "triangulation", with the view of increasing the reliability of observation (De Vos 1998:359). Triangulation, as a methodology, simply proposes that "it is better to observe something from several angles or viewpoints", and therefore employs several kinds of methods or data (Neumann 2000:124; Denzin & Lincoln 1994:214). This method is particularly useful as the subject area, 'Theology and Development', is interdisciplinary in nature and therefore demands that several points of view be represented and interacted with. Four basic types of triangulation have been identified, namely data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation and methodological triangulation, to which a fifth, interdisciplinary triangulation, has been added (Denzin & Lincoln 1994:215). This study employs three of the five, namely

theoretical triangulation, methodological triangulation and interdisciplinary triangulation.

By its very nature, such a study employs *interdisciplinary triangulation* as it draws on both theology and the humanities in order to “broaden our understanding of method and substance” and thereby challenges the contextual church to holistic action. However, in addition, this study also employs both theoretical and methodological triangulation for various reasons. *Theoretical triangulation*, which involves the use of “several frames or reference or perspectives in the analysis of data”, is utilised by this study during its literature review with the aim of increasing the chances of synthesis or developing new ideas (De Vos 2001:359; Neumann 2000:125). The fact that ‘Theology and Development’ is an interdisciplinary study (which has led to interdisciplinary triangulation) means that the utilisation of more than one theoretical perspective will create a platform for dialogue between disciplines. It is hoped that this dialogue in the literature study part of the thesis will lead to a more thorough analysis of the empirical findings and ultimately more holistic recommendations for praxis.

The theological framework discussed in Chapter 2 is based on a definition of *development as transformation* and is discussed within the various secular and missional debates surrounding the content of the term ‘transformation’. The second framework utilises the *Second Carnegie Inquiry on Poverty and Development in Southern Africa* as a contextual study regarding poverty and development, which challenged the church to action regarding poverty. Wilson and Ramphele’s (1989) development of a *Framework for Thinking*, their definition of poverty and discussion of the church as an ‘organisation for change’ (discussed respectively by Chapters 3, 5 and 4 of this thesis) all draw on this groundbreaking inquiry in order to create a theoretical perspective.²⁰ These theoretical perspectives are furthermore described and critically discussed in a post-apartheid context and in the light of current South African literature and developments in order to form a comparative basis.

Finally, *methodological triangulation* is employed in the second phase of this study. This form uses “two or more methods of data collection procedures within a single

²⁰ The *Carnegie Inquiry*’s framework for thinking (Chapter 3) will also be utilised to engage critically with the theological framework (Chapter 2), so that groundwork may be laid for possible dialogue flowing from the empirical aspect of the study.

study” (Neumann 2000:125; De Vos 1998:359). The second sections of Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, which seek to discuss the empirical findings with regard to Chapters 2, 3, 4 and the first section of Chapter 5, employ unstructured scheduled interviews, census statistics, secondary documentation and a questionnaire. In using various methods of data collection, the reliability of the data could be increased as a more nuanced picture of the community’s situation may give rise to more acute analysis. The dominant methodological paradigm employed by this study, however, is a qualitative one and other methods are regarded as complementary to it.

1.6.1 Sampling

Quota sampling is employed for both the qualitative and quantitative parts of the study, and is therefore employed in all three phases of data collection.²¹ This form of sampling focuses on drawing a sample as representative to the population being studied (De Vos 1998:199; Neumann 2000:197). Quota sampling involves selecting a cross section of this population according to categories identified as relevant by the researcher (Bailey 1978:81).

Given that the study seeks to inform an analysis of the socio-economic situation of Lavender Hill and of the perceptions and expectations regarding the church’s role, the first population selected was that of community role players.²² In this study, the sampling frame was determined by the dimensions of poverty²³ identified by the first part of Chapter 5, which in turn informed the categories from which role players should be drawn. Seven role players in all were identified, including the following: a police officer, a nursing sister from the local clinic, two social workers from two different non-governmental organisations, a local high school principal, the chairperson of the local ratepayers/civic association and the coordinator of the Educare forum. Furthermore, the existence of the local community forum (Lavender Hill Development Forum) assisted in the identification of relevant role players. Contact with gatekeepers in the community, such as the local FBO, were helpful in

²¹ Three phases of data collection were employed. The first phase is qualitative and concerns unstructured scheduled interviews with role players. The second phase is also qualitative and involves unstructured scheduled interviews with clergy. The final phase involved administering questionnaires within congregations.

²² Community role players could therefore inform a community analysis by representing the perspective of those working in the community and highlight their perceptions of the role the church should and could play in addressing community needs.

²³ The categories identified were the following: work and wages, unemployment, hunger and sickness, housing and environment, literacy and learning, powerlessness and vulnerability.

obtaining contact details for the relevant individuals. The second phase of sampling sought to select a representative cross-section of clergy from different congregations and confessional/denominational groupings in Lavender Hill. The relevant categories selected for this group included clergy drawn from Traditional,²⁴ Reformed,²⁵ Pentecostal,²⁶ Independent/Charismatic²⁷ and Evangelical²⁸ confessional groups. This quota frame²⁹ was partially guided by the religious affiliation census statistics for the area (cf. Appendix D pg 10).³⁰ However, clergy were also identified through the local religious forum.

A similar method was employed in the third (and quantitative) phase of sampling, which sought to add a “view from below” and therefore included laity. A small sample of thirty-six congregants from three congregations in the area, who represented the Traditional, Pentecostal/Charismatic and Independent/Evangelical confessional groups were selected. Stratified sampling, which ensures “appropriate

²⁴ This term is not meant to be used interchangeably with what are commonly known as “mainline churches”, such as the Methodist, Baptist, Catholic, Anglican and Reformed churches (Hendriks & Erasmus 2001:40,41). I have chosen instead for the purposes of ensuring greater doctrinal representation to separate the Reformed group from the others that are therefore referred to as ‘traditional’, rather than ‘mainline’. Denominations and groups, which fall under this designation, include Methodist, Baptist, Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran and Moravian.

²⁵ This designation refers to denominations which hold to the system of doctrine and government or polity set out by John Calvin. This includes the Dutch Reformed family, Presbyterian and Calvinist churches (Reid 1974:832).

²⁶ In this case, ‘Pentecostal’ refers to denominations born out of the Wesleyan-Holiness movement at the beginning of the 20th century. It confesses an evangelical theology and emphasises the baptism of the Holy Spirit, the living of an ‘apostolic life’ and the ability to speak in tongues. Unlike the Charismatic movement, Pentecostals are denominationally bound (Robeck 2000:530). In this context, it may refer to the following denominations: Full Gospel Church of God, Assemblies of God, Apostolic Faith Mission, Pinkster Protestante Kerk, Algemene Chritelike Kerk and the Pentecostal Holiness Church.

²⁷ This is a highly disputed designation, but in this thesis refers largely to churches that have no denominational affiliation and/or belong to the Charismatic movement. The latter refers to a broad movement, which began in the 1960s with the occurrence of Charismatic phenomena (baptism of the Holy Spirit, speaking in tongues and miraculous healings) in mainstream churches. While there are various forms of Charismatic Christianity, the most recent form is regarded as “somewhat more sectarian” as they are often detached from other churches, more centred on individual authoritative leadership models and more theologically conservative. The influence of the charismatic movement on Christian thought and social justice is viewed to be conservative (Mason 2000:108).

²⁸ In this case, this designation refers to churches which do not belong to any of the aforementioned confessional groupings, but proclaim an evangelical theology as central. This theology is committed to the inerrancy of scripture, the fundamental doctrines of the Bible and Christ’s “sinless life...It should be noted that all of the aforementioned groupings display evangelical beliefs, such as substitutionary atonement, the bodily resurrection as the ground of God’s forgiveness of sinners, justification by faith alone, and the spiritual regeneration of all who trust in the redemptive work of Christ” (Henry 1974:359).

²⁹ The number of respondents drawn from each category (Babbie 1998:196).

³⁰ However, African Independent Churches in the area and groups who did not meet in the area (but may have had members in Lavender Hill) were not included in the sampling frame. Two traditional ministers, one Reformed minister, two Pentecostal/Charismatic ministers, one evangelical and one independent minister were selected.

numbers of elements are drawn from homogenous subsets of the population”, was therefore used as it ensures a degree of representivity (Babbie 1998:217).

1.6.2 Data collection techniques

1.6.2.1 Unstructured scheduled interviews

The qualitative part of this study, which is the dominant paradigm in this mixed methodology, employs unstructured scheduled interviews with community role players and clergy in the area of Lavender Hill. This form of interviewing ensures that the researcher has a guideline in that it contains questions that have been predetermined (De Vos 1998:299).

In the first phase of this study, unstructured scheduled interviews were conducted with community role players in the area of Lavender Hill. This form of interviewing employs guidelines which contain “questions and themes that are important to the research” (De Vos 1998:299). In this case, the questions were guided by the various dimensions of poverty identified by the theoretical framework outlined in the first section of Chapter 5 and based on the *Second Carnegie Inquiry on Poverty and Development*. Each role player’s guideline was shaped by the dimension of poverty they addressed. However, each guideline contained the same concluding questions regarding partnership initiatives with the church and other organisations, and the role of the church in addressing socio-economic challenges.³¹ Respondents were permitted to deviate from the predetermined order of questioning. Thumma (1998:206) describes the benefits of such an approach as its use of

... planned questions around specific issues and general items but [it] also employs the freedom of an unstructured approach. The people being interviewed are permitted to respond to questions in the language and format most meaningful to them. If you conduct many such interviews, you have the freedom to allow people to deviate from the predetermined subjects, knowing that you can learn the specifics from others. You never know where one member’s verbal wanderings may lead or what significant facts will be uncovered.

The second phase of the empirical study also employs the use of unstructured scheduled interviews with the clergy from local congregations in Lavender Hill.

³¹ Cf. Appendix B for a sample of guideline questions asked of community role-players. The particular interview schedule provided as a sample was drawn from Chapter 5’s discussion regarding ‘health and sickness’ and was therefore used for the interview with the local clinic Sister.

Clergy in the area were contacted for the purpose of individual interviews in order to gain an insider view of their awareness and understanding of these missiological challenges.³² The guideline for these interviews were informed by several sources, including the aims of this thesis, issues identified by the theological conceptualisation contained in this chapter and the issues identified by the role player interviews reported in Chapter 5. Furthermore, questions regarding the social context were influenced by Dudley (2002:195) (cf. Appendix B). Planned questions were divided into three sections which focused on the church's awareness of the needs and priorities of the area as described by the contextual analysis of Lavender Hill, the church's self-understanding of their role in addressing these issues and finally their concrete response.³³ Faith- Based Organisations are designated as part of the local church. For this reason, an unstructured scheduled interview was also undertaken with a community worker from the local FBO.

All the respondents were assured of anonymity and permission was obtained to audio tape the interviews. These were transcribed verbatim and the resulting texts analysed.³⁴

1.6.2.2 Questionnaires

Often qualitative research, while high on validity, has a "potential problem with reliability", and it was therefore decided to administer a 'church and community' questionnaire with a particular focus on the way the church perceived itself in relation to the community (Babbie 1998:303, 304). This was done to obtain the laity's perspective about the socio-economic challenges faced by their community, the congregation's relationship with the community and their perceptions about their own congregational involvement.³⁵ The clergy were approached for permission and the questionnaires were personally handed to the respondents who then completed them

³² It was decided to focus on clergy for this phase as they are usually the theological shapers of their congregations and because one of the factors identified by the hypothesis is the possible need for a theological framework. Access to the field was relatively easy as the local FBO, which was co-ordinating the local religious forum, provided many of the contact numbers. My outsider status was offset by the fact that many knew my father from his time as a minister in the surrounding area. Rapport was also built up with some of the participants through my attendance of the religious forum as observer. Therefore, some of the effects of interviewer characteristics were balanced out (Bailey 178:164-168).

³³ Cf. Appendix B for a sample of the guideline questions asked of clergy. The same guideline was used for all clergy.

³⁴ Cf. Appendix C for samples of transcribed interviews with both community role players and clergy.

³⁵ Cf. Appendix E for a sample of this questionnaire.

on their own. Fouché (1998:154) notes that the advantage of the researcher's presence in this type of personally administered questionnaire is that the "researcher is available in case problems are experienced". To reduce bias, it was also ensured that clergy were not present .

The questionnaire was divided into three sections: biographical information (section A), information about the congregation's identity (section B) and the socio-economic situation of the community and the perceived involvement of the respondent's congregation (section C). Section A and C used multiple-choice questions. Section B was drawn from Section 3 of the Hartford Seminary Centre for Social and Religious Research's *Parish Profile Inventory*, which deals with congregational identity (Parish Profile Inventory 1998:24; Schreiter 1998:24).³⁶ However, the format of this section was converted from a semantic differential scale in favour of the simpler Likert scale, and wording was simplified to make it more understandable to its audience.³⁷

1.6.2.3 Secondary data

Mouton (2000:164, 165) states that the use of secondary data helps to give a more accurate generalised picture of the context and its problems, and therefore higher validity to the data (cf. Thumma 1998:213-217). For this reason, newspaper articles, minutes of community meetings, and statistics and demographics of the area were utilised to build a picture of the socio-economic challenges facing the area of Lavender Hill. A report of *Census 2001* for the area of Lavender Hill was compiled by the Unit for Religion and Development Research. The requested personal, economic and household variables are cited in the demographic profile (cf. Appendix D). Minutes of the religious forum (HOLI) meetings were also drawn upon with regards to the local church's involvement.

1.6.3 Data analysis

The approach used for qualitative data analysis is that of Huberman and Miles (in Poggenpoel 1998:340), which outlines three interlinked sub-processes: data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing and verification. It was chosen because this

³⁶ Pre-testing was not needed because most of the questionnaire was drawn from an already established questionnaire.

³⁷ This scale has seven response categories ranging from one extreme to the other "with the middle category representing neutral". It is similar to the Likert, but unlike the Likert the two end categories have names or statements "thought to express the subject's feelings about the concept", rather than "strongly agree/ strongly disagree" used by the Likert scale (Fouché 1998:172, 173).

approach takes into account the presence of conceptual frameworks. In this thesis, there are several frameworks, and Chapters 5 and 6 draw substantially on them for data reduction. Furthermore, the data is then selected, condensed and organised into “a concise assembly of information” in order to begin to think about its meanings. This form of data display is clearly evident in Chapter 6 (section 6.2), for example. Finally, Huberman and Miles’ approach includes conclusion drawing and verification, which involves the “researcher making interpretations and drawing meaning from the displayed data” through “noting patterns and themes, triangulation, clustering, use of metaphors, following up surprises and checking results with respondents”. The use of methodological triangulation is evident as questionnaires were added. The questionnaires were analysed with the use of a software package (SPSS) commonly used for sociological analysis. Cross-tabulation tables were also created in order to classify “subjects in relations to two separate qualitative variables simultaneously for purposes of determining their degree of association”³⁸ (De Vos & Fouché 1998:225; cf. Appendix F: 11-26).

1.6.4 Possible limitations

The main limitation of this study concerns the sampling frame. Quota sampling categories may not accurately represent all the congregations and all the clergy who could be interviewed (Neumann 2000:198). Ministers from the smaller Charismatic or independent congregations, for example, were almost impossible to contact in order to arrange an interview. One of the congregations with whom questionnaires were conducted is an independent Pentecostal church. Furthermore, in interviewing role players and clergy only, a “view from above” may have been presented. This was, however, offset by using methodological triangulation, which introduced secondary data through questionnaires conducted with the laity, bringing an added voice or perspective to the findings (Neumann 2000:125). The use of questionnaires as a method of triangulation, rather than the only form of data collection, in turn limits the danger of its small sampling frame, which usually produces a larger sampling error (Babbie 1998:216).

³⁸ The relationship between denomination and the variables are of particular interest.

1.7 THE THEOLOGICAL CONCEPTUALISATION

This is a study in development as a missiological problem and deals chiefly with the responsibility of the church in addressing her contextual challenges as outlined above. Therefore, concepts related (in particular) to the theological conceptual framework follow.

1.7.1 The local church

Smit (1996:120) notes that the concept of church is much more complex than many perceive, and cannot be described as a single, unchanging, a-contextual or transcendent concept. In fact throughout history the term 'church' has come to refer to a "collective term for diverse movements, institutional and organisational forms, groups and communities".³⁹ As a result both Smit (1996, 120, 121) and August (2003:34) identify at least six possible configurations or depictions of the church in order to cover the broad scope of what it means to be 'church'. The configurations include "church as worshipping community"; "church as a local congregation"; "church as denomination"; "church as ecumenical body"; "church as believers in their involvement with voluntary organisations" and "church as individual believers in their daily lives". These modes of being church are identified by Smit in August (2005:29) as helping to influence public life in various ways. This is done through engagement with issues, which "affect the common good in in public discourse and through visible actions of witness" and therefore bridge the gap between the other publics of state and market, which may dominate and exclude the marginalised (Fowler 1991:154).

Much has been said of grass roots development. Moltmann (1979:21) argues that "the renewal of the church finally depends upon what happens at grass roots level". The dissertation focuses on the influence of the public church in the locale of Lavender Hill. It should be noted, however, that in this dissertation, the concept of 'local church' will not merely refer to local congregations, but will in addition refer to the use of the 'church as ecumenical body' and to the 'church as believers in their societal involvement with voluntary organisations' in the locality of Lavender Hill (August 2003:28; Smit 1996:120,121). The term 'local church' therefore refers to all of the aforementioned configurations of church in the light of this study and its aims.

³⁹ The church is often popularly referred to in terms of its 'marks' or 'attributes', biblical images or tasks (cf. Berkouwer 1976; Guthrie 1994; Erickson 1993).

The church's role as worshipping community draws people into its celebration of the sacraments and proclamation of Word and provides space and place both for the expression of pain for those suffering from oppression, marginalisation or any form of suffering within these contexts. It often provides acceptance as a loving and committed community, which people can participate in. The *Wheaton Declaration* (cf. Samuel & Sugden 1999:259-276) declares unequivocally the importance of local congregations as "the vehicle for communicating the Gospel of Jesus Christ both in word and deed", and the need for the church to be sensitive and responsive to need on her doorstep.⁴⁰

Local congregations are further identified by August (2003:29) as often helping to form the "moral fabric of the local environment" by helping to conscientise their members with regard to issues of social justice. However, congregations often cannot afford to act alone if their voice is to be heard and sustainable action taken. The configuration of the church as denomination is often the most common form of public witness as it is often the "denomination which officially and in public, take in position around moral issues of common interest" (August 2005:29). While belonging to different confessional and denominational groups, churches in a particular area or locality may however often be a more effective and holistic witness to community if they are organised across denominational lines and confessions as an ecumenical body. Such co-operation may prove more effective in terms of public witness, as it has the ability to render a strong united voice and action with regards to issues that affect the community. Local ecumenical bodies such as ministers fraternals or regional (WCPP)⁴¹ national (SACC/TEASA)⁴² and international bodies (WCC/WEA)⁴³ all assist in a stronger more effective witness. The pooling of resources through such bodies often mean that they are "able to exercise a more influential role in context" (August 2005:28). This work in partnership may further extend to the church as believers operating in partnership with voluntary organisations.⁴⁴ This configuration of the church is particularly relevant within a context of increasing poverty, crime and HIV/AIDS. August (2005:29) notes that

⁴⁰ Article VII:41 of the *Wheaton Consultation* document entitled: "Transformation: The Church in Response to Human Need."

⁴¹ Western Cape Council of Churches

⁴² South African Council of Churches/The Evangelical Alliance of South Africa

⁴³ World Council of Churches/World Evangelical Alliance

⁴⁴ This broad term could then include non-governmental organisations, community organisations, other religious groups, community forums or other smaller activist groups.

“faith communities and individual believers are constantly challenged to form partnerships in a plural society with other groups to combat social evils”. In this way, the Christian faith community in a particular locality, through its members and “irrespective of denomination or confession, engages with society by means of involvement in activist groups concerned about political, social, moral or ecological issues” (August 2003:29). Finally, individual believers in their daily life environment often play an unrecognised role in living as salt and light in their everyday reality as citizens in contact with the various political, economic and social structures. Fowler (1991:158) identifies this in terms of ‘vocation’ and notes that within the context of congregations those that seek to be public church “constantly seek to maintain a balance between *koinonia*, a warm, supportive fellowship of solidarity within the community, and *diakoina*, the personal and collective vocations that address and keep the systems and structures of society”. The church will have to pay particular attention to the last two configurations of the church and motivate their members to “get involved in civil initiatives, actions and movements that strive for the interest and values of society in accordance with biblical evangelical convictions” (August 2005:30).

1.7.2 A holistic spirituality

Despite the obvious strategic positioning of the local church, many churches to a large extent continue to regard social development work as merely an arm of evangelism and not a key missiological task. This is especially true of evangelical churches. It is only in recent statements by evangelicals such as the *Chicago Declaration* (1973: article 3) and the *Lausanne Covenant* (1974: article 5) that this has been disputed (cf. Samuel & Sugden 1999: 501,505). Many evangelical local churches, however, continue to function within this paradigm. While personal transformation is regarded as valuable, societal transformation is often regarded as secondary or as not part of the task of the church at all. The individual is placed above community and sin is not viewed as having societal effects; religion is consequently viewed as being “privately engaging but socially irrelevant” (Saracco 2000:368).

A mark of modernity, this dichotomy is a significant contributing factor to many Christians’ understanding of evangelism and community development as two separate activities. Evangelism is regarded as spiritual work (“restoring people’s relationship with God”), implying that redemptive work takes place in the spiritual realm, but

social action (“restoring just economic, social, political relationships among people”) is not (Gustafson 1998:145,146). The other danger of this modernist dichotomy is that of the “Social Gospel” as expounded by many ecumenicals. Here, salvation is regarded as largely horizontal. Sin is purely structural and salvation comes not through change in individuals, but through the termination of “perverted and unjust structures” (Bosch 1991:396). In this way, salvation is viewed as something that we can bring about through our own good works by merely attacking and eradicating structural sin.

Holistic spirituality is an intrinsically biblical way of viewing life and living out faith as an indivisible whole. Both the Old and New Testaments demonstrate God’s concern with the whole person in the whole society. The Old Testament witnesses in both Torah (Deut. 15:7; Lev. 25) and the prophets (Isaiah, Amos and Hosea) indicate clearly Yahweh’s unfailing concern for the whole person in the whole society. All of Israel’s life was seen as being before God. There was no separation between religion and the secular. Yahweh is revealed as being a God of justice. Louise Kretzchmar (1996:66) argues in her call for holistic spirituality that by its very nature a holistic spirituality stresses community and social concern, and that the ministry of Jesus Christ is a perfect example thereof. While dualism results in a privatised a-contextual approach, Christ’s teaching and ministry were fully contextual. An a-contextual approach leads to the separation of faith from the situation in which Christians live. Thereby a distance is created between themselves and structural evils, which in turn results in “preaching that Christ is the answer without being fully aware of the problems that the gospel needs to address”. Nevertheless, a holistic biblical definition of development calls for the transformation of both individuals and institutions, which sees us in *Shalom* with God, our fellow human beings, ourselves and with all of creation (Bragg 1987:39).

1.7.3 Mission as Missio Dei

A lack of awareness of the problems or missiological challenges that churches need to respond to often result from a dichotomous understanding of mission. If mission is God’s Mission (Missio Dei) and has its origin in the heart of God – there is mission only because God loves people – God’s love of people has been shown to be holistic. That mission is God’s mission is an essential corrective to an understanding of

mission in soteriological, cultural, salvation historical or even ecclesiastical categories (as the expansion of the church or a particular denomination) (Bosch 1991:389).

In understanding mission as “being derived from the very nature of God”, the secularisation of mission (as evidenced by the fruits of the Enlightenment, such as the Social Gospel movement) is curbed. Karl Barth (in Thomas 1995:104), considered by many to be the chief exponent of a post-modern paradigm in theology, was the first to promote the biblical emphasis on mission as God’s initiative rather than “being understood as a ‘civilizing’ human activity of witness and service” promoted by the liberal agenda. Barth’s influence on missionary thinking is identified by Bosch (1991:390) as having reached its peak at the Willingen Conference (1952) where the concept of the *Missio Dei* first became recognised as distinctive. The following excerpt from Willingen further illustrates the Trinitarian, rather than ecclesiological or soteriological, basis of *Missio Dei* :

The missionary obligation of the Church comes from the love of God in his active relationship with humanity. For God sent forth His Son, Jesus Christ, to seek out, and gather together, and transform all persons who are alienated by sin from God and their fellows. This is and always has been the will of God. It was embodied in Christ and will be completed in Christ. For God also sends forth the Holy Spirit. By the Holy Spirit, the Church experiencing God’s active love is assured that God will complete what He has set His hand to in the sending of His Son. This is the hope with which the Church looks forward to the goal of its existence, which in fact sets the Church marching onwards. In this sense ‘mission’ belongs to the life of the Church (Thomas 1995:103).

This excerpt also highlights the position of the church vis-à-vis the *Missio Dei*. Bosch (1991:390) highlights the necessity of the church being viewed as an instrument of the missionary movement of God into the world, rather than mission being regarded as the primary activity of the church. The church has no mission of its own: the emphasis rather is on “what God is doing for the redemption of the world. Thereafter consideration is given to how the church participates in God’s redeeming mission” (Goheen 2000:117). This participation in mission is participation in “God’s love toward people, since God is a fountain of sending love” (Bosch 1991:390). For the missionary activity of the church (*missio ecclesiae*), this then has important consequences and leads to a separation in definition of ‘mission’ and ‘missions’. Our missionary activity (missions) cannot be likened as identical to the *Missio Dei*

(mission) as “our missionary activities are only authentic insofar as they reflect participation in the mission of God. The Church stands in the service of God’s turning to the world” (Schmitz in Bosch 1991:131). The *Missio Dei*, then, does not exclude the *missio ecclesiae* (the mission of the church). Kritzinger *et al.* (1994:42) articulate the relationship between the two in simple terms:

The Triune God, Father-Son-Spirit, invites the church, us to be His co-workers on earth. The Senior Partner invites a host of junior partners to join Him in His venture. The *Missio Dei* avails itself of the *missio ecclesiae*, the mission of the Church. Mission, one might argue, is the reason for the existence of the Church.

Missio Dei, therefore, addresses another of the crucial missiological problems of the 20th century, namely that of moving from a church-centred theology of mission towards a Kingdom theology of mission. This church-centred model considered ‘church planting’⁴⁵ together with personal conversion as an important goal of missions, based on an understanding that mission activity was “the road from [existing] church to church [in the mission field]” – by implication foreign mission work in the early 20th century became no more than church extension overseas (Scherer 1993:83).⁴⁶ The implications of this model are deeper, however, and have direct bearing on the issue of holistic mission. Based on the “three self formula”, Scherer (1993:84) notes that it was not fully reflective of the biblical witness on mission:

The ‘three self formula’ for church autonomy accurately mirrored western protestant, middle class, democratic and capitalist values of self-government, self support and local responsibility. However, it was silent about Jesus’ love for the poor and his identification with the marginal and the oppressed. Such persons were viewed more as candidates for missionary charity than as potential members of local ‘three- self churches’.

Furthermore, this model offered no clear eschatological perspective: churches planted had no vision or understanding of their purpose or function. How would the unfinished task of the church to the whole world be accomplished? It is the eschatological context of the Kingdom grounded in the mission of the Triune God that gives life and a strategic dimension to a credible service and witness by the church to

⁴⁵ As expounded by the Church Growth Movement.

⁴⁶ These views were upheld by the various conferences of the International Missionary Council (IMC) from 1910 to 1948 until Willengen in 1952.

the world. This gospel of the Kingdom called the church into being; giving it – in and through Christ – a Spirit-filled missionary existence (Scherer 1993:85).

The secularist agenda of the 1960s, as identified in the missiological debate, also saw the *Missio Dei* being manipulated by this agenda – albeit in the opposite direction. In this view, God was seen as “working out the divine purpose in the midst of the world through immanent, intra-mundane historical forces, above all secularization” (Scherer 1993:86). This wider understanding of the *Missio Dei* even went as far as excluding the church’s involvement and proclaiming that the world now set the agenda for the church, based on the concept that the mission of God was humanisation, not holistic salvation (Scherer 1993:86; Bosch 1991:392). Bosch (1980:242) calls such agendas the “compromise that destroys the dream.” The metamorphosis from mission regarded as God’s work “from first to last” became “our enterprise”, in essence a gospel of works and law, not love and grace, which moved in the extreme other direction where it in essence became mission without God or church, dictated to by the world. Despite the misuse and misunderstanding of the *Missio Dei* by various schools of thought, Bosch (1980:242) maintains that we must remember that

Mission is concerned with God’s Kingdom, that it exists on the basis of an expectation of that Kingdom, and that the salvation belonging to that Kingdom is wrought by God himself.

It is only in the light of this understanding that we realise that salvation is not dependent on the “right kind of religious, moral or political activity” and that ultimately the “authorities and powers” will not be finally dethroned before Christ returns. This is to be kept in mind as we acknowledge and act upon the fact that “precisely because the Kingdom has already dawned, we may not resign ourselves to things as they are” (Bosch 1991:243, 244). With regard to the church’s participation and engagement in missions, Bosch further emphasises that

In our time God’s yes to the world reveals itself to a large extent in the church’s missionary engagement in respect of the realities of injustice, oppression, poverty, discrimination and violence.

These realities are the missiological challenges on which this study wishes to focus, considering the significantly high levels of poverty and violence in particular found in the area of Lavender Hill, as described in the motivation. The local congregations in this area’s understanding, of the nature of the mission of the church, and the close

relationship between a conception of sin and salvation to its mission, will also be looked at.

1.7.4 The Kingdom of God

The discussion and definition of the Kingdom is one which has come to prominence particularly in the development debate within the church over the past century, as evangelicals and ecumenicals sought to define the role of the church in the world. The evangelical camp emphasised Christ's return and the spiritual aspects of the Kingdom, which in turn lead to "otherworldliness". In contrast, the ecumenical camp believed that it was their duty to bring about the Kingdom of God in history through their own socio-political actions. Three significant contributions to the debate will be discussed.

1.7.4.1 Both present and future

In the past, the dispute around the nature of the Kingdom determined the church's role, which was seen as either bringing about the Kingdom purely by social action in the present order (the 'already'), or as one of no role at all as the Kingdom was only to be inaugurated with Christ's return in the future (the 'not yet'). Influenced by the various schools of millennial thought,⁴⁷ this eschatological dualism led to a division of Christian social action (which was seen as being too 'this worldly') from the Kingdom (which was viewed as an 'otherworldly' reality) in which the church could play little active part (Cray 1999:27).

Smith (1993:33), however, notes that an eschatological tension exists between the 'already' and the 'not yet' of the Kingdom and, recognises that, while Jesus heralded the beginning of a new redemptive order, it continues to grow and develop in this age and will not be fully realised until Christ returns. Christ stands at the very centre of it all. The Kingdom invaded the old age through the person and ministry of Jesus, heralding the all-transforming final reign of God that had broken into the present age, proclaiming an 'upside down' Kingdom which presents a direct challenge to, and reversal of, the accepted social and religious values. The Kingdom therefore has an ethical quality. However, while the sin and suffering in our world illustrate that the Kingdom has not reached its consummation, clear opposition to it indicates that its work has already begun on earth. There is therefore a dialectical tension between the

⁴⁷ Both Amillennialists and Premillennialists are overly pessimistic about the course of world history and so spiritualise the Kingdom, leading to the abandonment of any "worldly affairs" such as social responsibility (Kuzmic 1985:138, 142).

'already' of the Kingdom which has broken forth through Christ and the 'not yet' of the Kingdom which, while growing in this age, will not be fully realised until Christ's return (Dempster 1999:27; Smith 1993:33). The implication of this tension is that, while we cannot "banish the Lordship of God to a future world totally unrelated to our earthly, historical life, it also forbids us to identify the Kingdom of God with conditions in history, whether they be already existing or desired" (Moltmann 1977:190).

This tension also leads to a message of challenge to the church that acknowledges both the church's inability to bring about the Kingdom on earth through human effort in light of the *Missio Dei* and yet continues to

... work for a better world already here and now, knowing that everything that is noble, beautiful, true and righteous in this world will somehow be preserved and perfected in the new world to come. In this sense, indifference to culture and social involvement, the fatalistic attitude that washes its hands of the world letting it to go further and expecting corruption is irresponsible, and a betrayal of entrusted stewardship (Kuzmic 1985:15).

1.7.4.2 Socio-political content

The former argument begs the question: on what is this understanding of the Kingdom as having socio-political content and therefore demanding a concrete response based? For the most part, an otherworldly understanding has limited any reconciliation between God and human beings purely to the individual sphere.⁴⁸ It is, nevertheless, clear from both Christ's person and ministry that the Kingdom of God has socio-political content (Smith 1993:34).

The Rule of God is intrinsically linked with justice and peace, and this rule came fully to earth with the incarnation of Christ. Christ not only came to earth to restore right relationship between humans and God in an individualistic way, but also salvation on a cosmic scale. Salvation heralds the beginning of the reconciliation of all things to himself (Col. 1:20) and therefore the restoration of right relationships of human to God, human to human, and human to all creation. Furthermore, God's rule is closely associated with justice, a concept that is called upon often as being demanded from

⁴⁸ Verkuyl (1993:72) nevertheless emphasises the need for personal conversion stating that "a theology and missiology informed by the biblical notion of the rule of Christ will never fail to identify personal conversion as one of the inclusive goals of God's Kingdom".

the king. Yahweh's rule is one which intervenes on behalf of the weak and oppressed (Mic. 6:8). Christ, who has been given the "throne of David...will reign over the house of Jacob forever; his Kingdom will never end" (Lk. 1:32, 33), is viewed as a king who will bring justice (Lk. 4:14-21; Is. 61:1-2; Jer. 23:5f; Mic. 5:2-5; Zech. 9:9, 10). Christ's rule, however, is identified by Moltmann (1977:102) as bringing about a "revaluation of values" flowing out of a re-evaluation of the concept of rulership:

For early Christianity to use titles of rule and lordship in order to term Jesus the true Lord and ruler of the world – the Jesus who was mocked because of his helplessness and murdered on the cross by the world's rulers – involves about the most radical reversal of the ideal of rule that can be conceived: the Lord as servant of all; the ruler of the world as friend of tax collectors and sinners; the judge of the world as a poor outcast.

Christ, the God of the Kingdom, reveals himself as the suffering servant bringing in a new dimension. The 'upside down' nature of the Kingdom sees Christ the king exercising dominion in terms of servanthood: "the kings of the gentiles exercise lordship over them...but not so with you; rather let the greatest among you become as the youngest, and the leader as one who serves" (Lk. 22:25-26). This service is selfless and "is solely out of the human rights and dignity of the other" (Moltmann 1977:103). On earth the Kingdom belongs to the poor (Mt. 5) as Christ himself proclaimed, and in the Gospels we see Jesus reach out again and again to the weak, the sick, the poor, the hungry through his love and in this way makes his Kingdom known by reference to his service to the suffering. The message of the Kingdom as Good News to the poor is one that is at the heart of Jesus' message (Lk. 4:18; 7:22), and in his death we view the God of the Kingdom intervening to create a people who would be characterised by love of neighbour and enemy (Cray 1999:34, 35).

1.7.4.3 The transformational power of the hope of the Kingdom

It has already been noted that there is a challenge to the church to embody the ethics of the Kingdom – even "while we wait for the blessed hope", the second coming of Christ, we should be "eager to do what is good" (Tit. 2:13-14). "Christian hope does not lead to an acceptance of the status quo", but rather challenges us to realise the eschatological values of the Kingdom: love, joy, life, justice, peace, freedom, fraternity, equality, harmony, unity, etc. Botman (2001:75), in defining mission as hope in action, makes the point that the relationship between hope and action is to be

found in the Christian's calling to discipleship, as the *Missio Dei* calls us into action based on the *imitatio Dei* (the following of God). Eschatology can therefore not be used to "justify apathy...quietism, passivity, and paralysis" in waiting for the King's return (Kuzmic 1985:156). We are therefore called to a participatory lifestyle. We are to be living an anticipatory lifestyle based on the hope of the future consummation of the Kingdom (Kuzmic 1985:157). We are also, then, to be signs of that hope, knowing both that "hope within history can hold the line in the most desperate battle, and with the aid of hope beyond history it is always ready to advance" (Sinclair 1987:171). Bennet and Hughes (1998:44) explain the power of hope in the coming Kingdom as one that transforms our present realities in dispensing meaning and purpose for all:

Much of the suffering and poverty in the world is a consequence of people seeking meaning and purpose somewhere else – in wealth, power or pleasure. For the poor, having no future hope is reflected in hopelessness about the present. Finding hope in Christ and the future establishment of his Kingdom transforms everything. Those who once made wealth, power or pleasure their aim now seek justice and use their resources to bless their neighbour. The poor, whose life was drenched in blackness, see light at the end of the tunnel and even their present material circumstances begin to change for the better in this glow.

Both Bennet and Hughes (1998:44) and Sinclair (1987) note that hope in the coming Kingdom makes a powerful contribution to development. Hope may therefore be one of the keys to the challenges of the secular development debate.

1.8 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter 1

Introduction

This chapter serves as an introduction to the study and explains how the topic was chosen, seeks to justify its academic investigation and articulates the main research problem and hypothesis of the thesis. Furthermore, this chapter has outlined the research framework, which includes sampling frame, data collection methods and possible limitations of the study. In addition, a 'theological conceptualisation' has been added in order to highlight some of the possible theological concepts that may inform discussions in Chapters 2 and 6.

Chapter 2

Towards defining development as transformation

This chapter will lay down the basis for a theological conceptual framework of *development as transformation*. The prominent debates in both secular development and mission concerning development are discussed. This is done in order to clarify the distinctive nature of the mission of the church, as well as points for dialogue in defining *development as transformation*. The evolving debates from both the ecumenical and evangelical positions with regard to development and the use of the term ‘transformation’ are discussed in particular. The conceptual framework is then described with particular reference to the distinct motivation and goal of *development as transformation*. Finally, the transformative nature of the church as an agent of change is argued from a theological perspective.

Chapter 3

The Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development

The *Second Carnegie Inquiry on Poverty and Development* poses both a challenge to churches and provides a generalised developmental framework. A historical comparative study of *Carnegie I* (1930s) and *Carnegie II* (1984), with particular reference to the role of the church, identifies obstacles faced by the church in these historical eras with regard to addressing poverty. The conceptual development framework proposed by *Carnegie II*, namely the “Framework for Thinking”, will be critically discussed in light of the *development as transformation* framework in Chapter 2 and recent scholarship. This is done in order to study the interaction and resulting dialogue between two such frameworks. It further serves to illustrate the broad applicability of a *development as transformation* framework to any context.

Chapter 4

Churches as organisations for change

The particular role of the church as an ‘organisation for change’, as identified by the *Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in South Africa*, in the systematic eradication of poverty is discussed. This will be done with reference to both the church’s suitability (in terms of history and the call from other sectors of society for action) and the challenges that the South African church currently faces in

addressing poverty holistically. The issue of the church in partnership within a global and local situation of inequality is given special attention.

Chapter 5

Uprooting poverty: The challenge

This chapter heralds the beginning of the second section of the dissertation, as both Chapters 5 and 6 are contextual and therefore deal more specifically with the locality of Lavender Hill. *Carnegie II* identifies the challenge of poverty in terms of “faces”/ dimensions of poverty, such as health, housing, education, employment, powerlessness and vulnerability. These dimensions are discussed in the light of recent scholarship and statistics in order to form a comparative basis for the area study of Lavender Hill in the first section of this chapter. In the second section of this chapter, the specific socio-economic challenges arising out of the area of Lavender Hill will be analysed with references to the dimensions of poverty identified. Demographic information (Census 2001), newspaper articles and interviews with key community role players (police, health and municipal officials, social workers, etc.) are used to inform this analysis of the area. Particular attention will be paid to factors identified by Dreyer and Naidoo (1984) as part of the historical *Carnegie II* just over twenty years ago. In this way, a picture of the area may be ascertained in order to identify the specific challenges that the churches face today.

Chapter 6

Church and community: Development as transformation?

This chapter returns to the research question in seeking to describe and analyse the extent to which the local church in the area of Lavender Hill is acting as an agent of change with regard to addressing these socio-economic challenges. This will be done by describing the local churches’ involvement in the community, and by utilising the theoretical discussions and conceptualisation laid out in Chapters 1 to 4 regarding the church’s missional and strategic positioning. This chapter seeks to test the hypotheses laid out in the first chapter and determine the relevance of *development as transformation* for the local church in Lavender Hill. Interviews conducted with community role players and clergy, questionnaires and existing programmes, as well as events coordinated by the local church in the area will be utilised. The chapter concludes with recommendations for action.

CHAPTER 2

TOWARDS DEFINING DEVELOPMENT AS TRANSFORMATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

An understanding of the church's missiological and ecclesiological identity is central to a holistic and sustainable response from congregations with regard to development in a context of poverty. One of the hypotheses of this study proposes that, in order for the church to respond – holistically and sustainably – to its missiological challenges in a context of poverty, an understanding of its missiological and ecclesiological identity is central. That this conceptualisation should be distinctive in a climate of ever-increasing focus on community development in an unequal global society, is essential, particularly in the light of a diminishing sense of hope in the secular arena and an understanding of socio-economic development as a purely secular and material enterprise (Myers 2000:64). This is best served by first looking at the brief overview of the shifts in the secular debate in defining development and at an historical overview of the schism between word and deed (as evidenced by the ecumenical and evangelical movements) in the mission debate. The researcher will argue that certain sectors in both the secular and evangelical debates have moved towards a definition of development as 'transformation' in the quest to be holistic and to move away from the negative associations formed by the term 'development'. Space for dialogue, yet distinction, however, needs to be maintained. Therefore, in the light of a definition of *development as transformation* that both the secular and evangelical mission debates recognise as preferable, clarifying the key dimensions of 'transformation' becomes essential. Furthermore, in order for churches to facilitate community development in partnership that is distinctive, they need to be aware of their ecclesiological identity. Therefore, the church as an agent of transformation is considered with regard to the Kingdom and various aspects of the church as a community of faith.

This chapter argues for the use of *development as transformation* when referring to the church's understanding of social responsibility because it is a term that opens an

avenue for dialogue and yet retains the distinction between the humanities and theological schools of thought concerning development.⁴⁹

2.2 DEVELOPMENT DEBATES

It is an undisputed fact that the need for the continuing social transformation of South African society remains a challenge for the church, government and other actors in civil society. However, what indeed is ‘social transformation’ and how does it relate to the development debate? More precisely, what does it demand of missiological discourse in South Africa within the growing plethora of ‘development’ rhetoric in a context of growing inequality and the emergence of community development as a subfield of theology?⁵⁰ It is clear that the South African government understands and encourages a relationship between the different discourses. The African National Congress’s *Statement on the Moral Renewal of the Nation* (1998:1) quotes former President Nelson Mandela’s statement that, “In striving for political and economic development, the ANC recognises that social transformation cannot be separated from spiritual transformation”.⁵¹ Brief discussions on the debates and their recent historical development will serve to highlight the various issues evoked by these debates.

2.2.1 The secular debate: Development and transformation

Development as a complex dynamic gives rise to many varying interpretations and schools of development thought. Development was largely conceived and characterised, until the 1960s, by the notions of progress, evolution and economic (GNP) growth. Termed Modernisation Theory, it emerged out of the climate of the

⁴⁹ Ignatius Swart’s challenging paper “The Third Public: Hermeneutical Key to the Theological Debate on Church and Development” identifies dialogue and interaction between sectors. However, his point of departure for dialogue between state and broader civil society is that theology as development should be obtained from the secular context of development. He states that “it is only from this vantage point of such a level of understanding that the theological and church sector is then challenged to add an own distinct theological and moral element to the development debate”. This chapter does indeed describe the secular debate as a comparative basis for dialogue and distinction. However, it is argued that the point of departure for the church should be taken from a theological understanding of *development as transformation* (Swart 2004a:328).

⁵⁰ This question becomes all the more pertinent in the light of the emergence of movements such as ‘Transformation Africa’ whose vision, ‘Africa for Christ’, has been popularised by what has now grown to an annual global day of prayer. This movement aims to transform “Africa through unity and prayer” (Transformation Africa 2005b). Prayer, however, needs to be intrinsically connected to social action in order for holistic transformation to take place and this is not clearly evident in this movement (Transformation Africa 2005a).

⁵¹ In fact, the government recently initiated the Moral Regeneration Movement after consultation in 1999-2000 with religious leaders whose mission it is to “facilitate, encourage and co-ordinate the programme of every sector in society in working towards restoring the moral fibre” (Moral Regeneration 2003:1.2).

Cold War and post-colonialism, and saw considerable amounts of aid and the provision of technical assistance flowing into Third World countries by the newly formed IMF (International Monetary Fund) and the World Bank (Haines 2000:32).⁵² This dichotomous approach proposed a process of structural change whereby “the traditional and backward Third World countries developed towards greater similarity with the Western or rather, the Northern world” (Martinussen 1997:38).

The flawed assumptions of this theory are fairly obvious.⁵³ It assumes that productivity equals development and that it is a unilinear process operating in every culture, thus assuming that traditional societies are backward and underdeveloped. The economic benefits of the system are assumed as eventually ‘trickling down’ to the poor – a proven fallacy. Other approaches to development attempt to correct the imbalance created by Modernisation Theory by focusing on the elimination of dependency, global reformism, basic needs approach,⁵⁴ capacity building within a ‘people first’ approach and sustainable development (Bragg 1987:22-39; cf. Burkey 1993:27-39).⁵⁵ Bennet and Hughes (1998:13) comment that “the appearance of a new theory does not mean the universal jettisoning of previous theories”, but only the addition of another option to choose from. This “consumer” approach is identified as being largely a creature of the West. One approach that has gained the most currency in recent years is the following:

Development is more than the provision of social services and the introduction of new technologies. Development involves changes in the awareness, motivation and behavior of individuals and in the relations between individuals as well as between groups within a society. These changes must come from within the

⁵²Some attribute community development’s beginnings to early civilisations, others to agricultural extension in the USA and rural reconstruction in India in the early 20th century (De Beer & Swanepoel 1998:2).

⁵³ Sadly, the Western church followed suit and adopted this model of modernisation as development. This model was, however, challenged by the Third World countries that replaced this understanding of ‘development’ with ‘Liberation Theology’ where “poverty was regarded not as being uprooted by technological know-how into the poor countries but by removing the root causes of injustice” (Bosch 1991:434).

⁵⁴ The basic needs approach is identified by the researcher as being expounded by Wilson and Ramphela (1989) in their report on the *Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development* in defining poverty as dimensions or faces (Chap. 3 & 4). Interestingly enough, community development was not popular in South Africa during its heyday, which is attributed to “scepticism and mistrust in government circles about its potential for political change” and only appeared to take root in the Black Consciousness Movement (which Wilson and Ramphela advocate) and evangelical missionary circles.

⁵⁵ For critiques and further clarification of these various theories, see Haines (2000: 31-58) and Bragg (1987:20-47).

individuals and groups, and cannot be imposed from the outside (Burkey 1993:48).

Another definition that affirms the participatory and people-first approach that focuses on self-reliance as the ultimate aim is that of the United Nations. This definition describes development as:

... the process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of government authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation and to enable them to contribute fully to the national progress. This complex of processes is therefore made up of two essential elements: the participations of the people themselves in an effort to improve their living, with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative; and the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self help and mutual help and make those more effective (UN Report 1982).

In effect, development is participatory, self reliant and people-centred. The participation of the people themselves in their own development is both an essential part of human growth and a process whereby the people themselves become aware of and understand their problems and the social reality within which they live in order to affect lasting change themselves at grass roots level (August 1999:24). This is a people-centred process that empowers the people to identify and act upon own needs and priorities rather than those imposed from outside (i.e. by organisations or government). Through this process of conscientisation, people become aware of their own needs and can embark upon self-reliant ventures where they themselves feel that they are contributing the maximum human, material and financial resources relative to their ability. External agents must be seen not as doing for or giving to, but enabling people by working alongside them. Such an approach indicates the increasing move away from an economic model of development towards one that acknowledges the broader perspective of specific local conditions and culture, changes over time, the individual country and its relationship to the world market as well as ecological conditions (Martinnussen 1997:7).

The recent radical post-development school of thinking regards “development as having failed and the era of ‘development’ as being over’ and in this light have argued that, while social change “has always been a part of human experience...damage has

been done by what is termed development” (Thomas 2000:20). Harcourt (in Swanepoel 2000:58) notes that development continues to be plagued by “a growing sense of weariness and cynicism and a diminishing sense of hope over the years”. Thomas (2000:6) cites David Korten in noting that, despite his view that “development...has not been an outright failure”, there continues to be increasing “poverty, social disintegration and environmental destruction”. The problem of poverty remains as great as it ever was and, while progress has been made in certain areas, inequality continues to grow nationally and globally. Some however argue that the term ‘development’ in itself is not the problem, but rather the failure to deal with poverty. Terminology may nevertheless dictate methodology. What Burkey (1993:33) identifies as the most striking feature of the current debate on development is that it centres increasingly on the relationship between development and social transformation. Groenewald (2000:18) defines social transformation as follows:

Social transformation, accordingly, refers to change in human relationships, communities and the living conditions of people. It is the processes of change in the conditions of the lifestyles of people and the qualitative change in the nature and character of human societies.

Thus, no longer is the emphasis on infrastructure, but on human beings as part of development that affects total life transformation in all its spheres (August 1999:24). Development is now more predominantly defined in terms of transformation of the existing economic, social and political structures, and relationships at the level of interpersonal, societal and international relationships. As aforementioned, governments are even beginning to use the concept of ‘transformation’ in describing development in a holistic manner. *The United Nations Development Report 2000* for South Africa interestingly enough also uses the term ‘transformation’ in defining development more holistically, yet notes that despite impressive progress “the general rhetoric masks the continuing inequalities experienced in accessing the new opportunities” (Taylor 2000: iii).

2.2.2 The mission debate: Shifts in defining development and social responsibility

The term ‘development’ has had many different connotations and given rise to many different schools of development during the 20th century in attempts to ‘fine tune’ the concept, which has led to the growing interest in the aforementioned term ‘transformation’ and post-development theorists’ call to abandon the term

‘development’ altogether. Within the missiological debate, evangelicals and ecumenicals have defined ‘development’ differently during the 20th century, stemming in part from the theological tension between the two mandates of the church and in part from the evolving secular debate, particularly with regard to the Third World.

2.2.2.1 The point of diversion

The church is well recognised as having both inspired and initiated many secular social welfare institutions and social reform across the ages.⁵⁶ In describing and discussing mission as development, it is necessary to note that, while ecclesiastical involvement in social upliftment is no new phenomenon (social action has always accompanied Christian mission as either an explicit part thereof or an intended by-product of mission), Bosch (1991:401) nevertheless states that “the relationship between the evangelistic and the societal dimensions of the Christian mission constitutes one of the thorniest areas in the theology and practice of mission”. With this in mind, it is essential to discuss the debate and its various dimensions and historical journey, which continue to affect the church’s role and impact on society today.⁵⁷

The “thorniness” stems from a division in the understanding of the mandate of mission, namely the relationship between the two salvation mandates (one spiritual, the other social). The one is said to refer to the “commission to announce the good news of salvation through Jesus Christ; the second calls Christians to responsible participation in human society” (Bosch 1991:403). This division leads to or perpetuates the polarisation of religion and the socio-political reality, which can be identified throughout the ages. From Constantine up until today – with the exception of the Evangelical Awakenings (where social reform was a natural outflow of the enthusiasm for revival) – the swing from the supremacy of one to the supremacy of the other was often contextually based. The shifts from the supremacy of evangelism to social responsibility also appeared to polarise the church into two camps, namely the evangelical and ecumenical, which at various points in recent history resulted in

⁵⁶ Cf. Pierson (1993: 7-15) for a brief history of the church and social involvement.

⁵⁷ Bosch (1991:402, 403) traces the tension between justice and love from the Old Testament up until today. The researcher will, however, only focus on the recent history of the “The Two Mandates”, having been identified as distinct, yet inseparable facets of mission as recently as the 18th century and as having been seen as coming into clearer focus from the mid-20th century.

much conflict in the quest for a holistic definition of salvation and, therefore, mission (Bosch 1991:403; Thomas 1995:136).

The modernist distinction between the private world of ideas and the public world of facts, influenced this dualistic schism between evangelism and social action.⁵⁸ Such beliefs led to a gradual and “subtle shift towards the evangelistic mandate, which coincided with the rise of premillennialism⁵⁹ and later became known as fundamentalism”(Bosch 1985:72). This led to a focus on the understanding of the Gospel as the saving of individual souls and the vertical dimension of faith in the early 20th century (Bosch 1991:403). The same dualistic worldview also gave rise, in part as a reaction to a shift towards the evangelistic mandate, to the Social Gospel Movement. This movement stressed the need, in the light of the humanism and rationalism of the Age of Reason, for institutional change as the key thrust of the Gospel. The Social Gospel, which became part of the fundamentalist-modernist debate of the early 20th century, was influenced by and therefore associated with theological liberalism by emphasising social concerns and the horizontal dimension of love of neighbour exclusively over and above the message of eternal salvation. These beliefs were strongly rejected by and became suspect in fundamentalist circles. It is evident in an attempted backlash against liberalism⁶⁰ and the elimination of almost all social concern among fundamentalists by the end of the 1930s in what became known as the “Great Reversal” (Smith 1993:25; cf. Bosch 1991:403). Each reaction and counter reaction would have devastating consequences. The former led to a narrow message of individual salvation, emphasising spiritual need alone and the future heavenly aspects of the Kingdom. The latter led to an understanding that salvation does not come through “change in individuals but through the termination of perverted and unjust structures”, and that the task of establishing the Kingdom of God

⁵⁸ This modernist assumption is, however, clearly rooted in the dualistic worldview of ancient Greek philosophy (and perpetuated by Augustine) which divided the world into two distinct unrelated realms, namely the physical and the spiritual (Douglas 1974:314; Kippenburg 1999:888).

⁵⁹ Bosch (1985:72) notes that premillennialism, which believes in the literal second coming of Christ, the rapture, first resurrection and tribulation, has led to an understanding of the Kingdom that views “political action as being no more than a means to restrain evil...tolerates corruption and injustice, to expect and even welcome them as signs of Christ’s immanent return”.

⁶⁰ The key tension between Social Gospel and the fundamentalists lay in the theological understanding of sin and salvation. The Social Gospel’s underplaying of the need for repentance and salvation, disregarding of sin as ignorance and the exaltation of good works were key points for concern among evangelicals. However, the focus by evangelicals on “otherworldly realities” leading to an understanding of sin as individual and salvation as only addressing the spiritual, too posed the problem of a religion that ignored completely current science and culture and was no longer world formative (Bosch 1999:395).

on earth now through human efforts could be attained (Smith 1993:25; Ring Ro 1985:31).

It is at this point that it is essential to describe the key shifts in thinking following this schism of both the ecumenical and evangelical debates as they evolved respectively with regard to development.

2.2.2.2 The ecumenical debate and development

The end of the Second World War heralded the beginning of the prominence of the term 'development' within the secular debate, which was largely modernist and focused on the economic and linear development and growth.⁶¹ Early involvement of the ecumenical movement in development was influenced by this debate and focused on the effects of 'rapid social change' on individuals and communities (1950s), but soon shifted at the Geneva Conference in 1966 to a focus on poverty and the role of the church in addressing systemic political and cultural transformation in the Third World. It is interesting to note that at this time the debate within the ecumenical movement was divided between those who still maintained that the key task of the church was proclamation, those who stressed charity and relief rather than development, and those who argued for development as purely economic growth (Van Drimmelen 2003:2; Dickinson 2002:298).

Development became the central focus of the ecumenical movement with the establishment of the Commission on the Church's Participation in Development (CCPD), followed by the Uppsala assembly of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in 1968.⁶² The debates and programmes at this time centred largely around the "purposes, nature and processes" and continued to be influenced by a modernist understanding of development, with an "emphasis on technical economic considerations and the mobilisation of greater capital and human resources"

⁶¹ According Dickinson (2002:298), the ecumenical understanding was largely influenced by Rostow's "Stages of Economic Growth", which argued that "nations could reach a stage of 'take-off' towards economic and social prosperity if sufficient technical skills, financial support and economic organisation were made available".

⁶² In 1970, the Joint Committee on Society, Development and Peace (SODEPAX), a collaboration between the WCC and the Roman Catholic Church, was formed to also focus on the development agenda. Sadly, differing emphases from the respective bodies meant that its dream was never finally realised (Dickinson 2002:299).

(Dickinson 2002:299). In the 1970s, critical voices challenging the narrow definitions of development as a purely economic process began to emerge.⁶³

At this time, those from the Third World began to argue for ‘Theology and Liberation’ rather than for ‘Theology and Development’. It had become increasingly obvious that the poor were being exploited by the unjust national and international economic structures said to promote development (Land 1985:44). Liberation theology, as it became known, advocated revolution rather than development as the means by which to remove the root causes of injustice that had led to domination and dependence – oppression of the poor by the rich dominant classes (Bosch 1991:434, 435). At the Geneva Conference (1966), the liberationist view expounded by Shaull (in Bosch 1991:396), particularly in the context of poverty, exploitation and injustice experienced in the Third World,⁶⁴ equated liberation with salvation. It was implied that “this world was the main arena of God’s activity and the (only?) place where salvation could be affected”.⁶⁵ This emphasis on the horizontal at the cost of the vertical – as expounded by both secularist and liberationist thinking – has come under pressure in recent years.

The development agenda was, however, not wholly discarded but rather shifted focus and merged with certain aspects expounded by liberation thinking,⁶⁶ particularly in the Third World (Van Drimmelen 2003:3). Itty (1974:8) notes that Third World consultations held between 1970 and 1971 in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean had already begun to “speak of development as embracing all aspects of human life and aspiration”. By 1975, genuine social transformation was viewed as concerning people, rather than “abstract economic or political objectives” and that the environment also needed to be considered.⁶⁷ An emphasis, largely influenced by liberation thinking,

⁶³ Cf. Parmar (1976:267-275).

⁶⁴ Liberation Theology expressed itself distinctly in various parts of the world and is, therefore, only broadly defined here. Cf. Fern (1990) for a representative collection of Liberation theology writings from Africa, Latin America and Asia.

⁶⁵ Liberation Theology is however often misunderstood and vilified by evangelicals in particular. In its various forms it has helped us to understand God as championing the cause of the poor and oppressed; that the Holy Spirit renews and empowers the weak; that Christians “may assume a critical stance vis-à-vis the authorities, traditions and institutions of this world” (Bosch 1991:442).

⁶⁶ This viewpoint is also argued by Swart (2004:333), who states that, despite the emergence in prominence of Liberation Theology, a group of theologians continued to “speak about development in a predominantly positive way”.

⁶⁷ De Santa Ana (1985:103) argues that this understanding developed earlier and that as early as the Third Assembly at New Delhi (1962) it was said that “economic expansion is essential, but not

was placed on people's participation in their own destinies, arguing that "development is essentially a people's struggle in which the poor and oppressed should be the main protagonists, the active agents and immediate beneficiaries" (Itty in Dickinson 2002:301). Itty (1974:16) states nevertheless that at this period there existed no ecumenical consensus regarding an all-embracing definition of a "theology of development".

Concern for the preservation of the earth and its limited resources also shifted attention towards the environment, resulting in movements for what is broadly labelled a 'just, participatory and sustainable society' (JPSS). The 1980s were largely concerned with this agenda, which became known as "justice, peace and the integrity of creation" (JPIC)⁶⁸ and which focused more holistically on the dynamics between peace, justice and the integrity of creation. This focus was taken forward in the 1990s under the aegis of the term 'sustainable development', which is defined by the WCC as a "primary emphasis on local and regional communities that are economically viable, socially equitable and ecologically renewable" (Van Drimmelen 2003:3). During the 1990s there was a shift in the agenda of the ecumenical movement towards macro-level justice issues such as racism, sexism, the role of transnational corporations in exploiting those in the Third World and the growing debt crisis. Recently the debate has moved firmly towards the issues of globalisation, sustainable communities and civil society – all macro foci that build and expand on previous issues and are interlinked⁶⁹. Such issues have a "profound influence on the possibilities of success on micro level" (Dickinson 2002:302). Van Drimmelen (2003:6) argues that micro-development and emergency relief assistance have never been discarded as part of the ecumenical development agenda, but rather that development requires both distributive and "communicative justice based on participation". Justice has been a key theme in the search for holistic mission. According to the World Council of Churches' (WCC) Mission and Evangelism document of Nairobi (1982),

There is no evangelism without solidarity; there is no Christian solidarity that does not involve sharing the knowledge of the Kingdom which is God's promise

sufficient in itself. It is the whole man and not only a part of his personality or body that must be served".

⁶⁸ This term was coined at the WCC's Vancouver assembly in 1983.

⁶⁹ From 1995 to 1998 alone there were three consultations concerning the effects of globalisation (Dickinson 1998:3).

to the poor of the earth. There is here a double credibility test: A proclamation that does not hold forth the promises of the justice of the Kingdom to the poor of the earth is a caricature of a Christian understanding of justice (paragraph 34) (Bosch 1991:408).

It is clear that there is a lack of consensus about the nature of a “theology of development” within the debate, and yet a close connectedness with the broader secular debates. Swart (2004b:9,10) argues that this stems from an understanding that, while promoting a dialectical interaction between “the traditional context of theology” and the “secular context of development”, the ecumenical debate took secular development as its departure point for theological reflection. Engagement with the secular debates has been positive in that this perspective has placed the ecumenical debate actively within the “process of development research” (Swart 2003:10). By so doing, it has no doubt given a voice to the many experiencing social injustice throughout the world and created new platforms for debate and engagement. Nevertheless, the use of such a departure point, while assisting in understanding the nature of development more fully, has led to a similar sense of helplessness as that experienced by the secular debate. While some voices recognised that development was also a moral and deeply spiritual issue,⁷⁰ one of the mistakes recently identified is that of not recognising the importance of “spirituality as a sustaining force” and that religious convictions can add value to the contexts within which development takes place (Van Drimmelen 2003:7). Dickinson (2002:302) highlights the pessimism currently experienced by the many caught in desperate living conditions and the present mood within the debate as follows:

The revolution of rising expectations has, in many parts of the world, been replaced by a resignation to lowered expectations. Perhaps the greatest achievement of the development concept was in arousing common people to the belief, the hope that they did not have to live in dire poverty and tacit oppression, that they were called to a different possibility. Many believed that this could happen peacefully, with the goodwill and collaboration of those who controlled society. Now that dream, belief, expectation is struggling to survive among the poor, even while it remains a popular idea among people of liberal persuasion who are still determined to foster development.

⁷⁰ Cf. Itty (1967:349-351).

Within the ecumenical debate, however, development has not been discarded. It is identified as remaining a challenge – one that the churches within the debate are called to interact with continually and critically (Dickinson 2003:303; Swart 2004b:11).

2.2.2.3 The evangelical debate and development

Following World War II, many evangelicals began to question the rigidly fundamentalist views which ignored current science and culture, and had led to a dominant focus on the individual and individual salvation, while “assigning peripheral status to questions of discipleship, justice and the shape of the church” (Wagner 1993:117). Carl F.H. Henry’s *The Uneasy Conscience of Modern Fundamentalism* appears to have heralded the beginning of the first stirrings of the call to renewed involvement in social responsibility by strongly rejecting the narrow privatisation of religion to one that has a world-resisting, rather than world-formative message (Bosch 1991:404; Smith 1993:27).

While some were influenced by this movement to the centre, it took some time for this to filter through. The social discontent of the 1960s however led to the greater disillusionment of many young evangelicals “who were disillusioned by the apathy and opposition of evangelicals and fundamentalists with the Civil Rights movement” and other social justice issues. During this time, para-church relief organisations such as “World Vision” and “Food for the Hungry” were born. Ward (2002:272) argues, however, that these were merely “to balance the church’s mid-century denial of the importance of the physical and social needs of people”. The evangelical consultations⁷¹ which took place during this time, continued to uphold (despite acknowledging the need for social action) the supremacy of evangelism.⁷² Furthermore, strong criticism was levelled against the Fourth Assembly of the World Council of Churches (Uppsala) by the evangelical camp. Donald McGavern, founder of the Church Growth Movement, critiqued Uppsala’s neglect of evangelistic outreach to the “2 billion who did not know Christ as Lord and Saviour”, believing evangelism

⁷¹ Wheaton Declaration 1966, Berlin Conference 1966, Lausanne (International Congress on World Evangelisation) 1974.

⁷² Bosch (1991:404) notes that evangelicals, such as the founder of the Church Growth Movement, Ronald Mc Gavern, and Billy Graham, saw improved social conditions as conditional of successful evangelism.

and church planting to be the sole mandate of the gospel⁷³ (Thomas 1995:158). It is proposed by Samuel and Sugden (1999:viii) that such sentiments resulted in Third World evangelicals who recognised the Gospel as being holistic to remain silent, believing that they may be misconstrued as “weakening their commitment to sharing the ‘gospel’”. The Lausanne Congress of 1974 had, nevertheless, initiated the discussion within the movement regarding ‘development’ and had legitimised a steadily growing amount of evangelical development and relief agencies in the 1970s. Many of these endeavours, however, lacked a clear biblical basis.

The late 1970s and early 1980s appeared to bring a growing “convergence of convictions” between the ecumenical and evangelical movements⁷⁴ and proved to be a watershed time for the evangelicals (Bosch 1991:408). While the ecumenical debate began to move towards broader definitions of theology and development, at the Consultation on World Evangelisation (GOWE) in 1980 evangelical theologians began to call for the creation of “a theology of development”⁷⁵ (Dayton 1987:54). This subsequently led to the World Evangelical Fellowship consultation on the “Church in Response to Human Need”, which declared clearly in paragraph 26 of the Wheaton ’83 Statement that

Evil is not only in the human heart but also in social structures... the mission of the church included both the proclamation of the Gospel and its demonstration. We must therefore evangelise, respond to immediate human needs, and press for social transformation. (Samuel & Sugden 1987: 260).

Papers delivered at this conference indicate that evangelicals were seeking to engage critically with social justice issues, secular development thinking, human liberation, development and eschatology, basic human needs, culture and social change, the role of the local church and the tension between evangelism and social responsibility.⁷⁶ It was at this same consultation that the term *transformational development* was coined by the evangelical debate to denote development work. This term was chosen as it was felt that the term ‘development’ was entirely too “loaded with secular and

⁷³ The Church Growth Movement would later be critiqued in turn for its lack of concern for the social and political dimensions of conversion by fellow evangelicals (Muller *et al.*, 1997:67).

⁷⁴ Ronald Sider’s (1977) book *Rich Christians in an Age of Hunger*, for example, puts forward the macro issues regarding distributive justice.

⁷⁵ According to Samuel and Sugden (1999: viii), this process had begun as far back as 1978.

⁷⁶ See Samuel and Sugden (1987) for a compilation of the papers delivered by writers from five continents at the Wheaton Consultation.

humanistic freight that it was no longer useful”, which led to the adoption of the term “social transformation” instead (Dayton 1987:54). Samuel and Sugden (1999:x) describe the concept as follows:

Over against the notion that some nations developed others, or were more developed than others, it insisted that all people and communities needed transformation; over and against a statement of Christian mission solely in terms of personal transformation it stressed that communities needed to obey the Gospel of Jesus Christ in value transformation; over against the notion that social action would be enough to bring justice is stressed the need to deal with the guilt, power and consequences of sin through the Gospel of Christ; over against the notion that society would be changed by converting individuals to Christ, it stressed that people and communities needed to enjoy fullness of life in harmony with God through obedience to the Gospel.

In the early 1990s, evangelical engagement with the concept of transformation in economics (1990) and the environment (1993), and the emergence of the themes of God as creator and humanity as steward became evident. During the late 1990s, an interesting dialogue emerged between the Pentecostals, Charismatics and evangelicals regarding the role of the Spirit in transformation. Recently, evangelicals, while maintaining ‘transformation’ as a dynamic concept “on which the definitive word will probably never be spoken”, have highlighted the fact that they have failed to engage adequately with the issues and contexts of poverty, its management, the strengthening of civil society, Christian values of justice and righteousness, economic life and ecclesiological self-understanding. The current call within the debate is therefore for the concept of ‘transformation’ to engage more critically and actively with these issues on macro and micro level, particularly within the context of globalisation (Samuel & Sugden 1999: xiii; Ward 2000:273).

2.2.3 Conclusion

Evangelicals and ecumenicals have defined ‘development’ differently during the 20th century, stemming in part from the theological tension between the two mandates and in part from the evolving secular debate – particularly with regard to the Third World. It is clear that the tension stemming from a dichotomous understanding of the Gospel has since then steadily but clearly moved towards a convergence of convictions, despite many ambiguities and discrepancies. Gern (1997:107) notes that it is “difficult

to interpret development theologically not only because of the ambiguity of the term, its associations with growth theory, and its process character but also because of all kinds of misleading legitimisation of development processes by those in power at a given time.” Currently, such sentiment has resulted in evangelicals moving further and further away from the widespread use of the term ‘development’. They and certain sectors of the secular debate have begun to use the term ‘social transformation’ instead, arguing that it is a more holistic and less ‘loaded’ term than that of ‘development’. The researcher, therefore, proposes the use of *development as transformation* when referring to the church’s understanding of social responsibility as it is a term which opens an avenue for dialogue and yet retains the distinction between the humanities and theological schools of thought concerning development.

2.3. DEVELOPMENT AS TRANSFORMATION

While the secular debate also clearly defines *development as transformation*, the researcher, in the light of previous discussions, wishes to propose an alternative framework based on that defined by the *Wheaton Declaration* (1983) (cf. Samuel & Sugden 1987:261-276).⁷⁷ This does not mean that the key development principles of the broader debates, such as participation, self reliance and a people-centred ambit, are discarded, merely that they are placed within a different framework.⁷⁸ Transformation broadly points to “a number of changes that have to take place in many societies if poor people are to enjoy their rightful heritage in creation” (Samuel & Sugden 1999: 265). It is furthermore not seen as alien to Scripture, but rather as an intrinsic part of God’s plan for the world. It should also be noted that key constructs such as the *Missio Dei*, Kingdom of God, local church and holistic spirituality as expressed by the theological conceptualisation in Chapter 1 are key in ‘unlocking’ a definition of *development as transformation*.

⁷⁷ Several missiological thinkers (particularly of the evangelical persuasion) in the development field discuss *development as transformation* (cf. Bragg 1987:38; Samuel & Sugden 1999; Samuel 2002:243).

⁷⁸ Bragg (1987:47) comments that “no development program in the real world and no development theory adequately meet all the characteristics of transformation, though each reflects to one degree or another some of the essential elements.” He proposed transformation, not as an alternative development theory, but “as a Christian framework for looking at human and social change” (Bragg 1987:40).

2.3.1 Motivation for development as transformation

The goal of Christian transformation is unique. It is that of *shalom* or the New Testament concept of the Kingdom where harmony, peace and justice reign under the Lordship of Christ. Here, sin is viewed as that which has distorted God's perfect intention, leading to oppression, poverty, injustice and the alienation of individuals, communities and nations. Sin is not merely individualistic, but also institutional or social (Bragg 1987:39). Romans 8:18-25 speaks of the fallenness of creation as cosmological in scope. Therefore, if the sin of humankind has "distorted the entire creation, certainly its social structures are included" (Erickson 1993:655). Sin has distorted and bent the true nature of God-created relationships so that a myriad of expressions of human poverty in its material and spiritual forms are manifested:

Degraded land, ill health, marginalisation, unjust economic and political structures, ethnic wars and every other cause of poverty find their roots in fallen human beings, rebellious principalities and powers and a cursed creation (Myers 2000:64).

Erickson (1993:643) notes that Scripture teaches that evil "has a status apart from and independent of any individual human will, a subsistence of its own, an organised or structured basis". This reality is referred to as "the world" or *kosmos* (in the Greek): "the human sociological realm that exists in estrangement from God" (Wink 1992:51). Wink (1992:52) translates *kosmos* as meaning "system", in the special New Testament meaning of the word and explains it as follows:

Thus when the Pharisees challenge Jesus' authority to attack their religious order, he responds, "You are of this System, I am not of this System" (John 8:23). Again, as long as *kosmos* in this statement was translated as "world" the impression was given that Jesus was otherworldly, non-human, a 'docetic' (only 'seeming') person: "I am not of this world." With the meaning 'system' however, his statement is literally true. He belonged to God's system. He was not 'of' the Dominations System. Rejection of the *kosmos*, as John H. Elliot remarks, is not anti-worldly but anti-establishment.

Several New Testament texts contrast the world and the believer's understanding of reality and the enmity and opposition "which the world displays towards Christ" and the Spirit (1 Cor. 1:21, 27, 2:12; Jan 7:7, Jn. 14:17). This reality is then not merely supernatural (albeit nevertheless supernatural – for the *kosmos* is under the control of

Satan: “the whole world is under the power of the evil one” - 1 Jn. 5:19⁷⁹), but has structural aspects (Erickson 1993:645). An additional aspect of social sin is that which the Apostle Paul terms the “powers”. Wink (1984:5) argues that the “principalities and powers” spoken of in the Bible are both the inner (the within of corporate or government structures and systems – their spirituality) and outer (organisation of power) aspects of organisations.⁸⁰ When these powers become idolatrous and place themselves above God and the whole, they are labelled as demonic: “oppression and injustice, racism, alienation, and exploitation in the structures of communities and nations are the results of idolatry and disobedience to God” (Bragg 1987:39). These structures or systems therefore begin to take on a character of their own with “their own laws, their own trends and tendencies, quite independent of the human agents involved in them” (Wink 1992:78). People may establish institutions, but Wink (1992:81) notes that they are in turn molded by the institutions they have established in a world already institutionalised for injustice. We are not, therefore “contending against mere human beings, but against supra-human systems and forces, against the ‘spirituality of the evil Powers in the invisible order’”. Within this understanding of the social dimension of sin, which is perpetuated by the social structures of this *kosmos*, we view a distorted reality of God’s original design and purpose for creation.

2.3.2 The goal of transformation

Transformation, in contrast, is understood as that which “seeks to repel the evil structures that exist in the present cosmos and to institute through the mission of the church the values of the Kingdom over and against the values of the principalities and powers of this world” (Bragg 1987:39). Living in peaceful and right relationships is both the message of the gospel and God’s created reality before the fall. We were created to live in *shalom*, the absence of which leads to the above-mentioned lack of harmony as expressed in the social disorder of economic inequality, political oppression and exclusivist tendencies (Brueggemann 1982:18). *Shalom* not only means peace in the sense of the absence of strife, but also health, wholeness, prosperity, justice, harmony and general well-being⁸¹. In essence, it is peace within all

⁷⁹ Wink (1992:57) qualifies this text as meaning that the Domination System is “inspired, sustained and presided over by Satan”.

⁸⁰ Cf. The *Wheaton '83 Statement*: paragraph 26.

⁸¹ Walter Brueggeman (1982:27) contends that the context in which we “set the word *shalom* will make a difference in how it comes through us and the freight we assign to it”. He therefore discusses *shalom* both with references to “haves” and “have nots”.

our relationships: with God, with self, with others and nature. It should be noted that these relationships exist within the wider political, economic, religious and local/global social systems all of which were originally ordained by God to protect human life, but are now distorted by the Fall and have become idolatrous and unjust, subordinating “the people they exist to serve to ends not ordained by God” (Wink 1992:77). These systems when distorted by broken unjust relationships evidence violence, racism, God complexes, domination, oppression, lack of access, exploitation of nature and moral poverty (Myers 1999:87). An absence of *shalom* is therefore evidenced by these kinds of social disorder, which the prophets speak boldly against (Micah 2:1-2; Amos 4:1; Amos 5:14-15; Isaiah 1:16-17) (Breuggeman 1982:18,19). In each context and within each system the challenge will be distinctive. Samuel (1999:229, 300) reminds us that “mission as transformation should show that Christian faith is translatable” and should therefore address structural sin in its localised *kosmos*.

Christ, however, came to redeem not only individual persons or relationships but also proclaim to the Powers the advent of the Kingdom of God “which would transform every aspect of reality, even the social framework of existence” (Wink 1992:82). Through the person of Jesus Christ, the coming of the new dispensation of the Kingdom of God breaks through. This heralds changed relationships on all levels: “through him God chose to reconcile the whole universe to himself, making peace through the shedding of his blood upon the cross – to reconcile all things, whether on earth or in heaven, through him alone” (Col 1:20). Development that is transformational “points to the supremacy of Christ, and affirms that the development activities that improve human welfare bear witness to the character and activity of God through Christ” (Bradshaw 2000:966)⁸². For “when anyone is united with Christ, there is a new world; the old order (*ta panta* – meaning the old order in its totality) has gone, and a new order has already begun” (2 Cor. 5:17). However, this new order, the Kingdom of God, although already here in the present heralded by the incarnation of Christ, is yet to break through in its entirety (Bragg 1987:68). In this way we see that Christ brought a kind of cosmic salvation, not just an individualistic salvation of

⁸² Samuel (1999:229) notes in expanding the components of “mission as transformation” that there is an integral relationship between social action and evangelism and that this is found in relation to God in Christ.

souls or a reconciliation of enemies. Furthermore, it is at the cross that Christ disarmed the principalities and powers (Col. 2:15):

If, as it is widely assumed, the principalities and powers in Paul's thought are both supernatural, fallen spiritual beings and also present socio-political, economic and political structures of society, then this passage means that at the cross, Christ in some important way has already begun his victory over the corrupt, unjust structures of human society. Certainly the victory will be completed only at his return, but it has begun at the cross. Since this crucial victory happened at the cross, it must be linked with redemption and salvation (Sider & Parker 1985:99).

Thus, a transformational ministry must seek the restoration of these relationships within oneself, with others, with the environment and with God. There are twin goals of transformational development: the one is changed people and the other changed relationships. People must have the opportunity to become who they really are; poverty affects one's sense of identity: what one is and what one was intended for. Transformation in the New Testament (Rom. 8:19-21) focuses on the restoration and reorientation of the individual back to the image of God as expounded in Genesis (Samuel 2002:244). In accepting Christ as their saviour and becoming his disciple (restored relationship between God and human), people not only see themselves as beings made in the image of God, but also, therefore, productive stewards of their gifts and the world God has given to them (Gen. 1, 2, & 3). Samuel (2002:244) adds that transformation also has to do with character and that one of the missing elements in secular development theory is the role of the development character among the poor. Furthermore, Sugden (1999:246) notes significantly that:

People cannot fulfil God's purpose for them if they have no sense of worth or of identity. Without identity or worth they will be prey to the idea (often fostered by others) that they deserve no more than the poverty and suffering that is their lot. They will have no hope for anything better.

Successful secular community development takes place throughout the world. However, it is the power of the Spirit and a restored sense of identity based on that beyond which we can see or hear which brings real hope. I therefore propose a more lasting development of a truly transformational kind.

The second goal of transformational development is the discovery of just and peaceful relationships with others and the community (Myers 2000:65). The resistance of this kosmos' system through the promotion of Kingdom values such as equity, provision of basic needs, justice, dignity, self worth, freedom for all, cultural appropriateness, ecological soundness, people's participation, spiritual transformation and hope are part of this goal⁸³. The biblical vision of *shalom* challenges us to "discern God's vision of how the world should be and that we mean to live towards that vision" (Brueggeman 1982:39). It is obvious that many of the characteristics mentioned above are ones that are congruent with most development thinking today, but the last two set it apart. According to Wink (1992:84) unjust social systems can be changed, but only by strategies that address the socio-spiritual nature of institutions. As the church, we need to therefore discern and engage these the structure and spirituality of these systems within which our relationships function. Development that is transformational identifies the Holy Spirit as the 'Transformer *par excellence*'. It is the Spirit, which enlightens, counsels, empowers and sustains the church to do God's work (Samuel & Sugden 1999:275, 276). Holistic biblical development calls for the transformation of individuals and institutions (even within the church!) which sees us in *shalom* with God, our fellow human beings, ourselves and all of creation.

2.3.3 Conclusion

In God's intention for the world, he places the church at the centre of his purpose. As Sider (in Bragg 1987:39) comments:

Perhaps the genuinely unique contribution of Christians to development is precisely the people of God – the church – as a new community where all relationships are being transformed and redeemed.

It is this unique contribution that brings hope and may replace the pessimism of recent development thinking, breathing creativity into our orthopraxis: the new heavens and the new earth are always on our peripheral vision sustaining us. For in the Cross, God was revealed as Emmanuel, "God (working) with us" in the midst of our problems and societal ills. By the power of his resurrection and ascension, his

⁸³ These values are identified by Bragg (1997) as characteristics of transformation. Individual and social power, as well as reconciliation and the concept of solidarity with the poor are further key concepts identified as integral to a definition of transformation (Samuel 1999:231).

Lordship over them is established, thus giving us, as His church, the motivation and responsibility to continue his work in the power of the Spirit.

2.4 THE CHURCH AS AN AGENT OF TRANSFORMATION

In the light of a discussion of *development as transformation*, the contrast between the basis and motivation for the church's role in this framework as distinctive from that of secular development becomes clear. According to Bosch (in Samuel & Sugden 1999:200), the Kingdom comes wherever Jesus overcomes the evil one. God does indeed work in a redemptive manner outside of the church (and not least through secular development efforts), but Bosch adds that this ought to happen in the fullest measure in and through the church. In addition, Bosch (1985:74) notes a weak ecclesiology as one of the reasons for congregations' lack of social involvement and engagement with the pressing realities of poverty. If "mission is essentially ecclesial", then the Church and mission are inextricably linked. Particularly in light of the *Missio Dei* which argues that "since God is a missionary God, God's people are a missionary people" (Bosch 1991:372).⁸⁴ God's intention and concern for the world, therefore, stands central to the church's action in the world. Tsele (2002: 210) comments that "there is without doubt a growing realization in various quarters that the faith dimension should be added to development work" and this is not surprising in a climate that is increasingly plagued by a sense of pessimism and hopelessness with regard to development (cf. Batista 1995:229; Herbert 2003:92; Wilson & Ramphele 1989:302). An understanding of *development as transformation* thus evokes the question of an ecclesial basis for conceptualising the church as an agent of transformation in society. Indeed, what understandings of the church could shed further light on the church's distinctive role and contribution to transformational development? To this end, the researcher wishes to identify and discuss the following ecclesiological perspectives of what the church could and should be as a distinctive community called to minister and witness to the broader community within which it resides.

⁸⁴ The fact that mission is always *Missio Dei* brings into perspective that the church's action in the world always originates in the heart of God. Therefore (while salvation is never dependent on our effort), because the Kingdom is dawning we cannot resign ourselves to poverty, injustice, inequality and its related ills.

2.4.1 Activating hope in context: The Kingdom community

The church as the human community under God's rule is called to be a visible evidence of His presence and demonstration of His Kingdom in situations of poverty. Therefore, although the Kingdom extends beyond the church and cannot be attained in the present purely by the actions of the church, the church remains an instrument of the Kingdom in witnessing to a God of justice, love and peace.⁸⁵ God's kingly rule over the entire cosmos creates the expectation of a society that should reflect His ethics of love, ethics that have already broken into human history in Jesus Christ and which continues through the power of the Spirit as we as God's community open ourselves to his work⁸⁶. The characterisation of this ethic is set forth as follows:

Practices and actions that embody love, justice respect of persons, generosity and the promotion of human dignity constitute the normative moral structure in a Christian ethic reflective of God's kingly rule (Dempster 1999:71).

In embodying the above within the structures of society, an aspect of what life will look like in God's future reign may be modelled through the character of the community of faith. The church in essence then is called to be the bearer of the message of *shalom* into broken and fragmented communities⁸⁷ torn apart by war, famine, political oppression and socio-economic inequality. The church is therefore called to facilitate the healing of these divides through proclaiming the message of *shalom*. It is a community which, if taking the power of sin seriously, addresses it in all its forms, both personally and socially. It involves itself in both speaking and acting prophetically in contexts of poverty. Bosch (1991:337) comments that the church, if it is to be a "credible sacrament of salvation for the world", is called to display "to humanity a glimmer of God's immanent reign – a Kingdom of reconciliation, peace and new life". In so doing, it has the possibility to activate hope in contexts of hopelessness. Sugden (2004:5) states it in the following way:

⁸⁵ According to Erickson (1985:1041), the Kingdom is the rule of God while the church is defined as being the realm of God – the human community under his rule (and in this case a rule of servanthood).

⁸⁶ Smith (1993:34) emphasises the nature of the Kingdom as transformational and that "seeing the Kingdom of God as transformational legitimizes Christian participation in the process of change".

⁸⁷ Yoder (1987:139) states that *shalom* is to be fostered by the church, but that the church "has often failed to be about the Kingdom and the Good News" and instead set up tight structures "more often used for control than liberation and justice". This, he warns, creates power structures within the church and may lead to the church itself becoming an oppressor, over-concerned with its own structures and religious functions.

The calling of the church in the present age is to live by the life that is the resurrection life, to live the life of the Kingdom of God. The church lives this life in forming communities of faith. Such communities proclaim Jesus and the resurrection in the face of death especially for those to whom death is untimely; they proclaim Jesus and the resurrection in the face of the oppression of those who think that they are the lords of this world; they proclaim Jesus and the resurrection to those who are without hope in this world, not by promising escape to another world, but by the assurance of the recreation of this world by the just and loving creator in which they are invited by faith to be inheritors.

The church as an agent of transformation is imbued with power. The power offered by the Spirit is not one that should either be spiritualised away into a general ministry of social action, nor should it be understood as referring to the purely supernatural, but rather as dispensing gifts “as a release of God’s power in the ministry of the Kingdom in the world” and in sustaining those in situations of “entrenched suffering and or oppression as a crucial aspect of Kingdom ministry” (Cray 1999:41). The Holy Spirit thus empowers us as the church in the way of Christ to proclaim and live out his coming Kingdom; this is a pattern clearly stressed by the scriptures beginning at Pentecost (cf. Acts 2). This empowerment is evidenced by the gifts given to the Body by the Spirit – such as mercy, compassion, service and healing in service to the world.⁸⁸ At creation itself we view the Spirit of God hovering over the waters and Yahweh makes himself known as the Spirit of Creation (Gen. 1:2). Without the movement of the Spirit chaos remains. The Spirit therefore not only empowers but gives life and sustains it, opening up the possibility for “creative solutions out of chaotic circumstances” and breaking down the “prescriptive and manipulative by releasing new ideas” (Bruwer 1994:49,50,62). Within contexts of seeming hopelessness, powerlessness and vulnerability, the church in the power of the Spirit has the possibility of renewing praxis in this power.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Another dimension of Charismatic gifts is that they serve as the great equaliser: one part of the body cannot be regarded as of more worth than another; in fact, greater honour has to go to those “weaker” parts so that equal concern can build up the church (1 Cor. 12). The social welfare approach of alms-giving often makes no sense if those who are poor within the body are not included in the processes that are to take place (Bruwer 1994:50).

⁸⁹ In fact, the Holy Spirit is referred to by the *Wheaton '83 Statement* (Article VII, paragraph 53) as the “Transformer *par excellence*”.

The church stands as beacon of hope over and against the domination system of this present age – that which renders people powerless. What other expression then but hope should define our attitude as church in the midst of the ‘already’ of poverty, oppression and suffering?⁹⁰ Hope that broke through in the death and resurrection of the crucified Christ and which, because we can remember what God has done in Christ, we know will dawn with Christ’s final return. The hope of Christ’s return, however, is no ‘escapist clause’ or ‘cop out’ for Christian complacency - it is this hope, which anchors the distinctiveness and motivation of the church’s calling. As the church, we are called to realise the values of the Kingdom in the now. The eschatological future makes demands on our living in the present for by its very nature it is a critique on the present age, and thus this hope forces us to resist the status quo in the manner of the ‘upside down’ non-conformism of the Kingdom. This is particularly relevant when addressing social structures that exploit and dehumanise people⁹¹ and provides a vision of hope that may sustain communities in and through these periods.⁹²

2.4.2 Journeying with the poor: The servant community

Myers (2003:127) identifies one of the key roles of the church in transformational development as that of servant and source of encouragement of what God intends and what God offers, not a commander or judge.⁹³ As such, the church may be regarded as the “church with others”⁹⁴ – journeying with the poor, the marginalised, suffering and oppressed through and in their circumstances. The church is called to embody *Emmanuel* – Christ with us, the hope of Glory⁹⁵ – and to embody and appropriate true *diakonia*,⁹⁶ which identifies with the poor, the hungry, the thirsty, the stranger, naked,

⁹⁰ See Article VIII (paragraph 51) of the *Wheaton '83 Statement* for the church’s mission with regard to hope and transformation.

⁹¹ Sadly, the church has often supported the socio-political status quo.

⁹² Christian (1999:185) states that a Kingdom response to poverty should “always call the poor and the non-poor to read time and events in a way that affirms the existence of a loving God, who broods over the affairs of the poor and powerless”.

⁹³ Samuel (1999:229) identifies this as one of the key components of “Mission as Transformation” and states the following: “so much of mission gives the impression of being an act of judgement rather than a journey with people and communities towards God’s intention. Mission is mission on the way – inviting people to take part in the journey”.

⁹⁴ Bosch (1991:375) notes that this term, originally phrased by Bonhoeffer as the “church for others”, is critiqued by Sundermeier as being far too “liberal-humanist”. The term, it is suggested, is perhaps too paternalistic as it may hinder the possibility of true co-existence.

⁹⁵ Karl Barth radically regarded the church as the “earthly historical form of the countenance of Jesus himself” (Berkhof 1985:399).

⁹⁶ *Diakonia*, translated from the Greek as “service”, is identified by several theologians as being part of the central task of the church which witnesses to God’s intention for the world – to be reconciled with

ill and prisoner in suffering with them. In Christ we find the basis and source of service to our world – the one who prompts us as the people of God to go beyond ourselves – even up until the point of death.⁹⁷ Christ, as the King who came to serve, not to be served, heralded a new ‘upside-down’ Kingdom order, which sees the church as a servant of its community, the embodiment of true *diakonia*:

Diakonia is an expression of the responsible care for God’s created world. God uses human beings and human structures to safeguard the dignity of human life. God wants to renew and reestablish what is broken down in nature and in the lives of people (Aarflot 1988:83).

As the church, we are called to facilitate the reconstitution of broken people and communities. This implies an attitude of respect and dignity towards the people we are journeying with in relationship – one which calls the Body of Christ to reach out to every form of need in the world, becoming slaves as our King did in order to embody God’s great love and compassion for His world.⁹⁸ *Diakonia* implies coming alongside people with the intention of serving in a way that affirms their dignity and self-worth. In effect, it is journeying on a ‘people first’⁹⁹ path, which in the mode of the suffering servant places the need of the other first, and recognises the need of the individuals and groups being served to identify and act upon their own needs. Journeying in loving service is in direct opposition to the modernistic imposition of values, beliefs, technology and methodology imposed from above by previous notions

him, each other, themselves and all creation - *Shalom*. Relegated for too long to the margins of church life (for the *kerygmatic / proclamation* element has often dominated), the church has again taken up the emphasis of the model of the New Testament church on service to society. It is interesting to note that, as the early church began to institutionalise, the term was appropriated to refer mainly to church officials who were called deacons, soon losing its character of caring for the poor (cf. Bennet & Hughes 1998:86). The term ‘deacon’ merely refers to one who serves or ministers, yet it is too important a term for understanding holistic ministry to be narrowly used to only refer to those in the ordained ministry.

⁹⁷ Beets (1983:226) notes that “... Christ was himself the *diakonos* par excellence whose office it was not only to prompt the people of God in their response to the divine mercy and to be merciful themselves, not only to stand out as the perfect model or example of compassionate service to the needy and distressed, but to provide in Himself and His own deeds of mercy the creative ground and source of all such *diakonia*”.

⁹⁸ Thus, the church in her relation to Christ as the head of the Body is called to take a stand in service to the world against social evils such as poverty, violent injustices, oppression and suffering. There is a deep need for the church, then, to discover the gifts of the Spirit which are given to the Body for service (Eph. 4:11, 12; 1 Cor. 12:27, 28). Without the Spirit there can be no real community, it is through the Spirit that we are brought into communion - *koinonia* - with Christ as our head and each other as the members of the body. We witness at Pentecost that the coming of the Spirit gives the New Testament community of believers a definitive identity, and this identity is shaped in that Christ exercises his compassion through the Spirit of the Community (Phil. 2:1-4) (Beets 1983:229).

⁹⁹ Cf. Burkey (1993: 27-29) for a discussion of the ‘people first’ approach.

of development. Christian (1999:187) suggests that such notions are often project- and issue-based and that initiatives of community organisation must rather be built around authentic relationship-based involvement with the poor. A covenant quality community such as the church “emphasizes that solidarity with and among the powerless should never be reduced to an issue based social program”.

2.4.3 Assisting in building communities of change: Agent for community

One of the key distinctives of transformational mission, as defined by Vinay Samuel (1999:231), is that it entails “building communities of change”. The importance of building community becomes clear when it is assumed that, when the sense of community among the poor is broken, the poor are kept powerless¹⁰⁰. The church, however, is a community that is called out of the world by God to be his special people: a people who are gathered around the crucified and risen Christ, receiving God’s judging, forgiving and renewing grace, and then sent out to be agents of his forgiveness, reconciliation and renewal in the building and transformation of the communities within which they reside (Guthrie 1994:352). Henson (in Grentz 1993:170) clearly indicates the theological significance of the *ekkesia*.¹⁰¹

The community of faith in the Bible is the people called. It is the people called forth from diverse sorts of bondage to freedom, called to a sense of identity founded on a common bond with the God of righteousness and compassion, and called to the twin vocations of worship and participation in the creative,

¹⁰⁰ Power, wielded by the elite or dominant sectors in a society, threatens community by dividing it into poor and non-poor, power holders and power subjects, the powerful and the powerless (Christian 1999:128).

¹⁰¹ The meaning of the term *ekkesia* has two roots: one must be seen against the background of classical Greek terminology and the other (and more importantly so) that of the Old Testament. The former is etymological and indicates that the word is derived from the verb *kaleo* (meaning ‘to call’) and proposition *ek* (‘out of’), based on which it is concluded that the idea of “the called out ones” is inherent in the resulting noun *ekkesia* (Grentz 1994:605). Against this background, the word refers to the “free citizens in the Greek city states who through a herald were ‘called out’ of their homes to the marketplace” to tend to city affairs thereby forming an *ekkesia* or assembly of people called together for a specific purpose (Berkhof 1985:347; Grentz 1993:170; McClendon 1994:364). Reference to such a gathering is to be found in Acts 19:32, 39, 41. Paul’s usage of the word for the most part referred either to those Christians who lived and met in a particular city (1 Cor.1: 22; Cor. 1:1; Gal. 1:2; 1 Thess. 1: 1) or to those in individual homes. However, it is the term’s link to the Old Testament (as translated by the Septuagint from the Hebrew *qahal*- assembly) that carries more significance. In this way, Israel as the people of Yahweh, were referred to as the “congregation” or “assembly of the Lord” (Deut. 23:1-8; 1Chron. 28:8; cf. Erickson 1993:1032). A people called out to be God’s people who saw themselves as a continuation of what Yahweh had begun with Israel and this may have formed the background for “Jesus’ declaration that he would build his church, his congregation” in Mat. 16: 18; 18:17. The early church’s choice of the term denotes that the term *ekkesia* was regarded as an appropriate way to express their identity as a covenant people “called together by the proclamation of the gospel for the purpose of belonging to God through Christ by the power of the Holy Spirit” (Grentz 1993:170; Guthrie 1994:351).

redemptive purpose that unifies all history and is directed to the restoration of the whole creation within a universal order of *shalom*.

What such an ecclesiological understanding suggests is that the church is neither a hierarchy nor building, but rather a community with a unique task of restoring true 'community' within the societies within which they operate. The early church shows us a people-shaped beginning brought together and sent out by the sacrificial and powerful message of a crucified God, not by common interests, a project or financial necessity. Into economically, socially and politically fragmented communities, the church is called to equip and release holistic disciples "who are committed to serve the community in the community's search for its well-being" (Myers 2000:66).¹⁰² Such disciples, working for the restoration of *shalom*, proclaim a message to communities that God is a God of reconciliation and liberation in solidarity with them.¹⁰³ Myers (2003:127) therefore argues that the church can be a source of value formation to communities. While not the sole source of values, the church should contribute holistic disciples that "should be a significant source of inspiration and perspiration working for life and *shalom*." The church "when at its best ... is a sign of the values of the Kingdom", values such as freedom, equality, justice, peace, hope and participation. Maggay (1994:48) identifies bearing witness to community as a way that social change should be defined in terms of the biblical injunction for the church to be salt and light:

As 'salt', we penetrate society and act as a preservative against social putrefaction, restoring and affirming whatever is good and just and lovely in the things around us (Philippians 4:8). As 'light', we stand before forces of darkness, a sign of the truth about the human condition and the meaning of history and human existence.

By the church having a distinct self-understanding of its character as being both a 'called out' community and 'called to' community, the church can help in the restoration of the communities they serve. It is this redefined sense of community and God's grace that empowers people in the wider community to rediscover a sense of God-given destiny (Villa-Vicencio 1992:184).

¹⁰² This, in its concrete form, may include participation in civil society.

¹⁰³ Cf. Mead (1996:55-610) for a discussion on congregations as both support for community and as generators of community.

Transformation occurs when Christians demonstrate the power of love, which is able to re-orientate and transform people and communities who have been displaced, alienated and disempowered.¹⁰⁴ The poor, marginalised and oppressed are often perceived as ‘non people’ rendered powerless and vulnerable by the cycle of poverty. Many are disempowered and have become objects, not subjects of their own reality. Bereft of a healthy social structure, some may even experience social disorientation or anomie.¹⁰⁵ Petersen (1995:151) describes the social expressions of Latin American Pentecostalism¹⁰⁶ as flowing out of what Bonino calls a “love-motif” which flows out of an expression of Christian community. Petersen (1995:152) explains Bonino’s view of the possible impact of the church as a community of transformation on the individual in the following way:

The ‘non-person’ who hears and receives the message of transformation, personally experiences the reality of an intimate relationship with God in his or her life. Converts are immediately thrust into a loving and caring community. Dignity, value, personal worth and identity are collectively celebrated. Miguez Bonino captures the essence of the experience when he writes that the ‘centre of this transformation is the experience of the community of mutual love and solidarity’. And further, ‘the Holy Spirit builds the ekklesia as members of the community come and celebrate together’. How is this salvation that culminates in a radical transformation to self acceptance and self love demonstrated to the ‘non-person’? Miguez

¹⁰⁴As the Body of Christ, the church’s communion with Christ as the head of the body is characterized by grace; a grace that brought us into this new relationship with him and now brings us into new relationship with our fellow human beings. Without this *communio* with each other, our *communicatio* with Christ would be no more than an inner – experience and Paul’s usage of the analogy of the body rules out any form of individualism. Without our relationship to Christ as the departure point our relationship with each other is reduced to being no more than a religious club. More so, the oneness in Christ implies that love to “God –in – Christ and love to ones neighbour are one and indivisible and that the church must model the oneness for which our humanity is intended with fellow believers as a witness to the world” (Berkhof 1985:400-401). Furthermore, this communion through grace should evoke both in us a response of generosity in sharing and compassion.

¹⁰⁵ This refers to a situation “in which social norms lose their hold over individual behaviour (Giddens 1995:748).

¹⁰⁶ Pentecostalism, while certainly not viewed in most circles as social activists, have nevertheless come under the spotlight in some regions as alternative societies where the paternalism of political concientization which often took the form of “for the poor” rather than with them, is replaced by the largely indigenous leadership of this movement who don’t need to identify with the poor: they are the poor (Escobar 2000:44). Thus, the poor are seen as actors on the basis of the values of the Kingdom and a fully fledged grass roots movement. Base communities are another Latin American form of church as a grassroots movement. Most commonly identified as having arisen in Latin America and growing out of earlier Catholic attempts at lay mobilization, they included spiritual and material aspects functioning as a grassroots organizations in order to improve living conditions in their communities (Boff 1986:34 - 44).

Bonino asks. Not just exclusively by proclamation, he responds, but rather by a message filled with 'content by a redeemed community, a content that can be extrapolated and makes the world of free grace intelligible'.

The church provides a space and place for the poor that they may not find in broader society. It is an inclusive community, which has the possibility to become not only a haven for those who are excluded from the status quo, but a place of empowerment for what God offers and intends for their lives in all its dimensions: economic, spiritual, political and social. Loving communities of unconditional acceptance that live out God's unconditional love and grace in a manner that restores a sense of dignity and self-worth to the 'non-person', have the possibility to re-orientate the individual in turn for service to the broader community.

2.4.4. Conclusion

It is clear from the discussion of these ecclesiological perspectives that the church's nature is indeed transformative and its contribution to social transformation is distinctive. Hope is a powerful source for change and the Kingdom community, sustained by the vision of the coming Kingdom, has the possibility to sustain individuals and community in hopeless situations. As the community with the poor, and more often of the poor, the church has no ulterior motives and should have no cause to support the status quo. As a serving community, it puts the needs of the poor and powerless first. As stewards of creation, the church is called to safeguard those who are treated unjustly politically, socially and economically. Finally, the church as the called-out servant community has the possibility of living out an example of true community in the midst of fragmented and broken communities. Despite the possibilities that these perspectives of the church have to contribute to development that is transformational, the church has often failed to fulfill its calling and take its place with regard to transformational development.

2.5. SUMMATIVE CONCLUSION

The following may be regarded as summative propositions arising from this chapter. There will be a critical engagement with these in the rest of the thesis.

- *The debates surrounding development from the secular, ecumenical and evangelical perspective are moving towards convergence. All have diverged to some extent from the use of the term 'development' as solely representing*

their efforts in the fight against poverty towards more inclusive terminology. Key concepts such as justice, participation, the role of civil society, globalisation and sustainability are all common to the three debates discussed regarding poverty. However, they are clearly addressed from different perspectives and with different foci.

- *The term 'social transformation' has been identified as being more holistic and as containing fewer negative connotations than that of 'development', and it is more encompassing in scope when addressing the diversity of issues involved in the global discussion of poverty.*
- *The use of the term transformation, therefore, allows for greater dialogue between the various debates, has fewer negative connotations and may be more appropriate in Third World contexts, such as South Africa, which have laboured under the classification of "underdeveloped" in the past. Currently, development endeavours have been plagued with hopelessness and pessimism, which also lends credence to the inclusion of a new dimension or voice to the debate. In South Africa, the government has acknowledged the concept of transformation as requiring the added dimension of spirituality. This is possibly in the hope that its inclusion may bring renewed perspective and provide spiritual resources for addressing the challenge of poverty.*
- *In light of this challenge, it is necessary that the church define her own framework in order to have a voice within the context of this dialogue.*
- *Neither salvation mandate should dominate as Christians are equally called to announce the good news of salvation through Jesus Christ and to responsible participation in human society. The two salvation mandates will, nevertheless, always be in creative tension as we are called to witness to the Kingdom which views life holistically and calls us to act holistically as its transformative agent in society, both in word and deed.*
- *The concept of development as 'transformation' as expounded by the Wheaton Declaration, provides a distinctive and balanced framework which keeps the mandates in creative tension and yet provides space for interaction with the broader debates. Within this understanding, poverty is defined relationally. It is described as a breakdown in relationships (due to individual*

and structural sin) between God and humanity (collective and individual), the human and her/his fellows and humanity and the environment. The reconciling work of Christ is viewed as cosmic in this regard, and seen as able to affect wholeness and restoration in all spheres of life and living (*shalom*).

- *The framework does not discard core secular development terminology and thinking, but rather provides a conceptual framework for the church regarding critical engagement with other debates.*
- *As an agent of this transformation, the church has a distinctive perspective on the human condition of poverty and, in addressing this challenge, it has new perspectives to bring to the development debate, and therefore also distinctive action.*
- *An essential part of appropriating its identity as a transformative agent of change in society is the development of a sound ecclesiological identity. This will ensure that the character and nature of the church's involvement in addressing poverty as an agent of transformation will be distinctive when engaging with other sectors. To this end, the church was discussed with regard to the following ecclesial perspectives : Kingdom community, servant community and agent for community.*
- *The church as an agent of the Kingdom has the possibility of activating hope in a development debate increasingly filled with a sense of pessimism and hopelessness. God acts in history and yet beyond history, and we are called to witness to the already/ not yet nature of the Kingdom, which breathes hope.*
- *The church as the servant community is called to journey in solidarity with the poor in loving service. Such a calling focuses on authentic relationships based on respect for the poor and their dignity, rather than on development programmes imposed from above. Our actions are above all to embody the ethic of the Kingdom and are to flow out of our calling, which comes from the heart of God's intentions for the world.*
- *As an extraordinary community constituted by God Himself through the work of Jesus Christ, the church as the 'called out' community is called to manifest through the head of the Body, service to the world and its communities.*

Building community is essential to empowering the poor. The church as part of the communities of the poor has the possibility of working for community.

- The challenge, however, remains for the church to embody and appropriate its identity as a transformative agent in society. The church in South Africa will need to be ‘humbly prophetic’¹⁰⁷ in this challenging time. Both dialogue and engagement with the rest of civil society become crucial and may mean that, while the biblical understanding of our responsibility remains grounded, we will need to begin to reflect critically on our present methodology and effectiveness in the area of social transformation.¹⁰⁸

Development as transformation allows both space for dialogue with other community role players and distinctly proclaims the values of the Kingdom and a biblical view of the brokenness of the world that calls for transformation in all its dimensions, economic, political, social and spiritual.

¹⁰⁷ This term arose out of a group discussion amongst theology students at the University of Stellenbosch’s Theological Open Day in January 2004 about the role of the church in poverty alleviation, following an address on this issue by Archbishop Ngundane Njunkulo.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Swart’s (2004a) paper on the “Third Public” for a discussion on the proposed nature of such partnerships.

CHAPTER 3

THE SECOND CARNEGIE INQUIRY INTO POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT

3.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the key characteristics of transformational development is that it should be contextual. According to Samuel (1999:230), “context is always local. Context says that theology, Christian mission and understanding are always local”. In this light, transformational development recognises that communities have a historical story, survival strategy and indigenous knowledge, which need to be recognised and engaged with (Myers 2003:137-146). The *Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa* remains a landmark development study in terms of analysing poverty, devising a conceptual framework for development and proposing possible ‘organisations for change’. As such it is a contextual study of poverty and development in South Africa, which furthermore (together with its predecessor, the *Carnegie Commission on the Poor White Problem* in the early 1930s) recognises the significance of the church as an agent for transformation. It is in this light that the following chapter will seek critically to discuss the second inquiry with regard to transformational development as a point of departure for engaging poverty contextually.

Before critically engaging with the second inquiry, a comparative analysis of both Carnegie inquiries into poverty will be expounded. Their origins, processes and recommendations and the role of the church in both inquiries (as this will inform later discussion on the church as an ‘organisation for change’) will be discussed. Wilson and Ramphela’s book (1989) *Uprooting Poverty: the South African Challenge* is introduced as a comprehensive overview of the second inquiry. A conceptual framework, devised by Wilson and Ramphela (1989), regarding development in South Africa and labelled a ‘framework for thinking’¹⁰⁹ will be critically discussed in the

¹⁰⁹ Wilson and Ramphela (1989:274) describe this as a “Framework for Thinking”, of which, it is proposed, core components should consist of the promotion of empowerment initiatives, a value framework and commonwealth within the SADC region. This framework forms part of the third section of the book, appropriately entitled “Towards Transformation”.

light of a theological *transformation as development* framework. This will be done in an attempt to initiate dialogue between a theological framework and a contextual development framework. Such an attempt, it is hoped, will illustrate the need for interdisciplinary dialogue and highlight the broad contextual applicability of the theological framework.

3.2 A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF BOTH CARNEGIE INQUIRIES

The *Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa*,¹¹⁰ undertaken in the early 1980s, sought to study, analyse and make suggestions for the uprooting of poverty, particularly the poverty suffered by the black population of South Africa.¹¹¹ Funded by the philanthropic Carnegie Corporation of New York, the second inquiry came at a time in South African history when the walls of apartheid were beginning to show signs of crumbling. It was a time when “people began to talk and think about a post-apartheid society” and this inquiry was regarded as a broader part of the historical process (Wilson & Ramphela 1989: vi).

To understand the *Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa*, it is necessary to attempt a comparative analysis with the *Carnegie Commission on the Poor White Problem*¹¹² during the depression era of the 1930s. The first inquiry inadvertently laid the foundations of a system that would lead to the further impoverishment of the sectors of the population not studied. In addition, the church played a significant role in this study on poverty and it provoked the second inquiry into the situation of the black population living in areas such as Lavender Hill in the 1980s.

3.2.1 Origins of Carnegie I & II

The visit of the president of the Carnegie Corporation of New York to the Union of South Africa in 1927 led to a request initiated by the Dutch Reformed Church¹¹³ to

¹¹⁰ In this thesis, *The Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa* will variously be referred to as *Carnegie II* or the second inquiry. It should also be noted that, while the study refers to “Southern Africa”, it does not refer to any other countries beyond the present borders of the Republic of South Africa. This designation may have been used as the study included the former homelands.

¹¹¹ Wilson and Ramphela (1989:23) emphasise that *Carnegie II* used the term ‘black’ in the inclusive sense to refer to all those who were not classified as ‘white’ (i.e. Asians, coloureds and Africans).

¹¹² *The Commission on the Poor White Problem* will henceforth be referred to as *Carnegie I* or the first inquiry in this study.

¹¹³ The Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa is also commonly known by its Afrikaans name *Die Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk* (NG Kerk) and is referred to as such in the inquiry. During the

investigate the plight of the poor white largely Afrikaans-speaking sector of the population (Macquarrie 1933:26). The church and the rulers of the country at that time were deeply concerned about the growing poor white population who dwelt or originated in rural areas and had made their living from farming. The majority of those studied were Afrikaans speaking and what the study termed as “mainly from a Dutch-French-German heritage”.¹¹⁴ Reasons given for focusing on this particular group of the population were, according to the report, based on what they regarded as a progressive economic and social decline during the forty years preceding the inquiry. The economic deterioration of this sector of the population troubled the government of the day.¹¹⁵

Although the “first commission did note the problems of black poverty as not being any less acute than those of poor whites and would require study on their own”, blacks were excluded from the inquiry (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:x). Blacks and coloureds were viewed as an economic hindrance to the economic progression of the white population, and the population growth of the black and coloured sectors of the population were viewed as alarming. This, combined with their acquisition of skills that were on par with those of many poor whites, was seen as both economically threatening and psychologically demoralising for the poor white (Albertyn & Rothman 1932:xix). Job reservation, which the inquiry proposed for a set, temporary period, was therefore proposed as the answer to this quandary (Albertyn & Rothman 1932: xx; cf. Maquarrie 1933:28).¹¹⁶ The success of this first inquiry is evident today. The poor white problem receded as many of these findings were incorporated into National Party policies, which formed, in part, the sociological and ideological motivation for apartheid and its subsequent policies which included recommendations such as job reservation (Albertyn & Rothman 1932: xx; cf. Wilson & Ramphele 1989: x).

apartheid era, this denomination helped to propagate the concept of separate development on which the policy of apartheid was based.

¹¹⁴ In the original Afrikaans, it reads “hoofsaaklik van Hollands-Frans-Duitse afstamming”.

¹¹⁵ Wilson and Ramphele (1989:viii) explain it in the preface of their book as an introduction to the second inquiry: “Large numbers of whites, uprooted from the land during the previous generation by war, drought, pestilence, population growth, and the capitalization of agriculture, were pouring into the cities to live, ill equipped for modern industrial society, in dire poverty”.

¹¹⁶ It is important to note that the expansion of gold mining in the 1930s and industrial developments of the Second World War also contributed to the proposal of job reservation (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:x).

By the time of *Carnegie II* more than 50 years later, poverty had become a “profoundly political issue”. Gross inequality was the direct result of the racial policies that flowed, in part, from recommendations such as job reservation, resulting in the racially correlated distribution of income. *Carnegie II* therefore identified poverty as being largely the “consequence of deliberate policy”: “racist policies that are an assault on people’s humanity” (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:4).¹¹⁷ At the Conference on the *Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development*, the president of the Carnegie Corporation labelled the first inquiry “a partial success” due to this omission. He went on to comment that it “failed to recognize fully the humanity of black Africans”, and that “this was the direct result of the thinking of the day” when “so many dark skinned people around the world, were dimly viewed as peripheral to human society, almost as non-persons” (Hamburg 1984:10). The suggestion of a separate inquiry into black poverty had, however, been made by several researchers at the time of the first inquiry. In the 1930s, one of the Carnegie commissioners proposed such an inquiry and in the 1940s, the historian C. W. Kiewiet added his voice to this proposal. The *South African Outlook* of March 1933¹¹⁸ (in Hamburg 1984:12) had also observed:

We shall have to learn to view the Non-European population as an integral part of the socio-economic system of South Africa and to let them fit into the whole as effectively as possible, both as producers and consumers.

Nevertheless, the omission of this sector of the population was rectified only with the process of the initiation of *The Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development* in 1980.

3.2.2 The process and recommendations of the inquiries

The Carnegie Corporation of New York funded both inquiries, but their research processes differed because they were shaped by the dynamics of their respective eras. In 1932, the Carnegie Corporation agreed to support the Dutch Reformed Church’s request for a thorough investigation into the growing poor white population. A Commission of Investigation¹¹⁹ was appointed, with each commissioner assuming

¹¹⁷ See also the entire chapter in Wilson & Ramphela (1989) on “Apartheid’s Assault on the Poor”.

¹¹⁸ The *South African Outlook* is a journal that dealt with ecumenical and racial affairs since 1870.

¹¹⁹ The *South African Outlook* (1933:26) reported that the commissioners of the first inquiry came mainly from the realm of church and state – academics were represented by the University of Stellenbosch. The very churches that had played a prominent role in funding and researching *Carnegie*

responsibility for a “branch of the work” in a particular field. The report of the first inquiry covered various interrelated aspects of poverty identified at that time, which were studied in detail. They encompassed the following aspects: economic (rural poverty and leaving of farms), education, medical, psychological and sociological reports. In addition, the report states that they appointed two prominent American sociologists to assist with the research (Maquarrie 1933:26; Wilson & Ramphela 1989: i).

In contrast to the first inquiry, *Carnegie II* used a far more open-ended process. What is particularly notable about this study is that it was not driven by a partnership of church and state, but rather by academic researchers and professionals. The first inquiry had appointed a few key researchers who travelled the country and wrote reports. This method was rejected on the basis that the research needed to be as representative as possible and had to draw in people from wide-ranging politico-ideological, geographical and disciplinary perspectives (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:x, xi). While *Carnegie I* was in no way as participatory¹²⁰ as *Carnegie II* in its methodology, both inquiries hoped that strategic action would be the result of the process. The first inquiry’s investigation into the poor white problem had been two pronged: firstly, a description of the scope and causes of this problem and, secondly, investigation into possible means by which this economic deterioration may be prevented and an improvement of these conditions may be brought about (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:x). With *Carnegie II*, a feasibility study had been commissioned as early as January 1980 in order to “assess whether such a study made sense, in terms of priorities and, if it did, on what basis it should be organized”. This assessment was drawn from countrywide discussions and across the political spectrum, with a special focus on the opinion of the black population that was to be studied. Comparative research, with regard to studies undertaken internationally, was also utilised. The fruit of this preliminary study was three pronged in its findings on the principles that should guide future research. The first was that there needed to be an insider view and that the poverty-stricken communities, who were mostly black should participate. As

I became promoters of the ideology of apartheid as the line between church and state blurred during this era (cf. Hofmyer & Pillay 1991:290-300).

¹²⁰ Participation is a key principle and methodology used in promoting sustainable development at the level of grassroots (De Beer & Swanepoel 2000:67) and which was clearly at work, albeit in a limited way, in *Carnegie II*. It is a principle which is employed more fully in later national poverty studies such as that of Julian May (1998), “Experience and Perceptions of Poverty in South Africa”, which used the methodology of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA).

a result of the discussions that arose from the latter approach, widely differing views became apparent. While white South Africans were enthusiastic about gathering facts on poverty:

Black South Africans were unimpressed by data-gathering. 'Why spend money finding out what we already know?' they asked. 'What we need is action against poverty'. That view was crucial in guiding the subsequent work of the Carnegie Inquiry (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:xi).

After a 15-month period of consultations, a key dimension of *Carnegie II* emerged, which was that it should not merely involve academics but all those interested in writing and thinking about the problem of poverty. This was largely based on field studies undertaken on the basis of a grid that covered the entire country and through which micro-studies were organised wherever possible (King 1984:86). Researchers and studies on poverty already underway were canvassed from 22 universities throughout Southern Africa and both guided focus areas and fitted into the broader study. The inquiry was based at the University of Cape Town's South African Labour and Development Unit (SALDRU) for economic research, headed by Francis Wilson who also directed and co-ordinated the inquiry.

Preceding the launch in April 1982, working groups were established to focus on specific strategies for action against poverty. This was a two-year process which generated its own papers, led by prominent professionals and researchers in law, the role of the church, public allocation of resources and food and nutrition. During the two ensuing years, additional aspects and facets linked to poverty were studied, such as education, labour and unemployment, the elderly and ecological issues (Wilson & Ramphela 1989: xi; King 1984:86, 87). The resultant conference of cumulative research held at the University of Cape Town in April 1984 resulted in 301 papers, which included those of the working groups, general overviews and definitions of poverty, and area studies, including the study area of Lavender Hill, used in this study as a comparative basis.

The process did not end there. Where gaps were identified for further work, subsequent workshops and a series of post-conference papers "was initiated to clarify understanding of issues raised at the conference and to provide a forum to generate recommendations by individuals and working groups for strategies and action" (Wilson & Ramphela 1989: xii). In addition, much like *Carnegie I* which produced

five volumes for the report, several books were produced from this inquiry. The most comprehensive report of the data gathered and action taken as a result of the inquiry is the book *Uprooting Poverty: The South African Challenge* edited by Francis Wilson and Mamphela Ramphele, which will guide much of this study.

While the competition of black labour and consequent job reservation appeared to be a key recommendation of the first inquiry, its scope was quite wide and it came to many of the conclusions reached by *Carnegie II* many years later. *Carnegie I* made detailed findings and recommendations that were largely directed towards promoting greater communication between the government of the day, the church and welfare organisations in order to address the poor white problem. The inquiry found that, despite the significant role they believed the state could play, the development of what we today would refer to as economic empowerment, rather than a charity/relief approach leading to dependency, should be promoted (cf. Maquarrie 1933:28).

The commission is convinced that the manner that assistance has been carried out, has a demoralising effect on poor whites and definitely complicates their genuine rehabilitation. It leads to a lack of independence, diligence and personal responsibility. It results in dishonest tendencies and at times leads to the development of a sense of inferiority (Maquarrie xxxi:110).¹²¹

These forms of social welfare often referred to as ‘charity work’ have come under fire in the latter half of the 20th century (Burkey 1993:11).¹²² These same sentiments had been identified by *Carnegie II* in the 1980s. It argued that, despite the absence of a democratic state or perhaps because of its absence and the imbalance of power, empowerment not philanthropy was the answer. Genuine development work was identified as

...that which empowers people; which enables them to build organizations that, like a hydro-electric dam, pool their resources and generate power where

¹²¹ This is a translation of the original Afrikaans, which read as follows: “Die kommissie is van oortuiging dat die wyse waarop hulpverlening veelal geskied, ‘n demoraliserende utwerking op armblanks het en beslis hulle werklike rehabilitasie bemoeilik. Dit lei tot verlies van selfstandighied, van arbiedsaamhied en persoonlike verantwoordelikehied. Dit help om ‘n neiging tot oneerlikhied en soms ‘n bewyssyn van minderwardighied by hulle te laat ontwikkel”.

¹²² Burkey (1993:8) quotes Paulo Freire as illustrating the effect of this approach in a similar way many years later: “Welfare programmes are instruments of manipulation and ultimately serve the purpose of dependence and domination. They act as an anaesthetic, distracting the oppressed from the true causes of their problems and from the concrete solutions of these problems.”

previously there was none. Such organizations are valuable not only for what they can achieve, but also as an inspiration (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:262).

Therefore, “Organizations for Change”, “a number of different areas, where organizational initiatives consistent with the goals of a democratic and just society have been, or could be, undertaken”, were identified (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:276). Amongst these organisations for change at that time were the Trade Union Movement, collective action for job creation, rural development, health, children, law and business, research and training, and (most significantly for this study) religious organisations. Imaginative action in this regard was identified as essential, and it was hoped that it would stimulate further thinking and “lines of action which are both useful in the current circumstances and relevant for the future” (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:276).

The challenges and solutions proposed by the director of the *Second Carnegie Inquiry on Poverty and Development* in his concluding address to the conference in 1984 are as relevant now as it was then:

Is South Africa a rich or a poor country? I think that is an irrelevant question. We are a country with resources and just where we stand in the international scale is a very secondary consideration. What we have to ask ourselves is, ‘Do we not have the resources to make sure that everyone who lives in South Africa can live as a family in a community in which they choose, that they can have water to drink that is clean, that they can have food to eat, and clothes to wear and that they have a job, and that we can all have some happiness?’ And the answer to that question is surely that we do (Wilson 1984a:26).

3.2.3 The specific role of the church in both inquiries

An overview of the church’s role in these inquiries might provide a multilayered comparison. In addition, it could assist in highlighting the challenges that the South African church faces today and guide an evaluation of the specific context of Lavender Hill at a later stage. The researcher will make particular use of Allan Boesak’s contribution to the *Second Carnegie Inquiry on Poverty and Development*,

“Rise up and Walk”.¹²³ The latter is a direct reference to Dr D. F. Malan’s challenge to the church in 1923 with regard to the condition of the poor white: “if the church wishes to say to the paralysed poor white: ‘your sins are forgiven’, it must also be prepared to tell him: ‘Rise up and walk’” (Boesak 1984:8). It was this selfsame challenge that Boesak cleverly used to challenge the churches at the time of *Carnegie II*, and it therefore served as a bridge between the two inquiries. The role of the church in each inquiry will be dealt with separately to provide a clear comparative basis.

3.2.3.1 *Carnegie I*

The first Carnegie inquiry acknowledges that the social consciousness of the church awoke much sooner “than that of the state or society at large” (The Poor White and Society 1933:151). The role of the church in initiating and even assisting *Carnegie I* was significant and it was acknowledged by the researchers who included it in the study of the upliftment of the poor white.¹²⁴ This commission consisted largely of clergy from the Dutch Reformed Church and operated in much the same way as the other commissions.

The methodology used in *Carnegie I* appeared to combine the commissioners’ reports with church statistics and a brief history of ecclesiastical endeavours (Albertyn & Rothman 1932:4, 49). The role of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) in the life of the Afrikaner nation is a significant one and has been traced by the 1932 inquiry in its “Kort Geskiedenis van die Kerklike Armsorg in die Verlede” (“A Short History of Church Charity in the Past”). Their many welfare institutions ministered to the orphaned, sick, widowed, handicapped and aged, and continue to exist today (Albertyn & Rothman 1932:50-51). In addition to institutional care, the report also outlined what the Dutch Reformed Church referred to as “kerklike armsorg”, namely caring for the poor within the context of their local churches and area groupings in the form of commissions, various associations and a broad federal commission on national level (Albertyn & Rothman 1932:52, 53). Deacons and elders were also part of the local church’s diaconate work in “the allocation of a small monthly grant to a

¹²³ At the time of *Carnegie II*, Allan Boesak was a prominent theologian of liberation and a struggle activist who, through his writings and leadership as president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC), brought the struggle against apartheid to world attention” (Thomas 1995:195).

¹²⁴ It should be noted that “church” refers here to the Afrikaans family of Reformed churches, namely the Dutch Reformed Church, Hervormde Church and Gereformeerde Church – these churches ministered mainly amongst the studied group (The Poor White and Society 1933:151).

few chronic sick, widows and others in distress who are not old enough to receive the old-age pension” (Albertyn & Rothman 1932:60).

In this way, the Dutch sister churches’ involvement in poverty upliftment was viewed as having great value by the first inquiry. In fact, the church was viewed as a powerful preventative measure against despondency and apathy during disasters, as well as against selfishness and extravagance in times of prosperity (Rothman & Albertyn 1932:51). The findings indicated that, where the church continued to play an important role in the poor white family, the family was protected from descending into what the inquiry referred to as a demoralising state of “poor whitism”.¹²⁵ It furthermore showed that the church played a key role in maintaining the moral structure of the Afrikaner nation and that the decline of morality was a direct by-product of the breakdown of the church’s authority and traditions (The Poor White and Society 1933:151). While social work was considered relatively new at that time, the church was acknowledged as having “woken up” to social needs much sooner than the state, as illustrated by the establishment of the many social institutions that the church had initiated (Albertyn & Rothman 1932:57).¹²⁶

Nevertheless, the church, largely owing to its conservatism, was regarded as not fully alive to the situation created by the vast social changes of later years, and was “found wanting both with respect to its methods and to the number and equipment of its workers” (Rothman & Albertyn 1932:56; The Poor White and Society 1933:151). The second inquiry’s evaluation of the church’s policy looked critically at the need for “greater enthusiasm” on the part of the church with regard to social work, in comparison to the state and broader civil society. Its methods were also identified as being inadequate – even at this time the institutional approach was regarded as inadequate in addressing the “complicated problems of poverty, pauperism and crime” (Albertyn & Rothman 1932:58). The church was encouraged to “take steps for the more efficient training of its agents in charitable work”. Theological seminaries were criticised for giving “almost no training in practical sociology”, despite large congregations. The use of qualified social workers was also encouraged and the teaching of the church was to be more “pertinent and practical” (The Poor White and Society 1933:151).

¹²⁵ In Afrikaans this is referred to as “armblankedom”.

¹²⁶ It is a widely acknowledged fact that much societal transformation, from the church’s founding up until today has been initiated by the church (Cf. Pierson 1993:8).

Nevertheless, the evaluation of the church's involvement in the social diaconate included critique of both its methodology and the theological assumptions underlying its response to poverty. The direct involvement of the church offices of deacon and elder respectively, according to the commission's evaluation of the New Testament's characterisation, appeared to be inadequate. The comparison was made between the early church's definition and its role today, and it was found that "a misconception of the deacon's office and the neglect of his true work" in terms of the scriptural definition were partly to blame (Albertyn & Rothman 1932:60). The next reason put forward by the inquiry was that it was incorrect to place the responsibility largely in the hands of the state. The misconception that the responsibility should lie mainly in the state's hands, the commission believed, led to a one-sided charity approach which often led to dependency. Many churches were more prone to give a "small sum towards charity" and, considering their duty fulfilled, left "the rest to the local authorities or the government" (Albertyn & Rothman 1932:60, 61). This form of charity without personal care was considered to have led to an increase in "dependency and pauperism".

Perhaps one of the most prominent reasons put forward at the time for the church's insufficient social care (one which many evangelical churches are still accused of today) is that

The Church has in the past aimed too exclusively at preparing it's people for the hereafter, and has therefore bestowed too little attention on the amelioration of present conditions. It taught the poor to resign themselves to want and poverty, in the hope of better conditions hereafter, instead of actively assisting them to a better and higher life here (Albertyn & Rothman 1932:58).

This spiritualisation of the Gospel neither proclaimed nor acted on the whole calling of the church and was therefore quite straightforwardly addressed by the first inquiry. The dualism which underlay this separation of the sacred and secular was pointed out as being incongruent with the message and ministry of Christ. Social action (the social) and the 'religious calling' (the spiritual) of the church were stated as not being antagonistic, but complementary. One of the questions that arose out of this critical analysis was the following: "Is it the duty of the church to interest itself more closely in the social conditions under which its people are living? If so, will its spiritual

calling necessarily suffer as a result?" The answer appeared to be that, if the church refused to take up the gauntlet, its work would be taken out of its hands and it would lose "influence and authority with regards to the great social questions of the country" (Albertyn & Rothman 1932:58). Needless to say, the role of the church in the poor white problem was significant and not without its bias as the church was deeply involved in both sponsorship and research.

3.2.3.2 *Carnegie II*

The second inquiry took place largely against the background of the success of the first, and was no different with regard to the involvement of the church. Boesak (1984:6, 7), when researching the role of the church in the second inquiry, had gone so far as to use *Carnegie I* as a foil in order to highlight the Dutch Reformed Church's balanced view of social upliftment as part of the missiological calling of the church in contrast to the apathy of many churches at the time of the second inquiry.

One cannot help but notice the important role played by the white Dutch Reformed Church in the Carnegie Commission on Poverty. It was very much part of the initiative, it helped to define a new relationship with the state in coping with the problem of poverty, and in the process it defined a new role for itself as agent for change in society (Boesak 1984: 6).

Yet, their inability to apply it universally to their black brothers and sisters in much the same plight was challenged.¹²⁷ He attacked the Dutch Reformed Church, which had so significantly improved the lot of its members and *volk*,¹²⁸ and which now supported a system, Boesak argued, that led to the deprivation of other sectors of the population. It is within the context of liberation and upliftment of those ignored by *Carnegie I* that the church's study took place. However, the challenges posed to the church in terms of meeting its social challenges in *Carnegie I* are not unlike those that were faced at the time of the second inquiry.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Boesak (1984:7) states that "this church persistently denies that apartheid, even though the evidence is abundantly clear, is responsible for the deprivation, misery and poverty in which millions of black people are forced to live... apartheid is executed according to the principles of love and justice, and is therefore not in conflict with the demands of the Word of God".

¹²⁸ Cf. *Ras, Volk, Nasie en Volkverhoudinge* (1975) for the Dutch Reformed Church's theological justification for the support of apartheid.

¹²⁹ The approach of the workgroup was based largely on the Liberation Theology of Latin America and the WCC/CCPD (Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development) (Nash 1984a:3).

Perhaps because of (or in spite of) *Carnegie I*, *Carnegie II* had clearly continued to regard the input of the church as being significant enough to warrant a working group on Church, Poverty and Development, which was initiated in the early stages of the inquiry. Unlike the first inquiry, the working group was intended to be interdenominational and “members were invited from a variety of backgrounds – denominational, rural/urban etc.” However, those who attended represented a very narrow constituency (Nash 1984a:2).¹³⁰ The more open and strategically orientated format of the *Carnegie II* workgroup included meetings and workshops on both urban and rural development (the former in Montagu and the latter, significantly enough, in Lavender Hill). Meetings were “devoted to information gathering, review and analysis of church situations vis-à-vis poverty and development, identifying resources and exploring possibilities of practical action, especially in community development projects” (Nash 1984a:3). A field trip was undertaken by two members of the group who backpacked for a week through poverty-stricken areas in the Eastern Transvaal¹³¹ in order to interview people and obtain firsthand information. A letter was also addressed to church leaders inviting them to place poverty and development high on their agendas (Nash 1984a:2-4). The aim of this workgroup was to conscientise churches and to provide resources for addressing the challenges of poverty and development.

The South African church at the time was divided along lines of privilege as much as the country was:

In South Africa the governing bodies of the ‘multi-racial’ denominations tend to be dominated by those who enjoy secular privilege and are predominately white, although most of the members are black, poor and ill-educated (Nash 1984b:38).

They thus tended to reflect the same divisions of wealth as the secular society did. Nash (1984a:16) strongly attacked those churches as offering little resistance or alternative to a racist system beyond lip service. Even the leaders of the African Independent Churches were accused of subscribing to “conspicuous consumption” patterns and living a lifestyle far removed from those of the underprivileged /oppressed black sector they served. Allan Boesak’s attack (in Wilson 1989:83) on the

¹³⁰ They did not officially represent their respective Churches and there was only official consultation and cooperation with the NGSK Commission on Poverty (Nash 1984a:2)

¹³¹ Now known as Mpumalanga Province

Dutch Reformed Church clearly highlighted the fact that sectors of the church in South Africa were still not fully involved in facing the crises of poverty, which he saw as being political, “not metaphysical or God-given, but structural and historically explicable”.¹³² In his paper “Rise up and Walk”, he conducted a sociological analysis to paint the picture of poverty in South Africa at that time, with particular reference to the role political oppression played in widespread deprivation.¹³³

For the powerlessness of the poor is the precondition for the continued dominance of the rich. We must expose the relationship between poverty and wealth. The poor are so poor because the rich are so rich. The process of accumulation of wealth and the law of the market prevailing in many countries including our own, create and sustain wealth for the wealthy and poverty for the poor (Boesak 1984:2, 3).

The churches were therefore urged to take political action in campaigning for the abolition of pass laws, influx control, land ownership laws¹³⁴ and therefore the improvement of family life. Churches were called upon to face these issues on an institutional level and use their church structures to “mount large scale campaigns” on a macro level as well as on the micro, in terms of short-term schemes and action on the congregational or parish level (Wilson 1984b:82.83). Margaret Nash (1984b:38) however does acknowledge the efforts of various clergy, laity and other Christian organisations in bringing a holistic Gospel of good news to the poor, doing so often in the face of controversy and risking the wrath of the state. In this way, the Church, Poverty and Development workgroup sought to highlight that the church in South Africa at that time was part of the problem, but was and could be a significant part of the solution.¹³⁵ The workgroup proposed that churches were a source of strength and initiative in confronting poverty through their Christian identity, loyalty, history and people (Nash 1984a:18).

¹³² One of the key tenants of Liberation Theology is to be committed “to a lifestyle of solidarity with the poor and oppressed and involvement in action with them” (Thomas 1995:185).

¹³³ Liberation Theology views poverty as a result of oppressive and exploitative practices exercised by the “haves” over the “have nots” and therefore poverty is not merely as a result of “just ignorance, lack of skills or cultural or moral factors” (Bosch 1991:434).

¹³⁴ The Native Land Act (1913) and Native Laws Amendment Act (1937) limited black land ownership and settlement to existing tribal ‘reserves’. Africans could not own land in urban areas and their movement was limited – they could only reside in an urban area if they were employed and carried a pass (Van Donk 1994:5, 6).

¹³⁵ Many churches made submissions to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission with regard to their sanction of apartheid in the past (Cochrane, De Gruchy & Martin 1999:15-77). Many, however, fought the policies and ideology of apartheid labelling it heresy (cf. De Gruchy, J. & Villa-Vicencio, C.1983. *Apartheid is Heresy*. Cape Town: David Philip).

The role of the church in combating poverty was therefore often ambiguous. It is interesting to note that one of the key reasons noted for this situation differs very little from that noted 50 years earlier by *Carnegie I*. Yet again the church (albeit now not merely the Reformed sister churches as in *Carnegie I*) is accused of a dualistic spiritualisation of the Gospel, which is cited by Nash (1984b:38) as “directing hope towards the life hereafter and has the same effects as valium...tends to buttress rather than challenge the status quo”.¹³⁶ It is the researcher’s impression that what Nash subtly hints at is the ‘protestant work ethic’ with its “heavy emphasis on the individual, who is encouraged to work hard, spend wisely and give generously to the Church” as a value system, has a similar effect on church members. The key challenge by the workgroup appeared, therefore, to be that “poverty is a moral challenge!” (Boesak 1984:3) Nash (1984b:38) challenged the church “to be liberated and liberate” in confronting this challenge and set forth the following as markers in this path:

These change seekers ¹³⁷ will make headway only as they:

1. develop solidarity with one another and with their servant-Lord; and
2. ‘walk on two legs’- act both in the secular society and in the organized church communities.

The key question was how best to mobilise and equip the poor who were dominated in their local or denominational contexts by a privileged minority. The answer was that renewal of the church in South Africa was perceived within this liberation paradigm, whereby the church was to be renewed from the bottom up through basic Christian communities (consisting of class betrayers and the poor) committed to the values of the Kingdom and therefore a holistic gospel.¹³⁸

The latter shaped the way that recommendations for action were then made. Far removed from the methodology of *Carnegie I*, the workgroup had composed a ‘dossier’ consisting of case studies of church and community; a draft chapter for use

¹³⁶ Cf. Albertyn & Rothman (1932:58) for a similar identification of a dualistic spiritualisation of the gospel during the first Carnegie Inquiry. It should be noted that one of the characteristics of Liberation Theology, operating withing South Africa at that time, is its rejection of both an interpretation of faith “in otherworldly categories and excessive individualism” (Bosch 1991:438)

¹³⁷ It is interesting to note that “these change seekers” are viewed by the author to be a select group who may be from differing socio-economic and ecclesiastical backgrounds, and who could be “class betrayers”.

¹³⁸ See Boff (1986) for a discussion on base communities and their role in liberation in the Latin American context.

in a manual or resource book; lines of action to combat poverty and promoting development in local churches; and a paper on the use of regional church structures in community development.¹³⁹ These recommendations, it was hoped, would provide a resource and challenge to the churches in dealing with poverty and will be discussed at length in Chapter 4.

3.2.4 Conclusion

In discussing *Carnegie I* and *II* comparatively, it becomes evident how it was possible for the apartheid ideology to become entrenched through the upliftment of the Afrikaner, and how this in turn gave rise to black poverty, as the second inquiry shows. The role of the church in both inquiries is of particular interest to a contextual missiology and, therefore, a discussion of *development as transformation*. In both inquiries, the church was given a significant voice and the welfare/philanthropic approach was identified as creating and perpetuating dependency. While the discussion of the church as an agent of development in *Carnegie I* and *II* takes place within vastly different theological paradigms (one of covenant theology and one of liberation theology), both appear to highlight the need for dialogue and critique between missiology and development.

3.3 UPROOTING POVERTY: THE CHALLENGE POSED BY *CARNEGIE II*

As a result of the *Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development*, Professor Francis Wilson (director of the inquiry) and Dr Mamphela Ramphele sought to compile an overview of the findings of the nature, causes and strategies for action regarding poverty. The work is entitled *Uprooting Poverty: The South African Challenge*. This work, labelled a “seminal work of unprecedented proportions”, drew on over 300 *Carnegie II* research papers, follow-up workshops and a series of post-conference papers (Oakshott 1989:137; Davies 1989:129). Through its compilation, the findings of *Carnegie II* became public knowledge, as they were widely reported nationally and internationally. As a result, the impact of apartheid on black South Africans was widely publicised (Bell 2000:502).

¹³⁹ Five lines of action were identified by the workgroup as ways for the church to address poverty:

1. Relate preaching and teaching to social reality;
2. Fact find and analyse findings of needs and resources;
3. Encourage self help initiatives and “collective self reliance”;
4. “Identify and oppose unjust social structures”; and
5. “Search for and promote just social structures” (Nash 1984a:21).

The book is divided into three parts. The first, which comprises nine chapters, discusses basic definitions of poverty and the many 'faces' or dimensions of poverty. These dimensions of poverty are identified as work and wages, unemployment, hunger and sickness, housing and environment, literacy and learning, earth, fire and water, powerlessness and vulnerability (Feynes 1989:262). Such an analysis examined the extent and characteristics of poverty at the time and emphasised that poverty is a complex problem, deeply rooted in

...entrenched patterns of inequality in which access to benefits and opportunities are strongly skewed away from black people in South Africa; and finally there is a pervasive sense of powerlessness amongst blacks to do anything about the circumstances under which they are required to exist (Davies 1989:130).

Oakshott (1989:138), in reviewing the book, notes that it provides the authorities with a "detailed description and analysis of their key economic problem - poverty". The second part of the book takes this analysis further and discusses the causes of poverty in light of the apartheid policies enforced during this time. This section, entitled "The Causes of Poverty", comprises three chapters and deals with the "Burden of the Past", "Apartheid's Assault on the Poor" and "Macro Economic Forces" respectively. This section largely focuses on the then government's marginalisation and oppression of the black population through its oppressive policies and discriminatory practices (Davies 1989:130,131). It closely links the political with the social and economic challenges faced by the majority of the South African population.

Finally, the book concludes with a section entitled "Towards Transformation". The first chapter (Chapter 13) presents a "Framework for Thinking" about how to approach "the many dimensions of poverty and its interlocking causes" (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:258). They identify power as lying at "the heart of the problem", note the "importance of empowerment as opposed to co-option" and emphasise the role of values in the creation of a just society (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:258-271; Feynes 1989:263). Davies (1989:132) summarises this framework as follows:

Since 'power lies at the heart of the problem of poverty in Southern Africa' and 'without it those who are poor remain vulnerable to an on-going process of impoverishment' (p.258), the key issues to be addressed in seeking solutions must be associated with the empowerment of poor people. In this regard, the

authors distinguish between securing a shift in the balance of power in South Africa (short term action) and a transfer of power (longer term action). A fundamental issue is emphasised by the authors in this discussion. This has to do with making sure (to the extent possible) that the strategies adopted actually contribute towards empowerment and do not result in co-option.

This framework is not a development theory, but rather a conceptual framework, which identifies certain considerations for addressing poverty and its causes. It is followed by a chapter entitled “Organisations for a New Society”, in which the authors refer to kinds of organisations and actions which could help “shift the balance of power towards the poor” (Wilson & Rampehele 1989:276; Davies 1989:133). Among the organisations listed were trade unions and organisations concerned with rural development, children, health, law, business, research and training and, perhaps most significantly for this study, religious organisations. A challenge was posed to the church, which *Carnegie II* identified as having failed to respond adequately to the contextual challenges of an apartheid South Africa (Wilson & Rampehele 1989:302).

The final two chapters deal with the “Role of the State” and the fundamental issues “which must be addressed in order to facilitate the process of transition” in which the poor can participate in a “restructured economy” (Davies 1989:133, 134). To a certain extent, the book challenges the apartheid state to dismantle its structures and to develop policies to overcome the consequences of three centuries of racial oppression, which it is argued has led to poverty.

In today’s context, Wilson and Rampehele’s book remains a yardstick by which to measure the progress South Africa has made in meeting the challenge (cf. May 2001:306). What is more, it challenges organisations outside the state, such as trade unions, non-governmental organisations, community-based organisations, advocacy groups and religious organisations to continue to play a role in a post-apartheid context.

3.4 FRAMEWORK FOR THINKING

Wilson and Rampehele (1989:258) in their book *Uprooting Poverty: The South African Challenge* present a “framework for thinking” to deal effectively with poverty. This framework is labelled a “conceptual framework through which the assumptions and guidelines” of their proposals could be formulated. The various aspects of the framework (including power, empowerment and values respectively) will be

discussed critically in the light of current scholarship and an understanding of *development as transformation* as expounded in Chapter 2. This is done to highlight key developmental concepts that remain relevant and to clarify the relevance of a theology of development for South Africa. In this way, the two frameworks engage in dialogue and create a perspective from which a religious organisation such as the church is challenged.

3.4.1 Shift in power

One of the key aspects of confronting poverty – defined by Wilson and Ramphela (1989:258) as an “evil that must be rooted out” – is power; “power lies at the heart of the problem”. More specifically, up until as late as 1989, a move towards genuine democracy was believed to be out of reach¹⁴⁰:

A radical shift of the present political power structure away from a racial oligarchy to a genuine democracy is essential as part of the process of transforming the South African political economy but, in our view, it is unlikely to happen for some years (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:258).

This evil then was seen as being closely tied to the power inherent in the evil system of apartheid. Walter Wink (1984:5), for example, recognises that the “principalities and powers” spoken of in the Bible are both the inner (the within of corporate or government structures and systems – their spirituality) and outer (organisation of power) aspects of organisations.¹⁴¹

In line with the inquiry, the Liberation Theologians participating in the inquiry drew a direct line between the powerlessness of the poor and the political system. Furthermore, they encouraged their members at that time to take (often political) action in the face of the dualistic spiritualisation of the gospel affected by some churches¹⁴² (Boesak 1984:2, 3). However, despite political resistance through the mobilisation of the masses against the evil of apartheid, by the time of the compilation of the findings of the inquiry it was found that more than resistance of the political status quo is required. Wilson and Ramphela (1989:259) state that political democracy should not be viewed as being in and of itself a “sufficient condition for ensuring that

¹⁴⁰ Barely a year after publication, the ANC was unbanned on 2 February 1990 and Nelson Mandela released on 11 February 1990 (Terreblanche 2002:86).

¹⁴¹ The *Wheaton '83 Statement*

¹⁴² The practice of racism is regarded by those of South African Liberation Theology as both a form and instrument of poverty (Bosch 1991:439).

even the poorest – even if they have votes – become full members of a more egalitarian society” (a fact which is borne out by later comparative discussion on the dimensions/faces of poverty in Chapter 4).

Perhaps, then, an additional spiritual perspective on the engagement with power and the resulting powerlessness of the poor is needed in a post-apartheid South Africa, which continues to show the second-highest inequality gap between the rich and poor in the world at present. Newbegin (1989:209), in addressing the issue of principalities and powers, echoes the latter sentiment and sounds caution with regard to those who call for a Christian assault on the world of politics and economics as an attack

...which belongs to the same order of being attacked. The aim of the attack is to seize the levers of power and take control. We have seen many such successful revolutions, and we know that in most cases what has happened is simply that the oppressor and the oppressed have exchanged roles. The structure is unchanged. The throne is unshaken, only there is a different person occupying it. How is the throne itself to be shaken? How is the power to be disarmed and placed at the service of Christ? Only by the power of the gospel itself, announced in word and deed.

Balcomb (1993:67) identifies what he calls “third way theology” as also operating during the apartheid era. This theology, while denouncing the political system of apartheid at that time and the state theology which accompanied it, did not view a political power struggle as the means to bring this system to its knees. This alternative model argues that while action should be taken it should not be influenced by “any dominant political ideologies but rather by its own understanding of the Kingdom of God” (Balcomb 1993:71).¹⁴³ While Balcomb (1993:207) affirms that this theology emphasised the uniqueness and transcendence of the gospel he is critical of it as he identifies it as being vulnerable to “co-option by the forces which have the most political power”, because it does not take the political, social and economic aspects of power seriously enough. He argues for an alternative to the “third way”, which both acknowledges the transcendent nature of the gospel and emphasises that moral choices between the different systems of life and thought need to be made on the

¹⁴³ Bosch (in Balcomb 1993:154) locates the church – identified as a new, alternative community – within the context of this world, “thus rejecting any docetic or Gnostic escape from the world” and therefore a dualistic spiritualisation of the gospel. In its most “authentic tradition Christianity has always known that the forces of the new world cannot operate in any other context than that of this world with its structures and institutions”.

“basis of the transcendental gospel”. The gospel is recognised as not only judging all systems, but as also providing “a criterion to make political, social and economic choices” (Thomas in Balcomb 1993:237). This understanding becomes more distinct when it is taken into account that sin and evil are both individual/personal and corporate/structural and that the Kingdom of Satan represents everything that oppresses, dehumanizes and enslaves human beings. This is opposed to the Kingdom of God which is breaking forth and stands for what humanizes, liberates and enriches human beings. If the Kingdom is viewed as standing in opposition to the systems of this world, then engagement with power is placed within an additional framework. This framework, however, does not discard the socio-political nature of power, but stands for justice in disdaining the corrupting influence of powers and powerlessness and engages power with the knowledge that “we do not worship power, but we do worship a God who is powerful”. Transformational development, therefore, while not discarding the social, economic or political dimensions of power as a factor, recognises them as operating within an additional framework. This framework acknowledges the evil spiritual powers and principalities at work in creating and sustaining poverty through domination, exploitation, prejudice, violence and marginalisation.¹⁴⁴ The addressing of a shift in power then demands socio-political action and yet more than socio-political action. It should recognise socio-political injustice as having its spiritual roots in a fallen cosmos. Development that is transformational exposes the spiritual dimension of power and powerlessness and recognises that through Jesus Christ there is a way out of sin toward transformation. Herein lays the challenge and basis for the church to engage prophetically with the “powers that be”, civic, political and economic authorities, on behalf of the poor and powerless within their congregations and the broader community.

Wilson and Ramphela (1989) possessed an almost prophetic concern that even the fulfilment of political democracy would be insufficient to address the lack of

¹⁴⁴ Jayakumar Christian, cited by Myers (2003:72), understands the poor as being trapped inside a system of disempowerment made up of the following subsystems: biophysical, social personal, spiritual/religious and cultural. Each social system is viewed as reinforcing the powerlessness of the poor by exclusion and exploitation which finds its roots in the “god-complexes” of the non-poor. Such “god-complexes” may be explained as an understanding entitlement of the non-poor over the lives of the poor through certain assumptions which in turn are rooted in the cosmic system in “which the principalities and powers work out their rebellion against God and God’s intentions for human life in creation.” (cf. Myers 2003:73).

egalitarianism in South African society.¹⁴⁵ Widespread inequality continues to exist today and, while the radical political power shift¹⁴⁶ has already taken place peacefully, empowerment of the poor who are powerless against the ravages of economic, social and even political poverty remains a challenge (as it was at the time of the compilation of *Uprooting Poverty: The South African Challenge*).

3.4.2 Empowerment not co-option

The shift of the balance of power “towards the poor as well as laying foundations which help determine the shape of the society in the long run” is essential (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:251). Empowerment is defined by Wilson and Ramphela (1989:262) as a central tenant of genuine development work. Monaheng (2000:134, 135), in addressing the poor’s lack of power to influence decisions that affect them, notes that one needs to view empowerment as a process with a number of interrelated dimensions: the political dimension of the democratisation of decision-making in society; the economic and social aspect of equitable access to resources; the capacity building dimension which involves the acquisition of knowledge and skills to “produce the goods and services which satisfy their needs”; and finally the dimension of people’s participation in their own development.¹⁴⁷ Typically, the poor are often politically oppressed, economically exploited, socially marginalised and neglected.

The participation of the people themselves in their own development is both an essential part of human growth and a process whereby the people themselves become aware of and understand their problems and the social reality within which they live in order to affect lasting change themselves at grass roots level. This empowers the people to identify and act upon their own needs and priorities rather than those imposed from outside (i.e. by organisations or government). One of the key components is self reliance and a maximum contribution from those in the community in terms of human, material and financial resources relative to their ability. External agents must be seen not as doing for or giving to, but enabling people by working alongside them – ultimate responsibility belongs to the community (Burkey 1993:48;).

¹⁴⁵ Smith (1993:34) emphasises the nature of the Kingdom as transformational and that “seeing the Kingdom of God as transformational legitimises Christian participation in the process of change”.

¹⁴⁶ Wilson and Ramphela (1989:259) argue that, as rapid political transition was unlikely to take place, NGOs, other civil organisations and trade unions could and were already bringing about these shifts in power.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Getu (2002:94) for a number of questions that enable one to evaluate the level of empowerment achieved by a Faith Based Organisation.

Wilson and Ramphele (1989:262) emphasise, however, that empowerment is not philanthropy. The philanthropic charity/social welfare approach, which Korten (1990:115) identifies as a “first generation” approach,¹⁴⁸ has come under attack in the latter half of the 20th century. While in some situations (such as for periodic relief in situations of flood, drought, resettlement and other social upheavals) this approach is both appropriate and necessary, it may create crippling dependency in the long run. In the former approach, the poor are ‘disempowered’ further and, rather than attacking the systemic causes of poverty, this paradigm places a ‘band aid’ on a festering sore and perpetuates dependency. In this scenario, the danger exists that the people are then objectified as objects of a project, not both objects and subjects of their own development. The poor, as passive victims, are not empowered to create and utilise their own resources. The danger, therefore, exists that development might become project- rather than people-centred (Swart & Venter 2001:488; Swanepoel 2000:72). This leads to dependency and to people continuing to “seek hand-outs rather than finding ways of helping themselves”¹⁴⁹ (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:262). Burkey (1993:8) quotes Paulo Freire in illustrating the extreme effect of this approach:

Welfare programmes are instruments of manipulation and ultimately serve the purpose of dependence and domination. They act as an anaesthetic, distracting the oppressed from the true causes of their problems and from the concrete solutions of these problems.

The key change that was identified as needing to take place (drawn from the findings of successful case studies within the inquiry) was to transform the low self image and sense of hopelessness that poor people often have of themselves and their situation (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:267). Samuel (2002:244) argues that, while many development agencies talk about “transformation”,¹⁵⁰ true transformation can only take place through an encounter with Christ. This is as evidenced by biblical encounters and an understanding of *imageo dei* where through this encounter “there is a total reorientation of that individual and relationships, and reconstitution of his/her identity and the gift of looking at the world in an entirely new way” (Samuel

¹⁴⁸ Korten (1990: 115-118) identifies four generations of strategies of development-orientated NGOs. First generation strategies are identified as relief or welfare, which involve the direct delivery of basic services (food, shelter, health care, schools) by an organisation for the community.

¹⁴⁹ Despite good and well-meaning work done by the churches in the form of this welfare paradigm, Swart and Venter (2001:287) identify this as the vastly predominant approach used by many churches, owing to a dualistic rather than holistic understanding of development.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Burkey (1993:48) for a secular definition of *development as transformation*.

2002:244; cf. Myers 2000:65).¹⁵¹ Self-image is therefore transformed in the light of the person's new identity in Christ. The second aspect addresses that sense of hopelessness. Wilson and Ramphela (1989:267) emphasise that, while the poor have an extraordinary capacity to cope with stressful and difficult circumstances, they focus their energies mainly on survival and find it difficult to do forward planning – a luxury they can't afford – and /or find the energy to become involved in projects that may even benefit them. They do not see themselves as being in control of their own destinies or makers of history. Reorientation in the context of God's Mission (*Missio Dei*) implies a kind of empowerment that gives answer to this quandary of lack of hope and disorientation felt by the poor:

The call of Christ empowers us, orients us, reconstitutes us, recontextualizes us and sends us with a mission...we have such romantic ideas about the poor. If you live with them you begin to realise that they know they need character as much as anyone else, especially as their situation as distorted their potential to love, forgive and ability to cope with stress and sacrifice. They need their personhood to be restored, reconstituted through grace and through an engagement with them over a period of time, open them up to the vertical and horizontal dimensions, enabling them to re-orientate all their relationships, to develop a character that copes with all of life (Samuel 2002:245).

Development that is transformational, therefore, highlights the issue of a recovery of dignity and identity of the poor which lies at the heart of the powerlessness and vulnerability that the poor experience.¹⁵² It too is an empowering mode of praxis

¹⁵¹ Myers (2000:64, 65) defines poverty in terms of a breakdown in a constellation of relationships: with God, others, community, the environment and self. Sin is that which "distorts and bends relationships in ways that create the myriad expressions of human poverty in its material, social and spiritual forms".

¹⁵²The Old Testament Year of Jubilee, Sabbatical Year and laws of gleaning illustrate the usage of legislation in Israel to prevent exploitation and bring equality that illustrate an approach to poverty which goes to its root: injustice. Sider (1977:80) in commenting on the year of Jubilee comments that "this passage prescribes justice rather than haphazard handouts by wealthy philanthropists is extremely significant" – these laws demanded justice, not mere charity. When speaking of Christian *development as transformation*, *koinonia* is a key concept. In secular development, the community has to 'own' the process, be committed to contribute and help out wherever possible and have consensus of the needs of the community. This *koinonia* – fellowship first with the Lord Jesus – means not only having his righteousness imparted to us, but also entails in sharing in the self-sacrificing, cross bearing life he lived (1 Cor. 1:9; Phil. 3:8-10) (Sider 1977:94). It also meant that they were one in mind and spirit. The Apostle Paul frequently uses this term in economic sharing and gives three guidelines for doing so:

1. Give all you can. Each person should give "as he may prosper" (1 Cor. 16:2) – the Macedonians were even praised for giving beyond their means (they were a poor community – 2 Cor. 8:2).

which journeys with the poor and “challenges the poor to recover their identity as children of God and to discover their vocation as productive stewards, discovering that they have been given gifts to contribute to social well being” (Myers 2003:116; cf. Samuel 2002:245). The potential for changed communities and environments lies in transformed people who understand their dignity and identity as related to that of God in Christ. “People, not money or programs”, notes Myers (2003:116), “transform their worlds”. The ‘projectisation’ of development, which places money and programmes as paramount, ignores the place of human commitment to change at their own pace within their own reality. Recognising the latter is the beginning of allowing healing to take place with regard to the marred self-image of the poor.

In addressing the issue of a pragmatically driven approach rich in resources, it is also necessary for the non-poor within an unequal society to be challenged by the church. Guilt, as a result of apartheid, has resulted in the apathy of many white South Africans. However, there are positive stories of the non-poor beginning to release finances, skills and gifts for the Kingdom. Development that is transformational, however, provides theological resources to begin to heal the divide between the poor and non-poor, the powerful and the powerless.

3.4.3 Values

The *Second Carnegie Inquiry* argues that the values of society should focus on eradicating poverty and that other actors in society need to become involved to inspire and help change this from a climate of struggle for survival into one where the poor begin to participate in “organising and controlling their own lives” (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:267). It was furthermore argued that once a new political power structure is in place it “must be infused by a value system which would ensure that the process of transformation and the creation of a new society is of real benefit to all those living in it” (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:267). We are currently operating within that new political power structure and yet problems such as sexism and corruption predicted by the Carnegie framework remain, together with ever-increasing

2. Giving is voluntary (2 Cor. 8:3).

3. There should be equality (2 Cor 8:13-15).

Furthermore social concern was not an individualistic obligation or philanthropic handout, but a corporate endeavour, which was carried out first in the church and then “to all men” (Gal 6:10).

inequality, facts that illustrate the complex challenge that we face when searching for values for this new society.

Apartheid served to fragment culture in order to keep the various cultural groupings separate and mutually hostile. It was proposed that the antidote to this – as well as the empowerment of the masses – is a “re-rooting of people in order to provide them with a sense of identity and dignity, which in turn releases social energies” (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:268). The Black Consciousness Movement’s (BCM)¹⁵³ promotion of self respect and self reliance through a discovery of human worth and dignity “by focusing on the value of their cultural roots and history” would (it was argued) in turn promote participation and empowerment. The worth of human beings is recognised by the inquiry as being central and to this end the African value of *Ubuntu* is presented as embodying this philosophy. A difficult concept, Wilson and Ramphela (1989:269) define it as a “quality of interaction” based on the African proverb *Umntu ungumntu ngabanye abantu* (a person is a person by means of other people), meaning that “one’s own humanness depends upon recognising the humanity of others and their recognising yours”.

South African theologians such as Nolan, Mpumlwana, Tutu and Botman have clearly connected this powerful concept in recent years to nation building, the biblical notion of the “image of God”, personhood and community in their quest to address the challenges of a post-apartheid South Africa contextually (cf. Botman 1997:32; Battle 1996:93-94).¹⁵⁴ Botman (1997:31) uses the notion of “ubuntufication” to introduce and ground his argument that the new struggle – that for community in a fragmented society¹⁵⁵ – should be rooted in Christology as an ethical confession. In using Dietrich Bonhoeffer’s understanding of Christology

¹⁵³ De Beer and Swanepoel (1998:14) identify the BCM as the perhaps most important “exponent of radical community development (empowerment)” and closely tied to the apartheid struggle. Led by Steve Biko, its philosophy was to express group (black) pride and “attain the envisaged self. Freedom is the ability to define oneself with one’s own possibilities held back not by the power of other people over one but only by one’s relationship to God and to natural surroundings”.

¹⁵⁴ The *Rustenburg Declaration* (1990) – representative of 80 Christian denominations and 40 organisations declared apartheid a sin and, interestingly enough, in their confession (pt. 2.7) define *ubuntu* as a “humanness which has held our communities together” and which had been broken by apartheid (Els 1991:26).

¹⁵⁵ Rasmussen (1993:112) argues for the church as a moral agent in a society fragmented by modernism and states that “community bonds establish a common faith or fate, a personal identity, a sense of belonging, and a supportive structure of activities and relationships”.

...as the confession of one's understanding of community. This flows from his theological connection of ethics with a communitarian Christology. Dietrich Bonhoeffer insists that Christ exists as community. Christians and all of community are called to 'life together' (Botman 1997:33).

This is brought to life when one considers David's discussion (2000:11) on the relevance of transformation in a situation of "failed social values, corrupted institutions and destructive personal behaviour". He argues that beneath this rotting façade lies "various (positive) images of a God 'tradition' and spiritual values" and that it is the "spirituality that is within that is the most pervasive weapon against human evil and brutality". A truly biblical and transformational worldview, much like the traditional African value of *Ubuntu*, recognises that while the right to choose is an inherent characteristic of being human, this choice, if selfish or incorrect, could affect the community – "and this ultimately results in the location not only of power, but also of 'the fullness of humanity' in the hands of a few" (Villa-Vicencio 1992:172).¹⁵⁶ Theologically speaking, this is sin and it is this absence of *shalom* which leads to division, violence and ultimately death and destruction (Jn. 10:10). Indeed, apartheid has served to fragment our society and the concept of community with disturbing consequences for the ethical landscape. Wilson and Ramphele (1989:270) somewhat chillingly predicted the possible results of apartheid for the future at the time of the compilation of the inquiry's findings:

'The aspect of themselves,' wrote Jung, 'which human beings sacrifice in the attainment of a given objective in their lives is reborn and returns knife in hand, to sacrifice that which sacrificed it.' Thus writes Ebersson, 'All the aspects of themselves that black South Africans have been forced to sacrifice, their human dignity, their freedom, their very masculinity and femininity, have returned, knife in hand, seeking any possible target for revenge.'

They further warned that there needed to be "continual vigilance against the corruption of the process" of transformation by the evils of the apartheid system (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:270). What black South Africans have been forced to "sacrifice" has clearly led to a brokenness and moral fragmentation of lives and

¹⁵⁶ Villa-Vicencio (1992:156) argues that in our quest for human rights (that embody sound values) in the reconstruction of our nation "and an understanding that the human rights struggle is at the centre of the quest for understanding what it means to be human. Theology brings to the human rights struggle a dynamic and a sense of urgency which makes human rights an issue that, correctly understood, no person can afford to ignore without denying his or her full potential".

communities in a democratic dispensation. This is no more evident than in the crime statistics of South Africa, which possesses the highest reported incidents of murder and rape per capita in the world. The *Carnegie Inquiry* had in fact predicted that inferiority complexes and “frustrated rage” bred by the system of apartheid “engendered by feelings of powerlessness...all too often manifests itself in domestic violence and loss of respect by children for their parents and elders” (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:270, 271). While on the one hand much progress has been made particularly with regard to the state and women’s emancipation in South Africa since 1990,¹⁵⁷ there remain many situations where women continue to operate within patriarchal systems and have no independent access to resources such as land or housing, and domestic violence remains an evil.¹⁵⁸ SACLA II (South African Christian Leadership Assembly) noted that the “culture of violence stems from the history of our violent past as well as the growing uncertainty of our nation’s future” and called upon church leaders to “foster ethics of non-violence and reconciliation” (Britton & Graham 2003:2).¹⁵⁹ On the macro level, corruption is constantly in the news – a factor that threatens our fledgling democracy.¹⁶⁰

Social, economic and political powerlessness are often at the root of such statistics, which is not surprising considering that SA has the second highest inequality gap in the world.¹⁶¹ In turn, broken and distorted relationships are at the roots of such powerlessness, which is in turn the result of broken and unjust relationships. An

¹⁵⁷ Gender equality is firmly entrenched in the Constitution, Bill of Rights and the law. See Serote, Manger and Budlender (2001:162-170) for a summary of the state of women’s emancipation in South Africa.

¹⁵⁸The close interrelationship between poverty, vulnerability and powerlessness continues even now to hinder the development of women as seen in the following chapter. Jordaan and Mpumlwana (1994:164) recognise sexism as gender apartheid and argue that the church together with society should take seriously the health, education and general poverty problems that women experience as well as conscientise women on the important role that they can play in the development and improvement of their communities. Unfortunately, sometimes a misunderstanding of the concepts of headship, submission and hierarchy have been used to justify the oppression and abuse of women – views that are in direct contrast to the values of the Kingdom and the concern and care Christ himself showed to all humanity. Sadly, the way that we view gender often has a direct impact on our understanding and action on the issue of gender, violence and poverty.

¹⁵⁹ Violence, together with crime, poverty, HIV/AIDS, sexism, racism and family in crisis, is noted as one of South Africa’s seven “giants” by the South African Leadership Assembly (SACLA II).

¹⁶⁰ A 1999 corruption rating identified South Africa as the 14th riskiest country out of 45 countries worldwide and is identified by Shaw (2001:42) as stemming from a culture of entitlement by the previously disadvantaged who believe it is now their right to enjoy material success. According to Harrison (1979:369), this serves to not only weaken government and undermine social discipline, but it also becomes a mechanism through which inequalities are created and increased.

¹⁶¹ Inequality is measured by means of the Gini Co-efficient – a Gini of 0 signifies absolute equality and 1 absolute concentration; South Africa’s is 0,60 and Brazil (the highest) is 0,63 (Liebbrandt *et al.* 2001:22).

understanding of their fundamental cause as sin needs to be reached, which finds its deepest roots in a fallen humanity and rebellious principalities and powers (Myers 2000:64). Dennis (2001:39) notes that

The fruits of powerlessness are the loss of dignity and pride, the loss of hope, turning to drugs and alcohol or escapist religion, families in disarray, violent crimes as desperate reactions to life without the power to pursue dreams and aspirations.

The church in South Africa is called to a healing prophetic praxis; one which calls the broader South Africa to embrace ‘the other’ based on a theological understanding of the Kingdom of God¹⁶² as that which brings good news to people and speaks of justice, love, peace and wholeness, “of the flourishing of righteousness and *shalom*”. Such an understanding is instrumental in bringing about healing and wholeness to morally fragmented communities and provide new social vision in contexts of hopelessness, possibly offering an “effective counterpoint to our worst social and cultural instincts and behaviour” (David 2000:11).

3.4.4 Conclusion

Hauerwas (1981:12) somewhat radically states that the church does “not exist to provide an ethos for democracy or any other form of social organisation, but stands as a political alternative to every nation, witnessing to the kind of social life possible for those that have been formed by the story of Christ”. Yet, as the church, it is within this tension that dialogue between missiology and development can take place. The polar tension within which the church operates in society enables it to be both prophetic by virtue of its alternative nature and active in terms of the transformative nature of the Gospel.

3.5 SUMMATIVE CONCLUSION

The following are summative propositions arising from this chapter, which will be interacted with critically at certain points in the chapters hereafter:

- *The two inquiries into poverty and development in South Africa, despite being disparate in focus and historical era (namely Carnegie I and II) clearly regarded the church as a societal change agent, as witnessed by the process*

¹⁶² Ackerman (1993:30) emphasises that living out the values of the already/not yet nature of the Kingdom of God means by implication a radical mutuality and reciprocity with ‘the other’ in the now.

and scope of both their methodologies. Despite the fact that each inquiry into the church's role took place within vastly different theological paradigms, both appeared to call for greater dialogue with poverty and development within the humanities in confronting the challenge of poverty.

- *Carnegie I (The Carnegie Commission on the Poor White Problem, 1927-32)* identified the church as awakening much sooner than the state or society in confronting poverty and viewed church membership as a preventative measure against dependency and apathy. *However, the church's methods were regarded as inadequate, hindered by a spiritualisation of the Gospel and the misconception that the responsibility of addressing poverty lay largely in the state's hands. This misconception led to a dominant charity approach of 'hand outs', which in turn were identified as leading to dependency.*
- *Carnegie II (Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development, 1982-4)*, in recognition of the importance of religious groups in actively addressing poverty, appointed a specialised task group. *This group too noted that a spiritualised and individualistic view of salvation led to apathy from certain sectors of the church with regard to social justice. It was proposed that the answer to the political and social status quo of the time was the mobilisation of churches (from the 'bottom up' of the masses).*
- *Carnegie II*, as interpreted by Wilson and Ramphela's book (1989) *Uprooting Poverty: The South African Challenge*, remains a landmark study in Southern Africa with regard to poverty and development. Wilson and Ramphela's "Framework for Thinking" provides a contextual conceptual framework open for re-interpretation in a new age and through new lenses. *It is in this light that the theological framework of development as transformation enters into a dialogue with this contextual framework.*
- Several points of congruency are revealed between these two frameworks. Points of congruency include the following: *The need to talk of power and powerlessness, when addressing poverty. The need for a more holistic form of development which leads to empowerment, rather than the dependency promoted by a project-centred welfare/relief approach, widely identified as a pitfall which needs addressing (as noted as far back as Carnegie I). The need*

for a contextual ethic based on the value of community and the use of the African value of Ubuntu, which recognises the need for a communitarian ethic that cares for and loves ‘the other’ and finds agreement within an understanding of the struggle for community in the light of a society fragmented by globalisation and apartheid. These are all points of congruency and renewed signs of hope for continuing dialogue.

- *Nevertheless, where a theology of mission differs with and critiques such a framework, new paradigms imbued with the hope of the already/not yet nature of the Kingdom of God are revealed.*
- Power and powerlessness are interpreted within a broader understanding of structural sin and the broken vertical and horizontal relationships, which give rise to an understanding of poverty as arising out of this brokenness. *Furthermore, a transformational framework recognises the spiritual powers and principalities at work in sustaining poverty “through domination, exploitation, prejudice, violence and marginalisation”.*
- In this light, empowerment of the poor entails more than addressing the political, social and economic dimensions, but calls for spiritual restoration too. *It is argued that, through an encounter with Christ, complete restoration of personhood can occur, which empowers that person to be re-orientated in terms of identity and therefore in terms of relationships, worldview and vocation.*
- Furthermore, the African value of *Ubuntu* is viewed, in light of an understanding of transformational development, as not coming into its fullest as a result of sin. A lack of *shalom* within human relationships, it is argued, lies at the root of morally fragmented communities.

CHAPTER 4

CHURCHES AS ORGANISATIONS FOR CHANGE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the long debate dealing with the creation of strategies for action to address the challenge of poverty, it was proposed that civil organisations¹⁶³ would be able to transform power relations – to empower the poor and lay foundations, which will help determine the shape of society in the long run (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:261). For this reason, various organisations were identified, such as the trade union movement, collective action for job creation, rural development, paralegal clinics and advocacy organisations, business and private enterprise, research and training organisations and religious organisations (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:276-303). The identification of such civil society organisations as a powerful tool for transformation is endorsed by Batista (1995:227) at the time of the birth of the new democracy.¹⁶⁴ He cites Julio de Santa Ana in arguing that the “development and consolidation” of civil society is integral to the “construction of democracy in modern societies”.¹⁶⁵ Civil society has the potential to “resist injustice and to promote alternatives and values” (Batista 1995:229). In the government’s 1998 statement on ethical transformation, President Nelson Mandela recognises the importance of the spiritual in accomplishing this task: “in our striving for political and economic development, the ANC recognises that social transformation cannot be separated from spiritual transformation” (ANC Ethical Statement 1998:2). Not only could religion play a role in moral

¹⁶³ These organisations were identified as being outside the state, as the apartheid state’s oppressive policies were viewed as the reason for black poverty.

¹⁶⁴ According to Lewis (2002:569), the concept of civil society is a highly disputed Western one. Civil society is generally recognised as groups situated beyond the household, which are formed for collective purposes outside of the marketplace or state. Lewis traces the various roots and definitions implied by this term. However, it appears that the position most probably employed in Wilson and Ramphela’s (1989) argument could be that held by Antonio Gramsci, a Latin American. Gramsci argued that “civil society contains a wide range of different organisations and ideologies which both challenge and uphold the existing order.” Gramscian ideas are identified by Lewis (2002:572) as being closely linked to research on social movements, “which seek(s) to challenge and transform structures and identities.” In the following chapter, the church is indeed identified as an ‘organisation for change’, which is perfectly situated to challenge and transform structures and identities, both by calling and position within society.

¹⁶⁵ Sadly, in South Africa the UNDP Report found that during the 1990s there was both a “demobilization” and “demoralisation” of some of these civil organisations as they either became absorbed into government, were not given the scope to become part of the rebuilding of the nation or were prone to normal factors that are part of democratic transition (Taylor 2000:180).

transformation, but also in the resistance of domination of the social life “by the functional imperatives of state and market.” This is particularly relevant considering that as studies have shown, religious organisations foster the kind of participatory citizenship on which civil society depends (Herbert 2003:92). Myers (2000:66) argues that an expanding global economy and the shrinking role of the state cause a decline in the socio-economic participation of the poor and therefore diminish the need for civil society organisations such as the church to assist in expanding access.¹⁶⁶ The particular role of religious organisations, and more specifically the church, in the alleviation of poverty was recognised as central by the *Second Carnegie Inquiry* (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:302). The researcher therefore wishes to focus solely on the church as a religious ‘organisation for change’. This will be accomplished by proposing that, despite its many failures and limitations, the church can play a unique role in the transformation of communities. Brief reference to the history of the South African church’s social and justice ministry and the call to action by other sectors of society will serve as the basis for this argument. The present challenges that the South African church faces in answering this call to action will follow.

4.2 HISTORICAL WITNESS

Ecclesiastical involvement in social justice and upliftment is not a new phenomenon; community development has always accompanied Christian mission as either an explicit part thereof or an intended by-product of mission (Pierson 1993:8). Good and well-meaning work has been done by many churches across the ages in this form by helping either in the formation of soft infrastructure or in the provision of much needed emergency responses.¹⁶⁷ Wilson and Ramphele (1989:302) note, for instance, that many secular institutions throughout the world “including hospitals, schools, and universities – were originally inspired by the church”. Pierson (1993:20) notes that each significant missionary movement from Monasticism to the forerunners of the Protestant missionary movement (Puritanism, Pietism, Moravianism and the Wesleyan movement) and the rise of the missionary societies contributed to

¹⁶⁶Cf. Myers (2000:66) for successful case studies in the USA of churches acting as civil society organisations working to enlarge people’s access to economic and political power.

¹⁶⁷During the colonial era – for the better or for the worse – colonial governments left the provision of health care and education to church-related organisations (Korten 1990:116).

community transformation in the forms mentioned above.¹⁶⁸ Nevertheless, not only soft infrastructure but also societal reformation for the oppressed and marginalised groups in society was promoted by certain individuals¹⁶⁹.

A concern for civil liberties carrying over from such movements in Europe was also evident in the Cape Colony during this time. Several missionaries of the London Missionary Society (LMS) encouraged the Khoikhoi who had suffered at the hands of white farmers and employers to institute cases against them. Ordinance 50 at the Cape, which gave legal equality to “Hottentots and other free persons of colour”, was also credited to the influence of a member of the LMS (Hofmeyer & Pillay 1994:52-56). The history of mission – particularly as social justice – in South Africa does however remain a complex one. While some sectors of the church gave theological justification to the heresy of apartheid, others, in response to the institutionalised discrimination of the apartheid system, were often the voice of the voiceless black masses in the vacuum created by the banning of the black political organisations such as the ANC and PAC. While many did not welcome this new role, “given their membership and multiracial nature” the developments following events such as the Sharpsville massacre left them little choice (Hofmeyer & Pillay 1994:276).¹⁷⁰ De Gruchy (1996:49), for example, describes Desmond Tutu as a “political leader by default” because of the exile, imprisonment and killing of political leaders. Against the background of a growing African Theology, the Black Consciousness Movement and the Liberation Theology of Latin America,¹⁷¹ the strongest voice came from a South African theology of resistance that declared that “Liberation involves joining the struggle” – neutrality was not an option¹⁷² (Thomas 1995:195,196).

¹⁶⁸ “Christian missions have always been a result of renewal movements in the church. Such movements, more often than not, attempted to transform their own societies or at least to focus on both evangelisation and service to the poor, the marginalised and the oppressed” (Pierson 1993:8).

¹⁶⁹ The reforms of prisons and child labour regulation, as well as the abolition of slavery in Britain in the 18th century, bear testimony to some such work. Furthermore, in societies where women had low status or rights, “mission often affected their situation” (Pierson 1993:18).

¹⁷⁰ Organisations such as the SACC (known at first as the Christian Council of South Africa) and the Christian Institute “committed themselves to a conscientious struggle for the liberation of blacks” during the apartheid struggle (Hofmeyer & Pillay 1991:275).

¹⁷¹ In fact, Manzo (1995:246), in writing about the link between Liberation Theology in South Africa and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in South Africa, states that Liberation Theology was influenced by Black Consciousness and shared a “critical, counter modernist attitude”. As a result, the BCM were highly critical of modernist conceptions of development.

¹⁷² Sadly, some sectors of the church “either supported apartheid or preached a pietism divorced from social justice” (Thomas 1995:149).

Kritzinger (1996:4-12) identifies three historical models of social welfare in the South African church: the *versorgingsbenadering* (the care approach directed at relief measures), the *institutionele benadering* (the institutional approach directed at the establishment of social welfare institutions)¹⁷³ and the *opheffingsbenadering* (the upliftment approach as characterised by the poor white problem in *Carnegie I*). The latter approach was successfully employed by the Dutch Reformed Church in response to the poor white problem and the lack of holistic and effective action offered by the care and institutional approaches (Rothman & Albertyn 1932:56).¹⁷⁴ It is in fact identified by Boesak (1984:8) (despite the DRC's bias towards 'its own' – stemming from and giving rise to the apartheid ideology) as nevertheless liberationist in its approach. However, it is precisely this bias towards its own that the *Second Carnegie Inquiry* challenged. The *Second Inquiry* of the mid-1980s appeared to promote a community-based approach, flowing from the principles of South African liberation theology. The preferential option for the poor was argued by focusing on the conscientisation and resource development of local communities and churches. Community development was not popular in South Africa, however, particularly because of its “potential for political change”, as noted by De Beer and Swanepoel (1998:10). This is significant when attempting to trace a South African history of community development. Community development is seen as only really having “made headway in evangelical missionary circles and the Black Consciousness Movement.” In fact, Swart and Venter (2001:486) argue that, particularly in the light of the church's role as “allies in the liberation struggles and grassroots socio-economic activities of NGOs”, development-orientated NGOs cannot be seen apart from their religious roots.

4.3 THE CALL TO ACTION

In addition to its historical witness and ecclesiological positioning, the reason provided for focusing on the role of the church (as opposed to other religious communities) at the time of the inquiry was simply that “more than three-quarters

¹⁷³ A prominent model of this in SA is Lovedale, established by the Glasgow Missionary Society in 1841, which became a multiracial, interdenominational centre of learning in the Eastern Cape and later generated the development of Fort Hare University (an institution which was “to provide education, expertise and confidence to many of those who became leaders in the African National Congress”) (Hofmeyer & Pillay 1994:74).

¹⁷⁴ In fact, these approaches were viewed as leading to dependency and pauperism (Albertyn & Rothman 1932: 57).

(78%) of the population considered itself to be Christian” (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:302). The 1996 census indicated only a 4% drop in this percentage with 74.1% of the population continuing to affiliate themselves with Christianity (Siaki 2001:2). Latest census statistics indicate that a significant 79.8 % of the population identify themselves as Christian (Hendriks 2003:6).¹⁷⁵ The potential of the church is therefore great, with an estimated 33 000 Christian faith communities¹⁷⁶ throughout South Africa and widespread infrastructure; “the leadership, human and organisational resources of the religious sector are therefore far reaching” (Swart 2003:3). In effect then, Swart (2003:3) argues that “congregations and other faith-based organisations (FBOS) are value-based institutions with an effective infrastructure, in touch with realities on the ground and able to reach out to every household in their community”.¹⁷⁷ In a similar vein, Nürnberger (1999:369) lists access to the most deprived grassroots communities and its network of secular professionals with “all kinds of spheres of influence scattered throughout the fabric of society” as another suitable argument for the church to be an agent for change.

Research conducted by the EFSA Institute for Theological and Interdisciplinary Research in the post-apartheid era found that the religious sector contributed a total of approximately R1 billion per annum to welfare, relief and development programmes. The selected case studies indicated that their combined budgets for such programmes amounted to around R330 million (this sum excluded the approximately R30 million international donor funding channelled into the country by church-based networks annually) (Koegelenberg 2001:103). These sums can in no way be surpassed by the significance of numerous informal and volunteer services by faith communities and well-developed infrastructural and administrative support. However, according to

¹⁷⁵ In arguing for “Religious Research as Kingpin in the Fight against Poverty and AIDS in the Western Cape, South Africa”, Hendriks, Erasmus and Mans (2004:1) state that the church is the biggest and most influential non-governmental organisation (NGO) in South Africa as it reaches approximately 63% of the population each week. Sugden (2004:4) takes this further in identifying the church as the world’s largest NGO and states that, according to a World Bank Report, while NGOs reached 30% of the African poor, the churches in Africa reached 90% of them.

¹⁷⁶ Hendriks and Froise (1999:37) identify 43 000 Christian churches. Such estimates may be conservative, as there often exist many additional denominationally unaffiliated house churches in many communities.

¹⁷⁷ In fact, the *Carnegie II* “Church, Poverty and Development” working group report had identified these strengths and included equipment such as land premises, capital funds and weekly revenue. The spiritual strengths of the church were also noted as including teaching, mutual care, faithfulness, gathering for worship, witness and service (Nash 1984a:18).

Koegelenberg (2001:97-98), perhaps by far the greatest contribution of FBOs could be in the 'quality' rather than the 'quantity' of their efforts.¹⁷⁸

They are essential in the formation of values and value systems in our broader society. In many cases social programmes deal with the victims of family disintegration, family violence, lack of support for the vulnerable in our society, which are symptoms of the moral crisis in our country.

Moreover, Human Science Research Council (HSRC) research (2000) found that the church received the highest percentage of trust (74%) of all social institutions rated by the public, followed by the electoral commission at 50%. This credibility has clearly been recognised by the government, who is willing to form partnerships with broader civil society, including NGOs¹⁷⁹, FBOs¹⁸⁰ and community-based organisations (CBOs).¹⁸¹ Dr Zola Skweyiya (Minister of Social Development) stated in 2002 that:

The government values the contribution and the role the religious sector has played in bringing education, medical services and support to neglected areas, as well as the struggle against apartheid. Now we face a new struggle: we can only succeed to eradicate poverty...if we can build effective partnerships between the state, the religious sector and other institutions of civil society (Koegelenberg 2001:108).

At the highest echelons of government, the role of religious communities in confronting poverty is acknowledged. The challenge, however, seems to be for the religious communities to translate this into concrete interventionist action in partnership with the state. In 1999, President Thabo Mbeki (1999:10) pleaded with

¹⁷⁸ Nürnberg (1999:371) identifies another asset of the church as that of being able to provide spiritual and moral foundations that can be mobilised to "generate vision, motivation and responsibility".

¹⁷⁹ Due to the disputed definitions of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), Kane (in Liebenberg 2000:109) defines three key criteria:

1. It should be non-profit-making (NGOs in SA have to be legally registered as non-profit organisations).
2. It should be privately set up; the state should have no direct control of its structure, activity and financing.
3. It should support development.

¹⁸⁰ This term is the acronym for faith-based organisations, which often refers both to non-government organisations with a religious ethos and local faith congregations involved in community development. An example of an NGO with a religious ethos is the Christian Medical Service and Relief Organisation (CMSR). Situated in George, it clearly states in its vision that "the CMSR should be a Christian faith-based multi-denominational section 21 company", but that the services and care provided to "destitute community members" is "irrespective of their race and creed" (CMSR 2004:3).

¹⁸¹ CBOs are based, as the term implies, in local communities and often mobilise community members around mutual needs and concerns. They are often smaller and less structured than NGOs and may have the task of acting as "channels for government and NGOs" (De Beer & Swanepoel 1998:41).

religions to “state, clearly, that their faith was offended by poverty” and that what the country needed was a

...message from religious leaders that they are willing and ready to engage generally, and with us, the government, wherever possible and as much as possible, in the social issues that are about the upliftment of people, to make sure that no-one goes hungry and that all are inspired to and enabled to read. We need all-round development of the human being. Intervention is needed and the first intervention should be in the area of ideas for the country. We need intervention in society from religious communities.

Mayson (2001:28) echoes Mbeki in his call on religious leaders to take up the gauntlet in participating in the transformation of communities and emphasises the need for partnership between state and religion. The reason provided by Mayson (2001:28) is that “religious leaders, rooted in the activity of a just and loving God among us have a major role to play in enabling us to believe in ourselves and our country”. The challenge of a call to action on the issue of poverty by the church appears to remain. At a gathering of over 4000 church leaders at the second South African Leadership Assembly (SACLA)¹⁸² in 2004, Mbeki yet again challenged the church. Michael Cassidy and Bishop Mvume Dandala, co-chairpersons of the assembly, interpreted it as follows:

We have also been reminded by our president, perhaps in implicit rebuke for our silence these last years, that government needs to hear the prophetic voice of the Church again on issues of ethics, morality and social concern. Christians at local levels also should engage political and civic authorities to cooperate in nation-building and to encourage integrity in public life (Dandala & Cassidy 2003:1).

It is a call to holistic action, based on what appears to be a realistic appraisal of the potentials of the church to affect social change and the hope to which it is called.

¹⁸² SACLA II was a gathering of over 4000 Christian leaders from throughout South Africa, held from 7 to 11 July 2003 in Tshwane (Pretoria) and sponsored by the South African Council of Churches (SACC), the Evangelical Alliance of South Africa (TEASA) and African Enterprise (AE). The theme was “Being Real Christians in the Real South Africa”, with the mandate to “discern and act together on what it means, according to the scriptures, to be witnesses to Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord today”. Seven ‘giants’ facing the country were identified as needing attention, namely HIV/AIDS, violence, crime, racism, poverty and unemployment, sexism, and family in crises (SACLA Programme 2003:8).

4.4 THE PRESENT RESPONSE: THE CHALLENGES

While it was noted at the time of the *Second Inquiry* that while the church continued to do good work, it had “somehow failed to respond adequately to the challenges which surround it” (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:302). In a post-apartheid context, the key questions concern whether the church continues to respond inadequately and, if so, what are the challenges that it faces in its role as a transformative agent of the Kingdom. I will attempt to postulate the composite challenges arising from the previous chapter, Wilson and Ramphela’s (1989) discussion of the church as an ‘organisation for change’ and a review of recent literature. These challenges will be critically discussed in Chapter 6 with reference to the particular challenges that the church faces in the field area of study.

4.4.1 The current mode of theological discourse

According to Swart (2004b:1), one of the key problems that the South African church faces in addressing the poverty and development problem effectively is that the “mode of involvement or discourse that is required if we want to effectively address this challenge has not been sufficiently thought through”. This is not surprising considering that within South African theological institutions and universities Theology and Development is a fairly new discipline.¹⁸³ In fact, the subject of community development itself “was not popular in South Africa during its international heyday and this was mainly because of scepticism and mistrust in government circles” (De Beer & Swanepoel 1998:10). The result of this is that community development as a subject within the humanities also only took firmer root from the 1990s onwards. Depth of theological discourse regarding the issue of development or social transformation therefore becomes of more importance in a post-apartheid climate where, it is argued by De Gruchy (2003:452), theologians and ministers have had to move from a culture of “resistance [to apartheid] to assistance” (with regard to poverty and development)¹⁸⁴. Liberation Theology, which had largely dominated the discourse during apartheid, had urged the churches to take political action in campaigning for such issues as the abolition of pass laws and influx control

¹⁸³ Cf. both De Gruchy (2003:451-466) and August (1999) for discussions regarding the design of a curriculum for Theology and Development.

¹⁸⁴ A recent statement of the Second Free State Christian Church Leaders Summit (2004:1) highlighted the inability of the churches to make the transition “from a theology of resistance to a theology of reconstruction” as one of the critical points identified by Bishop M. J. Mdaka of the Methodist Church.

of black people's free movement into cities and land ownership. Churches at that time, according to *Carnegie II*, were called upon to face these issues on an institutional level and use their church structures to "mount large scale campaigns" on macro and micro levels, in terms of short term schemes and action on the congregational or parish level (Wilson 1984b:82.83). However, more than resistance is currently required from the church if the challenge of poverty and development is to be confronted.

The challenge now facing the church is different. The complex options for a new South Africa require more than resistance. The church is obliged to begin the difficult task of saying 'Yes' to the unfolding process of what could culminate in a democratic, just and kinder order (Villa-Vicencio 1992:7).

Swart (2004b:2) argues that, while in some circles the 'yes' highlighted by Villa-Vicencio has led to engagement with government and broader civil society, it has not transcended the spirit of the liberation struggle. The current approach taken by, for example, the Ecumenical Foundation of Southern Africa (EFSA), which from the outset intended to promote a people-centred development paradigm largely influenced by the broader international ecumenical movement and the spirit of liberation theology, is critiqued by Swart (2004b:4) as having recently become entirely too pragmatic and project orientated. Such debates have indeed publicised both the qualitative contribution (social values) and quantitative contribution (financial capacity, range of services and voluntary basis) of the religious community towards the alleviation of poverty, resulting in the establishment of greater interaction with government (Swart 2004b:5). Such emphasis, Swart fears, nevertheless fails to engage critically enough with the paradigmatic or ideological challenges arising out of the poverty and development issue. Nico Koopman (2004:443) interprets the general silence regarding the issue of poverty as arising out of a lack of clear-cut social theory, such as that which existed in the apartheid era via liberation theology:

During the struggle years we were quite clear on the evils that we oppose – racism, classicism, sexism, economic injustice, the gap between the rich and poor etc. Now that we are challenged to participate in the reconstruction of South African society we have become more quiet and less engaged.

The crisis, perhaps, lies in the need for the church to develop a distinctive and authentic perspective from which to discuss the issue of poverty within the evolving development debate conducted by various role players in civil society and government. Inter-disciplinary and inter-sector engagement demands a more sophisticated understanding of social transformation from the church, but more importantly a distinctive character and role. Pragmatic arguments are chiefly concerned with the ‘how’ of development. It is perhaps necessary that more theological wrestling with the ‘why’ of development needs to be done first for such action to be more sustainable and holistic in scope. As far back as *Carnegie I*, the need was identified for formal and informal theological education on this subject as paramount to empowering the church to holistic action.

Praxis should surely be motivated by an understanding of the unique redemptive identity of the church, rather than only by pragmatic concerns.¹⁸⁵ The latter may inadvertently deteriorate into philanthropy. Korten (1990:114) explains the need for development theory in the following manner:

...an organization cannot have a meaningful development strategy without a development theory. To maintain that an organisation has a strategy is to claim that there is a well thought out logic behind the way in which it positions its resources. This logic must make explicit the organisation’s assumptions regarding the forces that sustain the problem condition it is addressing, and the points of system vulnerability at which an intervention will create a new and more desirable equilibrium of forces. Without a theory, the organisation can only proceed to scatter its resources in response to immediate visible needs.

4.4.2 A dualistic gospel

Siaki (2001:18) refers to a South African Human Research Council survey that asked socio-economic questions “ranging from big governments to socialism to trade unions to immigrants and committing crimes” with the hypothesis that it was a “reasonable assumption to expect cleavages in public opinion might occur between those for whom religious commitment is a serious matter and those for whom it is less serious”. Sadly, the result was that there appeared to be very little difference in public opinion

¹⁸⁵ Tsele (2001:209) voices this same opinion in arguing that, while the church needs to generate “something substantive” and authentic, it does bring to the table the religious dimension, without which any debate regarding poverty measurement and definition is inadequate.

between the three groups (i.e. regular church attendee, less regular attendee and those who attended no religious services whatsoever). Siaki (2001:18) then went on to ask whether this could be related to what is not taught “every Sunday in and Sunday out” and was, therefore, the reason for rising socio-economic problems, crime, corruption, moral decay and HIV/AIDS. Here, it could be postulated that the afore-mentioned sound theological (and therefore motivational) basis for engaging poverty and its related socio-economic challenges is lacking. It is a proposition that becomes more relevant when one considers what Beukes (2000), identifying Christian approaches to economic justice in South Africa, noted:

1. Churches supporting the conventional economic paradigm (materialistic market economy), despite serious concern over unemployment, poverty and crime, “have not really participated in the current search for better options”.
2. Churches voicing “pro-poor” issues, which are a culturally and economically diverse group, also do not evidence action against poverty at grassroots.

Both the first and second Carnegie inquiries postulated that the reason for such a lack of action in facing the challenges of poverty was a “dualistic spiritualization of the gospel”, which directs “hope to the life hereafter and has the same effects as valium... [which] tends to buttress rather than challenge the status quo” (Nash 1984b:38). Dualism is more clearly identified in evangelical circles,¹⁸⁶ in the light of an emphasis on the evangelism mandate, personal salvation and, in the case of Pentecostalism, premillennialism.¹⁸⁷ The focus is, therefore, predominantly on the personal salvation of the individual and the life hereafter rather than the cosmological redemption of all relationships. Wessels (2001) in fact identifies dualism as one of the key reasons for the lack of involvement in social justice issues by Charismatic congregations in South Africa.¹⁸⁸ Nürnberger (1999:373) lists a “spiritualised concept of salvation, which

¹⁸⁶ Evangelicalism refers to a broad and diverse group and, while commonly identified as having rigidly fundamentalist views that ignore current science and culture and have a dominant focus on the individual and individual salvation while “assigning peripheral status to questions of discipleship, justice and the shape of the church”, many evangelicals affirm evangelism and socio-political action as part of the essence of the gospel (Wagner 1993:117). Evangelicals may be broadly identified as believing in “the inspiration scripture as the divine rule of faith and practice, the incarnation and virgin birth, substitutionary atonement and bodily resurrection as the ground of God’s forgiveness, justification by faith alone, and the spiritual regeneration of all who trust in the redemptive work of Christ” (Henry 1974:359).

¹⁸⁷ For a definition of premillennialism and its relationship to an understanding of the Kingdom, see Chapter 1.

¹⁸⁸ Wessels (1997) somewhat controversially groups Pentecostals, neo-Pentecostals and “third wave” Charismatics together when defining the term “Charismatic”. For a study on the positive effects of

neglects social concerns” as foremost on his list of the church’s weaknesses in being an agent of change in society.¹⁸⁹

4.4.3 Social welfare or community development?

This dualism in turn not only determines to a large extent whether or not churches engage in social ministry, but also the character of their engagement. In South Africa, evidence of what one might term ‘philanthropy’ or works of charity or welfare are clearly dominant within the current South African church’s praxis with regard to poverty. And while the religious sector contributes a total of approximately R1 billion per annum to welfare, relief and development programmes, much of this is channelled into charity or welfare work (Koegelenberg 2001:103).

Currently, many churches for the most part engage in what they themselves term ‘social outreach’. More often than not (on a local level), this may include soup kitchens, food parcels for the poor, visits to old age homes or orphanages, and, for some South African denominations, ownership or maintenance of welfare institutions, such as orphanages, schools, old age homes and shelters. Kritzinger’s historical categorisation (1996:4,5) identifies and separates the former as the “*versorgingsbenadering*” (care approach) and the latter as the “*institutionale benadering*” (institutional approach). However, in line with Korten’s generational framework (as interpreted by Swart and Venter), the researcher wishes to identify this approach under his concept of a “First Generation” approach in tracing the progress of development work. First generation strategies are identified as relief or welfare that involves the direct delivery of basic services (food, shelter, health care, schools) by an organisation for the community. While this is a necessary service to those in need of immediate assistance, within this paradigm the beneficiaries may become no more than passive objects of development. Relief efforts therefore remain “an essential and appropriate response to emergency situations”, but in the long term, they serve only to create dependency (Korten 1990:118; Swart & Venter 2001:287). The poor themselves are not empowered to create and utilise their own resources, thus the danger exists that development might become “projectised”, rather than people

Pentecostalism on social transformation, see Escobar (2000:44) for a discussion on Pentecostals in Latin America and their involvement in social justice.

¹⁸⁹ The Civil Society, Social Development, Health and Medicine Track of SACLA II called the church, in very strong terms from its “silence and privatized faith”, which they proposed led to the dehumanisation of the people they served (SACLA Significant Commitments for Action 2004).

centred (Swart & Venter 2001:488; Swanepoel 2000:72). A study undertaken by Swart and Venter (2001:287), which makes use of Korten's generations, found that, despite national attempts at deliberate institutional transformation in the Methodist Church of South Africa (MCSA), of the 22 programmes investigated, only one was not a first generation project. In the case of the Dutch Reformed Church, Swart's analysis (1997:85) refutes their claim of a new development paradigm, arguing that, upon analysis, it remains firmly within a charity (first generation) approach. The latter, according to sociological analysis, results in dependency, not holistic development.¹⁹⁰

Kritzinger (1996:6) and Swart (2000:27) appear to agree that this is tantamount to paternalism, where things are done for the people and not with them, and which thus presupposes inequality. This then results – in the case of the church – in acting as a dividing agent between the poor on the one hand and the church on the other, or perhaps in terms of a handout from above (the church of the non-poor) to the poor below. Dennis (2001:42) makes the point that richer suburban congregations often prefer to donate money and emergency food rather than become involved with a form of holistic development that empowers the poor as they “draw their sense of self worth from the dependency of the needy upon them.” A British study on faith communities and community development sadly reveals similar findings.

While most congregation members will be happy or active to promote charitable welfare activity in which the givers remain in control of the situation, they are less at ease with notions of community empowerment or radical political action (Smith 2002:172).

Here then there would be very little visible understanding of God as the God of the poor who brings justice and peace into the very midst of their situations through an incarnational approach. Furthermore, it is in direct contrast to that which Wilson and Ramphela (1989:302) regard as one of the South African church's most powerful tools: empowerment that helps people to “become critically aware of the reasons for their poverty...with a view to controlling their own destinies.” What is needed, Smith (2002:172) argues, is for the development of theologies by religious leaders and community workers that are compatible with community development.

¹⁹⁰ As far back as *Carnegie I* with regard to the poor white problem, a dominant charity approach was identified as leading to dependency.

4.4.4 Harnessing the local congregation as a vehicle for development

James Gustafson (1998:40) argues that by enabling the local congregation “to be the resource base for ongoing development in any community, will have more far reaching effects than a development organisation doing it for them.” Unlike political institutions (particularly in the Third World) and NGOs (who often face uncertainties with changes in leadership and funding), the congregation is a fairly stable institution with regular and predictable systems. Its regular and predictable system of governance and availability of resources (people and finances), despite not always being wealthy, are clear. The fact that it is non-partisan, situated in a fixed place (as it serves the entire community and usually has an existing building structure) and furthermore conforms to a moral order of checks and balances ensures that the local congregation is perfectly situated for community transformation (Oladipo 2000:146, 147).¹⁹¹

Yet, up until today, the para-church group/missions agency remains the key delivery and ministry specialist in the area of community development. Recently, however, their involvement (as being placed above that of the local congregation) has become an issue of contention with regard to “their theological basis and their relationship to church structures” (Hammet 2000:199). While not wrong in and of themselves, two key results are that the local congregation’s support is reduced to financial support primarily (which may in turn lead to alienation from what God is doing) and that primary responsibility for being agents of the Kingdom is left to the professionals, rather than where it should be, the laity (Moffit 1987:240). If the local congregation really is “the future of the church”, then, according to Moltmann (in Coetzee 1993:155), “The renewal of the church finally depends upon what happens at the Grass Roots level”. We need to recognise the apostolicity of the people of God and the role they can play, a role which is interestingly in line with a people-centred participatory development philosophy. Who could understand the needs of a community better than those who are part of these communities? Studies undertaken by the Unit for Religious and Development Research (University of Stellenbosch) between 2002 and 2004 in the Western Cape regarding the church’s role in poverty

¹⁹¹ To this, Tsele (2000:216) adds that, being rooted in community, Christian institutions are familiar with their communities’ cultures, histories and contexts, as well as often having developed credible leadership recognised by the poor. It could be added that one of the possible key responsibilities of the church in addressing socio-economic challenges is to develop credible leaders for civil society, business and government. Such leaders will work on behalf of and alongside the poor, believing it to be their task.

and other socioeconomic ills, revealed with the successful use of congregations as instruments of research that local congregations are indeed rooted in community (Erasmus, Hendriks & Mans 2004; Erasmus & Mans 2004).¹⁹² However, findings from one of the same studies indicate that while church members in their individual capacities and faith-based organisations are involved with development issues, the “churches themselves as organisations” (congregations) are not very involved “with the needs of their members and the larger community” (Erasmus & Mans 2004:11).

The above has far-reaching implications for the nature and vehicle of *development as transformation* undertaken by the church. The *Wheaton Declaration* (cf. Samuel & Sugden 1999:259-276) unequivocally declares the importance of the local church as “the vehicle for communicating the Gospel of Jesus Christ both in word and deed”, and the need for the church to be sensitive and responsive to need on its doorstep, ministering to the poor in their local area and go beyond this to “rectify the injustice that makes such acts of mercy necessary” (paragraph vii: 41). As indicated by the Gospels, the early Christians having been transformed by the Cross incarnated His servant ministry and lived the values of the Kingdom both personally and communally (paragraph vi:32). The local congregation, which is already present in the community, can in many areas be the servant to the community and therefore a source of hope and encouragement (Myers 2000:65). Mead (1995:56) recognises congregations as both a generator of community and a support for community. The South African Christian Leadership Assembly (SACLA), in the call to action issuing from the conference, called on “local congregations” in particular to be “effective witnesses to Christ”:

Vibrant, caring local Churches, functioning as salt which arrests societal decay and light which dispels spiritual darkness, still constitute one of the most powerful agents of change in our world today. We urge all pastors and lay people to evaluate the health of their congregational fellowship in the light of Scripture and then press forward in the power of the Spirit to new effectiveness by being both visible and active in our communities (Cassidy & Dandala 2003:2).

¹⁹² Church leaders in the study areas were approached in order to mobilise church members from the area as fieldworkers to distribute and collect questionnaires regarding socio-economic issues. There was a remarkable 72.9% return rate on the 1800 questionnaires distributed in the Paarl area, which may indicate a high level of respect and trust for the church (Erasmus, Hendriks & Mans 2004:8).

The local congregation is already rooted in community and this makes it an ideal vehicle for development, not only from a theological point of view, but also from a strategic point of view. Nevertheless, the call is for congregations to take on a more visible and active role as agents for community.

4.4.5 Partnership across the divide

Partnership is clearly the new buzzword of missiology, particularly in the light of the recognition from many sectors that the tasks are too great and complex for any single group to handle alone. Such cooperation surely offers the opportunity for greater mobilisation in confronting the mammoth challenge of poverty effectively, but should also be seen imposed upon the background of the tension between the local and global brought about by globalisation and the challenges of working together with organisations and structures with different value systems and objectives.

4.4.5.1 Globalisation: Divide and conquer?

The growing interest in partnership and networks is perhaps brought about by the reality of globalisation. Despite its integrationist thrust within the fields of technology and market, globalisation is identified by Richard Dickinson (1998) as a deepening challenge for Christians as power is increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few, based on capitalism's inner logic: competition. This concentration of power not only "underestimates the importance of cooperation, mutuality and solidarity in the human community", but also exacerbates the widening disparities of inequality between the 'haves' and 'have nots' (Dickinson 1998:23). Countries in the South have become dependent on those in the North who due to their dominance of the global market economy within a global climate of competition, perpetuate a process of exclusion and marginalisation of the poor (Pui-lan 1995:139).

Povety, we are learning, is caused primarily by unjust structures that leave resources and the power to make decisions about the utilisation of resources in the hands of a few within nations and among nations. Unjust structures are often the consequence of misdirected goals and values (Paton in Dickinson 1998:25).

Globalisation forces the church to look for new alternative forms of society that challenge the dominance of the state and market, which exclude and marginalise the poor economically, politically and socially. Within this context of fragmentation and

alienation of communities and social anomie, Escobar (2000:33) responds that Christian compassion and solidarity with those marginalised by the processes of globalisation “will be the only hope of survival for victims of the global economic process”. It has already been argued that the new struggle in South Africa is for community in a society fragmented further by its apartheid past and growing economic inequality, and that the church can contribute to creating moral community and therefore redirect those misdirected “goals and values”. Dickinson (1998:27) argues that by enhancing people’s participation through fostering civil society through organisations that represent it (such as the church), space may be created for the emergence of “emancipation and justice”¹⁹³. Recent examples of this new struggle are to be found in social justice movements, often initiated by the church, which attempt to address the marginalising socio-economic effects of globalisation. The public configuration of the church as identified by Chapter 1.7.1 as believers operating in partnership with voluntary organisations is particularly relevant in resisting the dominance of state and market as faith communities and individual believers form partnerships in a plural society with other groups to combat social evils. In this way, the Christian faith community in a particular locality, through its members and “irrespective of denomination or confession, engages with society by means of involvement in activist groups concerned about political, social, moral or ecological issues” (August 2003:29). These organisations/movements such as Fair Trade’, ‘Jubilee 2000’/ ‘Drop the Debt’ and the ‘Make Poverty History’ campaign advocate on behalf of those excluded and oppressed by the global processes by placing pressure on the Bretton Woods Institutions¹⁹⁴ and developed nations to cancel Africa’s debt or by promoting alternative more equitable trade systems. Such action by the church, therefore engages the injustice of the global socio-politic-economic system by

¹⁹³ The new struggle, then, is for communities, which Rasmussen (1993:127) argues will “cultivate a sense of self that knows that its wellbeing resides in the wellbeing of others, and theirs in its” – in essence “*Ubuntu*”. Rasmussen’s view is very clearly aligned with the African value of *Ubuntu*, which is illustrated by the proverb *Umuntu ungununtu ngabanye abantu* (a person is a person by means of other people), meaning that “one’s own humanness depends upon recognising the humanity of others and their recognising yours”. See also Chapter 3 for a discussion of this concept with regards to values.

¹⁹⁴ These institutions were set up by the Allies after the Second World War and include the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. These organisations provide loans at exorbitant rates for poor countries indebted to developed nations. These loans are given in exchange for structural adjustment programmes, which often make these nations more susceptible to exploitation by the global free market economy and cut these governments spending on the essentials of health care and education (Somers 1996:173,177).

proclaiming the alternative “upside-down” values of the Kingdom over and against those of greed, corruption, exploitation and marginalisation of this world’s system,

Another way of creating community and confronting the challenge of poverty is partnership. Within a global context, Escobar (2000:34) refers to the *cooperative model* as one which harnesses the force of globalisation to connect “churches from rich nations to add their material resources to the human resources of the churches in poor nations”. As far back as *Carnegie II*, the challenge facing the South African church was identified as finding creative ways to utilise the resources which were already identified as being available from its global network (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:303).¹⁹⁵ In fact, Koegelenburg (2001:103) reports that R30 million of international donor funding is already channelled into South Africa. The “challenge within the challenge” for a global missiology is that of combating the kind of missionary paternalism illustrated by Swart and Venter (2001:491) in their analysis of the church in South Africa’s current approach to development.¹⁹⁶

4.4.5.2 Uniting for redistribution

South Africa has the second highest inequality rate – a fact that makes the issue of how resources are utilised by the South African church more relevant still (Leibbrandt *et al.* 2001:21). Therefore, several further models could be proposed for the local context. An *inter-congregational model* could be employed in some wealthier local congregations where there may be a pool of voluntary professional expertise from which poorer congregations can draw for technical services. In this way, within an understanding of the church as the Body of Christ and the strategic and theological motivation for harnessing local congregations in particular, cross pollination of skills and capacity building could also occur between local congregations (Moffitt 1987:244-246; cf. Hammet 2000:204,205; Dudley 1996:95). Another possible methodology is that of a *servant-partnership model* between church and para-

¹⁹⁵ It is important to view these global partnerships within the greater missiological debate concerning indigeneity. Fox (2001:301, 302), however, raises the point that the ‘three-selves theory’ (“self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating”) may be based more on a westernised understanding of the final goal of the church, rather than a biblical one – believing togetherness and interdependence to be a biblical ideal.

¹⁹⁶ The results of paternalism in such partnerships are that they have the potential to degenerate into a charitable handout from the ‘haves’ of the first world to the ‘have-nots’ of the Third World. In such a scenario there may be little contact with or understanding of the context and its needs. Donor funding criteria may also place limitations on the form that the partnership takes, and therefore the nature of the intervention may not be as contextually relevant and effective.

church¹⁹⁷ agencies, which sees para-church organisations working as legitimate partners with congregations and the broader church (Hammet 2000:199). These models, in essence, promote redistribution through the sharing of resources, whether they are financial, technical or material. This could very well be a contextual model of that employed by the Christian believers in Acts (2:42-47; 4:32-36).¹⁹⁸ The gross inequality within our nation surely makes these models highly applicable.

Nevertheless, Myers (2000:67) notes that “churches too often find it difficult to work in partnership with other churches”. However, if partnership is understood as an expression of God’s nature, there is a definitive call to a restored united witness. Fox (2001:296) points out that God himself dwells within triune community and in what he interprets as a “discernible image of the triune God” – He made humanity to dwell within relationship. Furthermore, as agents of reconciliation, we are given a biblical mandate by Christ to witness and model community (2 Cor. 5:18-19; Jn. 17), over and against the social, political and spiritual forces which seek to alienate and fragment community further. apartheid has indeed served to alienate and fragment. SACLA II highlighted the fact that within post-apartheid South Africa there are still “many rivers to cross” in terms of racial, gender and generational unity, but that a definitive call for a united witness on the part of the church nevertheless needs to be sounded, particularly if such partnerships are to be successful (Dandala & Cassidy 2003:1, 2).

4.4.5.3 Cross-sector partnerships

A framework of holistic transformation, which views poverty as having spiritual, social, political and economic dimensions inherently, assumes that all these dimensions are included in the scope of God’s redemptive work. The Human Science Research Council found that in South Africa the church received the highest level of trust of any institution in society at 74% (Siaki 2001:18). This “increases the challenge to work with secular institutions, profit-making institutions and even non-Christian faith based institutions” (Myers 2000:67).¹⁹⁹ Furthermore, according to

¹⁹⁷ The term ‘para-church’ (which generally refers to organisations which ‘come alongside’ the local church with regard to specialised ministry) has long been a maligned concept as it implies that these organisations are not part of the church. FBOs, which operate similarly to an NGO but which have a Christian ethos, may fall into this definition.

¹⁹⁸ The power of the generous and united witness of the early church is viewed as leading both to the favour “of all the people” as well as “the Lord adding daily to those who were being saved”(Acts 2:42-47).

¹⁹⁹ Documents such as the *Oxford Declaration on Christian Faith and Economics*, paragraphs 63 & 64, (Samuel & Sugden 1999:343) recognise the church as a mediating structure between government,

Escobar (2000:33), governments and social planners throughout the world “have come to see churches as the source of hope from who the urban poor gain strength, courage and a language to cope with poverty”. The South African government, who believes that partnership is the key means to greater efficiency, has already called the church to action in the combating of poverty. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) may also, in the light of “new political and social environments”, need to begin with religious organisations such as the church (Swart & Venter 2001:486).²⁰⁰ The background and motivation for a project proposed by the Department of Practical Theology and Missiology at the University of Stellenbosch²⁰¹ highlights the dire necessity for an inclusive model in mobilising action against poverty:

The success of combating poverty and underdevelopment will largely depend on the extent to which existing and new networks of trust, cooperation and care (in short the social capital) within and between communities can be mobilized for strategic action. Social networks, therefore, are an indication of people’s self-development and the quality of the solidarity relationships amongst themselves and with others. They reflect the quality of a society’s institutions and constitute the medium through which communities can collectively mobilize their resources and assets to solve their social problems (Swart 2003:4).

Allen (1999:5) argues that in an urban context the most effective way for the church to effect social change is to be what he labels a *church with the city*. This approach is incarnational and encourages the church to enter into the life of the community and become partners with the community in addressing its needs. This kind of partnership, however, requires sacrifice and risk that brings new challenges such as race, socio-economic differences, culture and religious pluralism, all of which are incidentally

communities and the marketplace. A paper presented by a Free State FBO recently also called on the state to seek inputs from faith-based organisations regarding issues of community development and where community representation was required (Segale 2004:2).

²⁰⁰ Not only NGOs but also major international funding organisations have begun to recognise the necessity of involving the church. The World Bank, which generally funds governments in addressing poverty, has recognised that in order to succeed in addressing poverty, one of the role players that needed to be considered in Africa is the church. This was based on a study conducted by the bank, entitled “Voices of the Poor”, which found that finance and economics were not the only issues identified as important to the poor (cf. Samuel 2001:238).

²⁰¹ The title of the project is “Developing a Praxis for Mobilising Faith-Based Organisations (FBOs) for Social Capital and Development in the Western Cape” and involves the study of the social development needs of “local communities and to empower the faith-based organisations” (Swart 2003:2).

characteristic of South Africa. The consultation report of 34 Christian Relief and Development Agencies from sixteen nations in June 1996 noted that, in view of a world trend towards tolerance of religious pluralism, the church will be required to play down faith or else be excluded from funding (Samuel & Sugden 1999:396). While no part of a community's institutional life should be "left to the devil", to quote Meyers (2000:67), fears that such partnerships will lead to a compromise of the church's prophetic character and witness are bound to surface.

Sugden (1999:215), in a discussion on the relationship between Kingdom ethics and dialogue with non-Christians, highlights the tension between the extremes of imposing Christian ethics on a mixed society and abandoning those ethics to secularisation. He argues that when Christians abandon Kingdom ethics, the Lordship of Christ over all aspects of life and living is also abandoned. This, by implication, reduces faith to the personal and internal belief promoted by a dualistic spiritualisation of the Gospel. Ethics are relational and partnerships create opportunity for dialogue through which the renewal of community relationships may occur. What implication, then, does this have for a religiously pluralistic society such as South Africa, which includes traditional African religions, Islam, Judaism, Buddhism and Hinduism?²⁰² Covell (1993:170), an evangelical, argues that the first priority in witnessing to a pluralistic context is to foster Kingdom ethics, and that even "evangelicals may be called upon to join with those of other religious affiliation to meet common needs related to poverty, injustice and exploitation". A withdrawal from community life could promote a privatised religion of dualism that shies away from structural injustice. In effect, both extremes compromise the holistic message of the redemptive Gospel, which seeks the redemption and restoration of all relationships. In arguing that the motivation for social ethics in Jesus' teaching of the Kingdom is love of neighbour (which is "integrally linked with love of God"), Sugden (1999:215) states that this means that "Kingdom ethics has no choice, but to be available to all neighbours". He adds that this "is the witness of Christians as they dialogue with non-Christians about how love of neighbour becomes a reality in any society" (Sugden 1999:215).²⁰³

²⁰² Hendriks (2003:7) interestingly points out that a mere 3.8% in total were shown by the 2001 Census to belong to a faith other than Christianity.

²⁰³ The consultation for Christian Relief and Development Agencies into the 21st Century (1996) noted that while we will often need to cooperate with other religious groups in advocacy actions, clear

The South African government currently appears to be calling the church to active partnership with the state. Bosch (1993:93), in providing guidelines for Christian mission with regard to God's reign and the rulers of this world, such as government, makes the point that what is needed is world-formative faith, based on an understanding of the Kingdom of God and the doctrine of common grace, which teaches that God not only uses Christians to execute his will, but all of humanity. Sugden (1999:219) explains this in the light of judgement in the New Testament, which points towards grace, but adds that

...we do claim that the Lordship of Christ is exercised beyond the church as God acts in judgement and (unacknowledged) grace in the world. The difference between unacknowledged grace lies not in the manner of God's activity but in the nature of man's response. Where men respond to judgement and grace they receive Christ; where men do not respond they incur judgement on themselves.

Bosch (1993:95) cautions that we should "adopt a positive, but sober attitude towards the civil realm". We should neither view any particular manifestation of the civil order as God's Kingdom on earth nor regard what we consider to be falling short of the ideal as a manifestation of the Beast.²⁰⁴

4.4.6. Conclusion

The church, as salt and light (Matthew 5:14-16), should always be present and holistically engaged in the life of the community, yet always with "open eyes and open bible", aware of the reality of sin and evil in corporate and individual life (Meyers 2000:67). The local church in its various manifestations has a role to play. The Lordship of Christ needs to continue to be witnessed to in the public arena of the civil realm, and partnership with other sectors of civil society and government create an opportunity for this.²⁰⁵

policies for cooperation in working with other religions should be employed. With regard to culture, "we must always ensure that cultural traits and practices should be judged on the grounds of biblical truth and values" (Samuel & Sugden 1999:396, 397).

²⁰⁴ Sugden (2004:3) expresses the fear that the church should not be "subverted and neutered" by the development movement in the rush to enter into partnership with the broader development community. He notes that often "the huge resources available through governments and secular funding bodies" are often a way of "exploiting taming and silencing the church's foundational faith and proclamation of Jesus and the resurrection".

²⁰⁵ Bishop Glover of the Anglican Church noted at the Second Free State Christian Church Leaders Summit (2004) that the challenge for the church regarding such partnership with the state and civic society is both prophetic (in challenging the authorities where there is a lack of integrity and disregard

4.5 SUMMATIVE CONCLUSION

The following may be regarded as summative propositions arising from this chapter, which will be interacted with critically in the final chapter:

- The proposal by *Carnegie II* of the church as an ‘organisation for change’ in creating strategies for action against poverty is one which *affirms the need for the church as an active moral agent in South African society.*
- *Ecclesiastical involvement in what is now referred to as ‘community development’ is clearly no new phenomenon – as is briefly traced. The call to action by the state is founded on several factors such as widespread strategic positioning at grassroots, financial contributions and, perhaps most significantly, what is labelled the contribution of the ‘quality’ of the church’s efforts, value formation.* The success of the fulfilment of this role, however, lies firmly in the church’s ability to confront the theological and missiological challenges posed both by the “Framework” and the contextual pressure from state and society.
- *It is apparent, however, that many challenges remain:*
 - It is widely understood that one of the key needs in the church addressing poverty is a sound theological understanding or perspective on its mission. *What was identified as far back as Carnegie I, namely the need for a holistic understanding of mission and therefore holistic action that moves beyond relief and welfare, appears to remain a key challenge.*
 - *Amongst the challenges remaining for practical action is that of harnessing the power of the local church.* Rooted in community and endowed with strategic resources, local congregations understand the context and history of the communities within which they reside, making them a possible base from which to promote development.
 - Furthermore, the local church in partnership with other role players (including other members of civil society, the state and marketplace) presents both opportunities and challenges. *Particularly in a global community, the pressures of the liberalisation of the economy, fragmenting communities and a*

for the rights of ordinary citizens) and supportive of those in positions of leadership “who are committed to the wellbeing and development of the life of those living in the province”.

growing inequality gap between the rich and poor, religious organisations such as the church can 'create space' for the voices of the poor to be heard and addressed.

- *The 'challenge within the challenge' of partnership is that, while partnership could create a 'powerhouse' for the mobilisation and distribution of resources in combating poverty and underdevelopment, it could also compromise the church's prophetic character and witness. It is within such tensions that the confrontation of these challenges must take place if the church is to confront the ultimate challenge of poverty effectively.*

CHAPTER 5

UPROOTING POVERTY: THE CHALLENGE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapters 2 and 3 have argued that development that is transformational is always contextual and seeks to engage the context in order to activate hope.²⁰⁶ Chapter 4 subsequently introduced some of the contextual issues faced by the South African church as an organisation of change. This chapter introduces what is essentially the second part of the study. It deals more specifically with an analysis of the socio-economic context (of both broader South Africa and Lavender Hill), followed in Chapter 6 by an analysis of how the church in Lavender Hill understands these challenges, and the current action or inaction based on this understanding of its missional calling and civic position.

This chapter takes its title from Wilson and Ramphela's book (1989), because it identifies poverty as a challenge that we faced then and continue to face now in post-apartheid South Africa. "Uprooting poverty" remains a "South African challenge".²⁰⁷ However, it is unfortunately a challenge largely brought about by the deliberate racist policies of the past, which led to and interacted with a high degree of inequality.²⁰⁸ To confront these challenges, it is widely argued that we firstly need to be aware of the nature and extent of these challenges in contemporary South Africa and the effect of these challenges on the community being studied. This factual analysis, in turn, enables us to develop and build strategies for action (Dudley 1996: 22-30; cf. Wilson & Ramphela 1989:7, 8). In the first section of this chapter, the challenge of poverty in

²⁰⁶ Chapter 2 introduced the theological conceptual framework of *Development as Transformation* and argued that it is a framework which, through transcending context, could be widely applicable to a broad range of contexts. Chapter 3 brought this framework into dialogue with a contextual South African development framework, highlighting points of congruency and distinction between the two frameworks.

²⁰⁷ Julian May (2001:306) makes direct reference to the challenges put forward by Wilson and Ramphela (1989) in their book as a possible way of measuring/evaluating government policy with regard to growth and development.

²⁰⁸ These policies were termed "an assault on people's humanity" and were classified as discriminating "against people according to racist criteria that are unacceptable anywhere in the world" (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:5), and it was emphasised that the dismantling of apartheid and introduction of democracy would be the most important goal for the long term (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:7).

South Africa will be introduced and analysed as consisting of seven interlinked dimensions or 'faces'.

This macro-discussion and description of poverty in South Africa will form the basis for further analysis with regard to the more specific micro social context of the community of Lavender Hill. Such an analysis of the social context will enable the researcher to define the nature of poverty in this community. This will enable the researcher in the final chapter to analyse the extent and appropriateness of the approach of the church in this area to the challenge of poverty.

5.2 THE CHALLENGE

Poverty is a complex phenomenon because there are many ways of measuring and defining poverty, and a vast array of interactions between cause and effect. The *Second Carnegie Commission on Poverty and Development* recognised this multi-dimensionality and, an approach was devised by Wilson and Ramphele (1989) that systematised the vast number of papers on the subject to shed light on its measurement and definition. As a result, what Wilson and Ramphele (1989) term "faces" of poverty were identified, namely work and wages, hunger and sickness, quality of housing, literacy and learning, and vulnerability and powerlessness. They believe that a more qualitative approach focusing on the above-mentioned aspects of people's experience of poverty would create greater awareness. An urban bias will be maintained in the following discussion as the area to be dealt with is urban.

5.2.1 Poverty: A matter of definition

While *Carnegie II* recognised the necessity of statistical analysis, its danger (that of "reducing complex phenomena" such as poverty into single numbers), it was argued, was to deny the complexity thereof (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:14). For this reason, a case study methodology²⁰⁹ of field reports and representative samples of statistics and methods of measurement was employed by the inquiry. The limits of both were recognised and it was therefore noted that the "temperature" of society should be taken by means of statistical analysis "before delving deeper to discover precisely what is wrong, and why" (Wilson 1989:24).

²⁰⁹ Various field studies were undertaken of identified areas across the country, which were noted as 'case studies' in order to reveal the human face of poverty. Lavender Hill was one of the areas identified as a case study area (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:15; Dreyer & Naidoo 1989).

The method to be used for ‘taking the temperature of society’, so to speak, was recognised as not being singular. Many poverty lines²¹⁰ are developed and used in South Africa and there remains no uniformly agreed upon poverty measurement for this country (RDP 1995:7). Some measures used by the inquiry included the Poverty Datum Line (PDL);²¹¹ Minimum Living Level (MLL);²¹² Supplementary Living Level (SLL);²¹³ Household Subsistence Level (HSL);²¹⁴ and the Household Effective Level (HEL).²¹⁵ It should be noted that a selected comparison of poverty lines in South Africa (1993) selected only the MML, SLL, HSL, a 40th and 20th percentile of households ranked by adult equivalence,²¹⁶ minimum per capita calorie intake²¹⁷ and the minimum per capita adult equivalent intake (Bhorat *et al.* 2001:49). Nevertheless, all these measures have been criticised for both the subjectivity in the estimation of theoretical minima and the sensitivity of the measurement of the extent of poverty to tiny variations and fluctuating inflation (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:16).²¹⁸

The measure of inequality, however, appears to be of great significance. Inequality was at that time and remains the most striking feature of poverty in South Africa. South Africa had at the time of the inquiry and for many years subsequent to it the highest income inequality in the world (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:18).²¹⁹ Today, only Brazil has a slightly higher Gini co-efficient²²⁰ representing the highest level of income inequality. Nevertheless, these values remain high, indicating skewed

²¹⁰ A poverty line divides the population on the basis of some measure – i.e. some kind of minimum living level – a household or individual below the line are considered to be poor and those above this designated line are considered non-poor (Bhorat *et al.* 2001:46).

²¹¹ Food clothing, fuel/lighting, washing/cleansing, rent, transport (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:17).

²¹² PDL coverage plus tax, medical expenses, education, household equipment replacement (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:17).

²¹³ MLL coverage plus more for each item, recreation/entertainment, personal care, pension, UIF, medical, burial contributions (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:17).

²¹⁴ As for PDL (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:17).

²¹⁵ HSL plus 50% (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:17).

²¹⁶ The RDP (1995:8) survey defined ‘poor’ as the poorest 40% of households and the poorest 20% as the ‘ultra poor’. This was done by means of income, which indicates a relative poverty line which will move with standards of living, the other measurements indicate absolute poverty which do not change with standards of living in society (Bhorat *et al.* 2001:47)

²¹⁷ 2000Kcal per day (RDP 1995:8).

²¹⁸ Both Wilson and Ramphele (1989:16) and Bhorat *et al.* (2001:47) cite Beckerman (1984:6) in his assertion that “it does not really make sense to define poverty at some minimum level when people continue to survive below it” – and in this way caution of the misuse of statistics was noted as well as the need to interpret them carefully.

²¹⁹ In fact, since as far back as the “mid-1960s, the South African economy has seen a deterioration in real growth, domestic savings and employment creation” which in turn led to limited income earning opportunities for the majority of the population (May 2001:302).

²²⁰ Inequality is measured by means of the Gini Co-efficient – a Gini Co-efficient of 0 signifies absolute equality and of 1, absolute concentration; South Africa’s is 0,60, Brazil (the highest) is 0,63 (Liebbrandt *et al.* 2001:22).

distributions of income – chiefly along racial lines (Leibbrandt *et al* 2001:21). Another way that could be used to measure the degree of inequality in a country is to examine the income or expenditure shares of deciles in households.²²¹ South Africa's historical legacy is recognised as having played a key role in this development so that, despite the wealth of the country, a large share of the population has not been able to benefit from South Africa's resources.²²² Inequality of access to jobs, services, economic resources and other opportunities to escape poverty ("afforded through education, skills training, and better health, for example") remain (RDP 1995:4; cf. Adelzadeh 2003:72).

An essential aspect in understanding poverty in South Africa is that income (and therefore inequality) is closely correlated with race.²²³ In 1995, the RDP's report on *Key Poverty Indicators* stated that "nearly all poor are Africans", a fact which had not changed since *Carnegie II*. The latter had stated that, "whilst poverty is not confined to any one racial-caste in South Africa it is concentrated amongst blacks, particularly Africans".²²⁴ A table that outlined poverty, inequality and unemployment shows an alarming difference between the white poverty rate, which was 1.0%,²²⁵ and the African poverty rate, which was 60.7%,²²⁶ in 1997 (May 2001:303).²²⁷ Furthermore, this inequality is distributed geographically – a fact that is another striking feature of South Africa and the legacy of the past. Geographic administration was seen to reinforce the inequality at the time.²²⁸ Today, the poor in South Africa live mainly in

²²¹ A 'decile' is defined as "any one of nine numbers that divide a frequency distribution into 10 classes such that each contains the same number of individuals" (*Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*).

²²² The following reveals that income shares reflect gross inequality: "The poorest 40 % of households, equivalent to 50% of the population, account for only 11% of total income, while the richest 10 % of households, equivalent to only 7 % of the population, accrue over 40 % of total income" (May 2001:306).

²²³ At the time of the second Inquiry, Wilson and Ramphele (1989:21) noted that: "The fact that the wealth of the country is more equitably distributed amongst whites, at the top end of the economic spectrum, serves to reinforce the high degree of inequality within the society as a whole". Africans remain the most impoverished segment of the population and make up 91.1% of the 21.9 million poor in South Africa (Adelzadeh 2003:42).

²²⁴ As noted previously, Wilson and Ramphele (1989:23) use the term 'black' in the inclusive sense of the word to refer to all those who were not classified as 'white'. The Population Registration Act of 1950 had divided the country into so-called 'racial' or 'ethnic groups'. Wilson and Ramphele in fact include this explanation under their definition of poverty.

²²⁵ An estimated population of 44,000.

²²⁶ An estimated population 18,300,000.

²²⁷ 35 % of coloureds and 5 % of Indians are poor (De Beer & Swanepoel 2000:16).

²²⁸ The administrative distribution divided the country into rural and urban reserves, platteland rural/urban and metropolitan areas, with the main division between those who are urbanised and those who are rural (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:25). The Native Land Act of 1913 and 1936 limited black ownership to tribal (rural) reserves and limited movement in urban areas (Van Donk 1994:5, 6).

rural areas that were part of the former reserves/homelands.²²⁹ The 2003 South Africa United Nations Development Report emphasises that the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few is closely tied to power and the history of unequal power relations in this country (Adelzadeh 2003:72).

Wilson and Ramphele (1989:26) finally place South Africa within the economic context of Southern Africa.²³⁰ The key reason at that time for this inclusion is clear. The South African gold-mining industry is based on a system of “oscillating labour migration”, which led to the forging of “a single economy whose boundaries are far wider than those of the political nation state in which the gold mines are located”. According to Wilson *et al.* (2001:8), this remains a key factor, although globalisation has also had an impact on Southern Africa, changing its environment and often its political and economic realities.²³¹

5.2.2 Poverty as an interrelated cycle

There is a very strong correlation between the different dimensions of poverty which will be discussed. While Wilson and Ramphele (1989:4) do not pay overt attention to the interrelatedness of these dimensions, they nevertheless regard them as “faces” of a single entity:

Hungry children cannot study properly; malnourished adults cannot be fully productive as workers; and an economy where a large proportion of the population is very poor has a structure of demand that does not encourage the production and marketing of the goods that are most needed.

Wilson and Ramphele’s dimensions of poverty or faces of poverty are, perhaps, closest to poverty defined in terms of the lack of basic services.²³² Despite this approach having come under fire in recent years as a top-down solution and technical response which “presumes that all people will have access to resources provided”, the

²²⁹ Poverty is therefore distributed unevenly among the provinces; for example, high poverty rates in the Eastern Cape and Northern Province are closely linked to the very high poverty rates in the former homelands (RDP 1995:11; De Beer & Swanepoel 2000:16).

²³⁰ Southern Africa is defined in terms of the nine countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADC) (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:28).

²³¹ The increasing importance of global institutions and trans-national institutions has led to social policies – particularly at national level – being shaped by these institutions, in some cases leading to a worsening or stagnation of social indicators as well as an increase in income inequality in some countries (Wilson *et al.* 2001:3).

²³² Poverty is defined by this approach in terms of a lack of services that “other urban area residents have access to – education, health, good housing conditions, water, electricity, appropriate sewerage, land ownership and secure tenure etc.” (Jones 2000:11).

evaluation is not wholly negative: “yet many of the poor define this as their need” (Jones 2000:11). The largely qualitative methodology employed by *Carnegie II* ensures that, for the most part, aspects such as work and wages, housing, education, health, land and water have arisen as needs from the people themselves. The aforementioned correlation between the different faces of poverty may also be looked at within the Basic Services approach as “being a series of interlinked difficulties” (Jones 2000:12).²³³

Wilson and Ramphele’s approach is not, however, restricted to addressing the provision of basic needs/services as it includes in the many dimensions of poverty the “bitter fruit of powerlessness” and an identification of the vulnerable. Robert Chambers (1995) includes the last two in his identification of the five clusters of disadvantage (poverty, physical weakness, isolation, vulnerability and powerlessness), which he views as being interlinked and which trap the poor in a cycle from which they cannot break free.²³⁴

This section describes the different faces or dimensions of poverty in South Africa and highlights their interrelatedness. It is argued that this analysis of the various interrelated dimensions of South African poverty form a basis for further comparative analysis with the local context of Lavender Hill that follows in the second half of this chapter.

5.2.2.1 Work, wages and other sources of income

Work is the key source of income for the majority of the population, with wage income from the formal sector making up the dominant share. By the same token, wage income also makes the largest contribution to income inequality as 34% of all

²³³ The RDP study (1995:3), which lays out the “Key Indicators of Poverty”, appears to recognise the interlinked nature of poverty and in fact refers to Wilson and Ramphele (1989:97) in doing so. An example of the interrelatedness of these factors may be seen in the following: they are likely to eat poorer food, causing poorer health and therefore less likelihood of finding or keeping a job, which leads to less income and the need for more family members (including children) having to work simply to afford housing, which affects health and is further undermined by poor food – and so the cycle continues (Jones 2000:12).

²³⁴ Myers (2003:67) adds spiritual poverty to Chamber’s list and describes it as follows: “The household suffers from broken and dysfunctional relationships with God, each other, the community, and creation. Its members may suffer from spiritual oppression – fear of spirits, demons and ancestors. They may lack hope and be unable to believe that change is possible”. This dimension of spiritual poverty is covered within the research by the second chapter’s description of a missional conceptual framework, which describes the spiritual causes of poverty. It should be noted, however, that here the spiritual plays into all the dimensions in a very profound way and is at the very root of poverty.

South Africans “had no income whatsoever” (Bhorat & Liebbrandt 1996:154).²³⁵ Where there is an income, Wilson and Ramphela (1989:54) note that it is racially skewed with Africans earning less than any other group, coloured and Indian earnings are higher, and white earnings are by far the highest – a fact which, sadly, continues to be borne out by the recent United Nations Development Programme study (Adelzadeh 2003:43).²³⁶ Apartheid policies have left South Africa with a highly segmented labour market with a stark contrast of inequality in security between those in highly paid professional managerial positions and production and service workers and those in the informal sector.²³⁷ Movement between these sectors of the labour market is difficult and further complicated by factors such as a lack in the supply of black skills (Daphne *et al.* 1998:23; Baskin 1996:38). Currently, South Africa is facing a job crisis due to structural changes in the economy exacerbated by “the pressure of globalization which are tending to reproduce the phenomenon of jobless growth” (Head 2000:78).

The manufacturing sector is regarded as one of the relatively better paid sectors, yet labourers’ earnings were found to be low at the time of the inquiry and in direct relation to race classification once again.²³⁸ Positive progress has clearly been made between 1975 and 1997, as the *South African Survey* (2001:368) notes that earnings in the manufacturing sector has risen by 23%, with real earnings of Africans having risen by 49%, coloured by 31% and Indians by 62% respectively. In other sectors, income is even lower, the domestic service being one of them.²³⁹ Not only are incomes fluctuating, but extremely low, a significant fact if one considers that these

²³⁵ Government has committed itself via their economic and social strategies for transformation in the RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) and GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution) to reducing inequality by, for example, creating equal employment opportunities for all citizens and alleviating wage inequalities (Taylor 2000:11-13).

²³⁶ It should be noted that in this section the researcher has not included employment sectors that either refer to the rural context or other Southern African countries.

²³⁷ Professional managerial positions remain largely the domain of white men. The government’s policy of Employment Equity is said to help rectify discrimination and disadvantage that have resulted from policies of the previous dispensation. This includes affirmative action as a “policy and programme applied by an employer that is aimed at redressing the inequalities that exist within the workplace as a result of unfair discrimination” (Dept. of Labour 2003b).

²³⁸ At this time, the Minimum Living Level (MLL) and Supplementary Living Level (SLL) were used by the inquiry to measure poverty, and those classified as labourers were found to be earning below both measures. While wages for coloureds and Indians were usually higher than for Africans, some still earned below these measures (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:57).

²³⁹ Wilson and Ramphela (1989:77) note that not only income but also working conditions are an important factor, due to findings that where incomes are low “conditions of work are often abysmal and there is a tendency for these different aspects of poverty to reinforce each other”. The findings of the inquiry appeared to indicate that the lack of a long tradition of trade unions in South Africa meant low wages and bad working conditions for most black workers.

salaries are the “primary source of income for most households”. This means that wages earned by most domestic workers do not enable them to escape impoverishment (Adelzadeh 2000:33).²⁴⁰ Remittances and pensions are also mentioned by the second inquiry as being key sources of income, a fact that is borne out by the findings of the RDP study in 1995 that at the time pensions, remittances and disability grants made up approximately 45% of the income of the poor and ultra poor (RDP 1995:15; cf. Adelzadeh 2003:76; cf. Wilson & Ramphela 1989:62-65). The inquiry does not, however, mention the informal sector, which mainly consists of the self-employed, a sector which ranges from street sellers to small-scale manufacturing. The high growth rate of this entrepreneurial sector in recent years has led the government to focus its energies on the development of small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMES). However, this sector is largely based on survivalist business and the *RDP Poverty and Inequality Report* (in Taylor 2000:34) notes that

Average monthly net return to the self-employed was R826, while the median monthly income was much lower at R200...A minimum of 45% of the self-employed are earning an income lower than the Supplemental Living Level (SLL) poverty line, set at R220.10 per month...the sector contains a high proportion of the working poor who would readily take up employment in the formal sector.

5.2.2.2 Unemployment

At the time of the inquiry, due to findings that unemployment in South Africa was markedly higher than previously projected, two arguments concerning the nature of unemployment arose, one of which argued that unemployment was often voluntary.²⁴¹ The reality put forward by *Carnegie II* through the many area studies, particularly in areas where people had been removed by the Group Areas Act (1950) or had been

²⁴⁰ Domestic workers are, however, protected under the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (1993), which provides protective measures (sick leave, maternity leave, annual leave, hours). This act came into effect in 2003 and ensures that domestic workers have to be registered with the UIF (Unemployment Insurance Fund) by their employers, which reduces their vulnerability considerably (Department of Labour 2003b). Low wages, however, as noted above, ensures that many cannot escape the poverty trap.

²⁴¹ The structuralists argued that, despite difficulty in obtaining precise measurements of unemployment, the level of unemployment had risen alarmingly in the two decades preceding the inquiry. The market clearers, however, saw unemployment often more as a voluntary choice. They nevertheless conceded that there would always be “frictional unemployment”, where changing patterns of demand or contractions or expansions of the economy lead to unemployment (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:84,85).

retrenched, was that the concept of “voluntary employment” was far from the truth.²⁴² By the time of Julian May’s (1998:15) study, there appears to be no debate: unemployment is regarded as a “significant contributor to poverty”. The strong link between unemployment and poverty is seen by the fact that in 1995 the rate of unemployment was 59% amongst the poorest fifth of the population, compared to 5.5% amongst the richest fifth (May 1998a:15). Budlunder (1999:211) broadly defines an unemployed person as “someone who is without paid work but willing to engage in it”.²⁴³ Wilson & Ramphele (1989:96) further found that this state of unemployment led to severe frustration and anxiety as evidenced by the inclusion of the fourth point in the broad definition of unemployment. It was found that, despite the relatively low levels of unemployment in Cape Town, some of the most harrowing tales of unemployment were reported. This frustration was found to have led in some parts of the country to an “increase in shebeens and excessive drinking amongst able bodied men...women of the village were depressed and bored” (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:88, 89).²⁴⁴

5.2.2.3 *Hunger and sickness*

The relationship between health and poverty is a strong one. Blackburn (1991:42) even goes so far as to identify low income/unemployment as a health hazard together with poor housing, lack of social and recreational facilities and inadequate diet, which indicate the multidimensional nature of poverty. Wilson and Ramphele’s summation

²⁴² Barker (1995: 34) also mentions apartheid policies as well as economic policies for declining economic growth and therefore unemployment.

²⁴³ According to the Central Statistical Service (CSS), the strict definition includes any persons 15 years and older who:

- (i) were not paid or self-employed;
- (ii) were available for paid employment or self employment during the seven days preceding the interview;
- (i) took specific steps during the four weeks preceding the interview to find employment or self employment; or had the desire to take up employment.

The broad definition used by the CSS includes points (i), (ii) and (iii), with point (iv) classifying the category of the discouraged work seeker.²⁴³ The unemployment rate is the number of people in the age group of 15 years and over who are defined as unemployed divided by the total that are economically active. Yet, again, unemployment is racially and sexually disproportionate, with unemployment higher with women and blacks (Bhorat & Liebbrandt 1996:144).

²⁴⁴ Most interesting perhaps is that the people themselves saw unemployment as “playing into” other difficulties: “unemployment brings three difficulties: sickness, starvation, and staying without clothes” (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:96).

of the *Carnegie II* area study findings indicate that these links are particularly evident with regard to hunger and sickness.²⁴⁵

Wilson and Ramphela (1989:100) begin the chapter on “Hunger and Sickness” by stating that South Africa is a country in which there is widespread hunger and malnutrition, and that this exacerbates sickness, particularly because deaths associated with poor nutrition lead to a higher mortality rate, especially amongst children²⁴⁶ (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:100). Malnutrition leads to many vitamin and protein deficiencies that lead to higher susceptibility to diseases and, in children, stunted physical and mental development. Malnutrition during childhood could therefore have consequences for the future wellbeing and earning capacity of households, indicating clearly how the lack of nutrition plays into the vicious cyclical trap of poverty (Fuerstein 1997:37; cf. Budlunder1999:212). The reverse is also true as poverty may lead to a lack of proper nutrition where the economic means do not exist to purchase food with a high nutritional content.²⁴⁷ The consequences of hunger and malnutrition are illustrated by high mortality rates, again with a higher incidence in children. Wilson and Ramphela (1989:107) use both the Infant Mortality Rate²⁴⁸ and the Child Mortality Rate²⁴⁹ to measure the death rate amongst the very young. It was found at the time of *Carnegie II* in 1984 that African children were eight to ten times more likely and coloured children four times more likely than white children to die before their first birthday were. Current statistics indicate that the infant mortality rates between 1984 and 1998 have lowered significantly for African and coloured children,

²⁴⁵ Recent studies continue to indicate this causal link as there is a clearly higher prevalence of disease amongst lower income groups. For this reason, the government has committed to prioritise the health needs of the poor and focus on preventative, rather than curative services in the form of the development of primary health care (May 1998a:21; Woolard & Liebbrandt 2001:67).

²⁴⁶ Although most of the studies done appeared to concern rural areas, it found that “no less than one third (in some cases two thirds) of all black children were malnourished in a population where 80% of the population is black”.

²⁴⁷ Budlunder (1999:205) found that for households in the poorest 5% of the South African population, 51% of all expenditure is on food, while in the richest 5% only 12% of income was spent on food. Despite the fact that the poorest sectors of the population spend proportionately more (of their income) on food and spend it mostly on cheaper grain products such as mielie meal, bread and rice (which are low in vitamins and protein needed for good health and development) rather than more expensive animal protein. The average amount spent on food is over five times less than that spent by the highest earners. In urban areas, the preferences for less nutritious, modern dietary patterns are higher due to their convenience, despite higher costs (Richards & Thomson 1984:102).

²⁴⁸ The IMR “measures the number of children who die before their first birthday out of every 1000 children born alive” (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:107).

²⁴⁹ The Child Mortality Rate measures per 1000 children dying before their fifth birthday and reflects the environmental factors that affect the health of a child: sanitation, nutrition, communicable diseases of childhood and accidents in and around the home.

with white infant mortality showing no change (Forgey *et al* 2000:213). Links between poverty, poor housing, sanitation and ill health are clear.²⁵⁰ People living in substandard housing are immediately susceptible to health risks such as overcrowding, bad sanitation and construction materials and methods can encourage disease and sickness (Feuerstien 1997:41; 42). According to Richards and Thompson (1984:96),

The presence of a large number of susceptible human hosts living in overcrowded circumstances in the septic fringes of the cities creates an ideal situation for epidemics of infective illness and for reservoirs of infective illness to build up... the stage is set by overcrowding, poor personal hygiene because of the lack of washing facilities and the susceptibility of the host.

The most prevalent diseases in South African society, as identified by Wilson and Ramphela (1989) at the time of *Carnegie II*, are largely of the infectious type perpetuated by the aforementioned health risks created by poverty.²⁵¹

Tuberculosis (TB) is a highly infectious disease spread by the TB bacillus through coughing (airborne) and sputum (Fuerstien 1997:62). As infection is most likely to occur in closed and crowded conditions, TB, more than any other disease made mention of by the inquiry, was viewed to have the closest link to both socio-economic factors and the historical factors that led it to taking root in "vulnerable groups"²⁵² (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:116). According to Fuerstien (1997:62), approximately 95% of those who suffer from the disease live in developing countries, the majority of

²⁵⁰ Infant mortality is cited by Richards and Thomson (1984:94) as being a good indicator of the quality of the environment (housing, nutrition, sanitation, state of the health care services) in areas.

²⁵¹ Measles, a childhood illness that is regarded as easily treatable in "industrialised societies and amongst the elite in developing countries", becomes a life-threatening disease amongst the poor (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:114). A viral infection, the disease leads to a suppression of the immune system, making the individual more susceptible to bacterial infection. It was found that the distribution of case fatality at the time of the study indicated that difference in the population distribution is a "clear reflection of the relative socio-economic position of the groups" (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:114). Overcrowding, age and nutritional status were found to be important variables correlated with this highly contagious disease. At the time, widespread immunisation was proposed as the solution to this easily preventable disease (Richards & Thomson 1984:98; Wilson & Ramphela 1989:115). Gastroenteritis is often used as an indicator of a given community's socio-economic status (as it indicates the state of sanitation, nutrition, water supply and the organisation of the household). At the time, Cape Town had the highest rate and it was found that there was not only a link between the diseases and poverty, but also duration of the sickness which was related to the other health hazards (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:113). Cholera, typhoid and dysentery are also noted as the result of poor sanitation facilities (poor water and sewerage facilities) in certain areas.

²⁵² In 1981, a Cape Town medical officer stated that tuberculosis "affects mainly the underprivileged ...and will remain a problem for as long as sections of the Cape Town population remain exposed to the effects of malnutrition, overcrowding etc." (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:119).

whom are poor (greater vulnerability to overcrowding, malnutrition, and limited access to health facilities).²⁵³ This in turn correlates with race as the majority of the poor are black.²⁵⁴ The weakening of the immune system by HIV infection makes the body more susceptible to infection by TB. TB may also “hasten the progress of HIV into AIDS”, as evidenced by statistics²⁵⁵ (Fuerstien 1997:62). The South African government has set a target of an 85% cure rate by the year 2005 and 70% detection rate by the year 2005.²⁵⁶ HIV/AIDS²⁵⁷, although not identified by the inquiry at that time, is a disease that has spread at such an alarming rate that it has reached pandemic proportions, particularly in Southern Africa. AIDS is the single biggest cause of death in South Africa (Kane-Berman 2001:310). HIV/AIDS, although not directly caused by poverty, is directly linked to both exacerbating poverty and being exacerbated by it. The South African environment, characterised by high levels of inequality, the legacy of racial and sexual discrimination leading to conflict during apartheid, as well as high levels of crime and rape, all make it a susceptible environment for the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS (Whiteside & Sunter 2000:62-66; cf. May 1998a:22). This susceptible environment, coupled with the lack of education about modes of transmission, has led to a national infection rate of HIV (for South Africans between the ages of 15 and 49 years) of 20% in 2000. Conversely, the presence of this illness

²⁵³ TB in South Africa is currently growing by about 20% per year, complicated by the worrying correlation between TB and HIV/AIDS (Burger 2001:338).

²⁵⁴ The highest incidence at the time were amongst Africans and coloureds and in total TB constituted 61% of all notifiable diseases across races (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:116,117).

²⁵⁵ In 1999, 40-50% of people infected with TB in South Africa were infected with HIV and a third of those infected with HIV are projected to contract TB before they die (Forgey 2000:220; Adelzadeh 2003:27).

²⁵⁶ This is to be accomplished by the DOTS (Directly Observed Treatment Strategy) programme – see Burger (2000:338) for an outline of what the programme entails. Challenges to meet these targets, as set by the Department of Health on their website (2003), are the following: poor adherence to treatment with high interruption rates, late presentation of patients to the health facilities and lack of knowledge by communities about TB.

²⁵⁷ AIDS is an acronym for the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome that is caused by the latent, slow growing Human Immuno-deficiency Virus (HIV) entering the body. Kellerman (2000:200) describes the way that the virus works: “HIV is the virus which enters the body. The lymphocytes ‘identify’ the foreigner and produce antibodies to fight the virus. All body fluids contain T4-cells or helper cells. They do the communication work in the identification of viruses. When an individual is infected by HIV, the T4-cells inform the immune system and HIV- antibodies are manufactured. These antibodies are the ones picked up in an HIV/AIDS test. If they are detected, the person concerned is classified as seropositive or HIV-positive. Slowly HIV attacks the T4 cells and the T4 cells die. When all of them die, there are none left to inform the immune system of the presence of HIV or any other virus or germ. Even a common cold could be fatal at this stage, which is known as full-blown AIDS”. The main modes of transmission are unsafe sex, mother to child transmission, intravenous drug use with contaminated needles, use of infected blood and blood products, and “other modes of transmission involving blood including bodily contact involving open bleeding wounds” (Whiteside & Sunter 2000:10).

may put individuals or households at greater risk of impoverishment. AIDS not only affects people during their most economically productive years, but also burdens already weak households in the form of the costs of medical and home care and leaves these households with AIDS orphans to care for.²⁵⁸ AIDS, therefore, increases poverty and also affects the general economy by reducing the workforce and impacting on human capital (Kellerman 2000:201-202; Whiteside & Sunter 2000: 91-97). There is presently no cure for AIDS and it is argued that prevention is the only cure. HIV/AIDS education is therefore viewed as one of the only long-term solutions in preventing HIV infection.²⁵⁹ The use of anti-retroviral drugs, however, can delay the progress of AIDS and reduce mother-to-child transmission. The availability of such drugs, however, is largely dependent on multinational drug companies and government policy.²⁶⁰

5.2.2.4 Housing and environment

The effects of inadequate housing and overcrowding have been shown to have a significant impact on health and well-being (thus further illustrating the interlinked nature of poverty). It is therefore significant that one of the most striking features of the inquiry is the widespread findings with regard to inadequate housing conditions (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:124). Poverty-stricken urban areas in particular have a very tenuous relationship with their built environment.²⁶¹

In addition, a sustainable approach²⁶² recognises that the measurement of poor housing conditions extends beyond the provision of water and sanitation to factors

²⁵⁸ "The poverty that results from AIDS interacts with other dimensions of poverty to generate a vicious downward cycle... under these conditions, AIDS not only increases poverty, but also widens the gap between the rich and the poor" (Adelzadeh 2003:84).

²⁵⁹ The controversial "Lovelife" campaign, which aims to reduce HIV infection, pregnancy and Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STD's) by 50% among 12-17 year olds in 5 years, uses print publications, television programmes, trained peer counsellors, recreation centres and adolescent friendly clinics to educate adolescents on HIV/AIDS and sexuality. However, while some support its efforts, others believe that it promotes sex and promiscuity with its often explicit imagery and message (Delate 2003:33-38).

²⁶⁰ In 2000 President Mbeki controversially questioned whether HIV did in fact cause AIDS (Burger 2001:213).

²⁶¹ An article in *Africa Insight* (Marais & Botha 2001:45) which reported the state of urban housing in the Free State, found that low environmental quality had other effects: "Many low-income urban dwellers are not currently enjoying a healthy environment or a reasonable quality of life. Low environmental quality generates negative attitudes towards health, education and social welfare, and cannot be allowed if a sustainable urban habitat is to be achieved".

²⁶² In their study on the urbanisation process in the Free State, Lochner & Marais (2001:44) define sustainability in the urban environment in terms of an interaction between the physical, social and economic environments which are seen as dynamically interacting with each other.

such as “overcrowding, dampness, inadequate insulation, pests, noise, dust, inadequate drainage and insufficient insulation” (Marais & Botha 2001:45).²⁶³ Urban areas in particular were found to have an almost overwhelming extent of overcrowding.²⁶⁴ The dense overcrowding is seen to be exacerbated by factors such as the poor quality of housing. Blackburn (1991:91) makes the point that overcrowding is associated with both physical and mental health problems (respiratory and digestive tracts infections, depression, stress and psychological distress). In urban areas, such as the Cape Flats, badly designed housing was noted as making life difficult for those who were too poor to alter conditions themselves.²⁶⁵

Cramped conditions together with poorly designed housing are noted by Blackburn (1991:92) as further related to high home accident rates among children. Other key factors include lack of access to water and sanitation facilities as well as refuse removal, noted by the inquiry under the sub-heading of “sewerage and other rubbish disposal” (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:130). Inadequate toilet facilities are recognised as having a direct correlation with illness. Lack of adequate sewerage systems was also noted more recently as contributing to a major environmental hazard.²⁶⁶ Basic infrastructures at that time were regarded as being “woefully inadequate...and also such systems as have been installed are not properly maintained by the appropriate authorities”. Lack of refuse removal was noted as another indication of the same situation of powerlessness. Powerlessness, which continues in many parts of South Africa today, is the root cause of the accumulation of uncollected waste that can lead to pests, overflowing drainage systems and possible contamination of the water table (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:132; Marais & Botha 2001:45).

²⁶³ In this approach, housing is recognised as an economic, physical and social asset – the higher the degree of economic ownership, the more secure one’s future (which is viewed further as a psychological component of well-being) (Budlunder 1999: 201). This approach to measurement is particularly appropriate to Wilson and Ramphele’s description (1989:126) of the state of housing and the urban environment.

²⁶⁴ In Cape Town, areas such as Elsies River and Lavender Hill had tenants staying illegally in order to help pay the rent and other amenities, which led to claustrophobic overcrowding (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:126).

²⁶⁵ For example, on the Cape Flats with its high water-table, rising damp was frequently experienced as the cement floors had no damp proof coursing. Furthermore, cement roofs were built without ceilings and the houses were found to be “very cold in winter and like ovens in the summer” (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:130).

²⁶⁶ At the time of the inquiry, lack of access to these services were identified as being widespread and owing to political powerlessness.

The provision of amenities for recreation and relaxation “away from the hassles of daily survival” are viewed as essential in order to maintain a healthy lifestyle.²⁶⁷ It is further argued by Wilson and Ramphele (1989:132) that there is an even greater need amongst the poor for well-maintained sanitation systems. The situation, however, was found to be the inverse; privileged communities had sufficient and safe play parks in contrast to children in the townships who played in the busy and dangerous city streets.²⁶⁸ Inequitable state planning had decreed at the time of the inquiry that public amenities be situated closer to the city centres and therefore access to these and other public spaces was restricted (Wilson and Ramphele 1989:133).²⁶⁹ The effects of this approach continue to linger in a post-apartheid context.

5.2.2.5 Literacy and learning

For literacy and learning, it is necessary to analyse the issue of education (and its relation to poverty) with reference to the policies of the apartheid government. The history of lack of access for blacks in comparison to other race groups has led to “significant differences in the educational attainment of the various racial and income groups”²⁷⁰ (RDP 1995:20). At the time of *Carnegie II*, the repressive and oppressive policies of the apartheid state with regards to education in particular led to widespread riots and boycotts by many black school children.²⁷¹ One of the key underlying principles of these policies was to ensure that Africans, coloureds and Asians were not educated above what was accorded their ‘proper station’ by the government.²⁷²

²⁶⁷ Environmental poverty also extends to workplaces and schools. Workplaces are often sterile and functional and the travelling distances between the poor and their work lead to an “endless cycle of working and sleeping”. For children of school-going age, the absence of adequate school facilities results in a negative environment in the school that is similar to the overcrowding and inadequate facilities at their homes (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:133, 134).

²⁶⁸ Blackburn’s study (1991:93), which focused on Britain, found a similar phenomenon and argued that it affected children’s mental and physical wellbeing in terms of geographical location (unattractive, densely populated, poorly maintained houses and amenities).

²⁶⁹ Blackburn (1991:93) in speaking of “environmental poverty”, which includes lack of access to public and recreational amenities, space and health centres and takes into consideration exposure to factors such as noise and dirt.

²⁷⁰ The education clause in the 1996 Constitution recognises education as a basic human right and addresses issues of equity, practicality, basic and further education as well as redress of the past (Cf. De Groof & Bray 1996).

²⁷¹ This was in fact a decade of protest by school children beginning in 1976 with the Soweto Uprising of black children against being taught in Afrikaans; the state retaliated violently, resulting in the Lawyer’s Committee for Human Rights (New York) labelling it as a “war against children”. Education at the time became what Wilson and Ramphele (1989:149) called the “major battle ground for the future of our country, requiring special attention from all those wishing to be involved in the search for a more just and humane society”.

²⁷² This action would ensure that black people were “by and large given only the education they required to provide unskilled and semi-skilled labour” (Taylor 2000:140).

Resultantly, the quality and access to education were particularly low for the black population. Educational inequality was promoted in particular by the discrimination in government funding, which saw significantly higher spending on white schoolchildren than on black schoolchildren (Lipton & Simpkins 1993:303).²⁷³

The legacy of the racist policies of the apartheid government is evident in our education system today. South Africa currently has an 85.9% literacy rate, with the remaining illiterate still disproportionately distributed in terms of race. This is a problem that at the time of *Carnegie II* was viewed as a major dimension of poverty and which remains one of the most disempowering aspects faced by many in our country (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:141; Taylor 2000:142). The lack of an adequate response to the problem of illiteracy at that time remains the challenge of the present government who has implemented a literacy initiative “aimed to mobilise a nationwide voluntary movement for adult literacy and to reach some 3m illiterate people over the next five years, starting in 2001” (Forgey *et al.* 2000:295).²⁷⁴ Apartheid ‘backlogs’ in education resulting from a discriminatory educational structure have meant that, while government spending has now been allocated disproportionately to poorer schools in order to address inequality, there appears to be no real reduction in inequality.²⁷⁵ Nevertheless, between 1979 and 1999, the numbers writing, passing and obtaining an exemption for the Senior Certificate has increased by an exceptional percentage: 500% for writing, 236% for passing and an increase of 96% for matric exemption.²⁷⁶ However, in 1999, approximately 12% of people 20 years and older had no form of education, 26% had some kind of primary education and 51% some secondary education, meaning that very small percentages have any school-leaving certificates or diplomas or tertiary education. This state of affairs appears to be directly linked to unemployment (Forgey *et al.* 2000:274). The RDP

²⁷³ Pupil-teacher ratios were 19:1 for whites and 41:1 for Africans, and spending was estimated as being three times higher (some estimate that the inequality is far higher) for whites than for blacks (Lipton & Simpkins 1993:303). Other factors that played into and were part of the system included inadequate teacher training and lack of morale, as well as disparities in the provision of teacher training, classroom conditions and amenities for sport and recreation (Lipton & Simpkins 1993:304; Wilson & Ramphela 1989:143, 144).

²⁷⁴ One of the Department of Education’s key priorities is that of “Tirisamo” (meaning working together), which lists literacy promotion as a key facet of its policy implementation plan (Forgey 2000:294, 296).

²⁷⁵ The reasons for this appear complex; schools in poor areas remain under-resourced in comparison to schools in wealthy areas. See the *United Nations Development Programme report of Transformation for Human Development (SA)* (2002) for an analysis.

²⁷⁶ Other positive progress includes a significant increase in both certificates and awards awarded to Africans in higher education

report on poverty indicators (1995:20) identifies the large discrepancies in education as having a “major impact on the differences in employment opportunities and wages between the rich and poor”. Findings of the *1999 October Household Survey* confirm this impact:

Some 70% of the unemployed in South Africa had less than a grade 12 qualification, 25% had a senior certificate qualification, and about 5% of the unemployed had a higher education qualification (Forgey *et al.* 2000:273).

Francis Wilson (1996:324) in noting the relationship between education and wages cites Moll, who found that an additional year of secondary school adds considerably to wages across race groups.²⁷⁷ Wilson and Ramphele (1989:143) note the “Lack of Quality” in the educational system (which was again discriminatory) at the time as being an obstacle to many students. Disparities in educational qualifications between black and white teachers at the time, as well as disparate teacher-pupil ratios contributed to inequality. While the former concern is being addressed by the present government,²⁷⁸ redeployment and anticipated retrenchments have led to a drop in enrolment for teacher education, which could put a strain on the system with a 1,5 million increase in school enrolment between 1994 and 1999 (Taylor 2000:145). While the challenges faced during the time of *Carnegie II* were largely political, one of the central challenges of education today, other than redressing the inequalities of the past, is that of HIV/AIDS.²⁷⁹ Serious concerns remain about the quality of education; lack of facilities which still exists is almost identical to that described by the inquiry (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:144).²⁸⁰ In today’s situation, teachers are found to have a poor grasp of their subjects,²⁸¹ together with a general shortage of textbooks, telephones, sanitation, media equipment and collections, sports facilities and classroom shortages (Taylor 2000:142; Forgey *et al.* 2000:253).

²⁷⁷ These links between education and unemployment and wages were noted by *Carnegie II* as a problem that would effect mainly black women and black school leavers, those with the least access (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:148).

²⁷⁸ According to the Education Foundation, the percentage of teachers who were under-qualified declined from 40% in 1991 to 25% in 1999 (Forgey 2000:258).

²⁷⁹ In July 2000, the “South African Democratic Teachers’ Union said that HIV/AIDS was claiming the lives of at least ten teachers a month” and this together with a 43% drop in enrolment at teacher education institutions could result in a crisis (Forgey 2000:258).

²⁸⁰ It is argued by the South African Human Development Report (2000:139) that, as in the past, education could be a “site and instrument of transformation and human development”, particularly for the poor.

²⁸¹ The introduction of an Outcomes Based System (Curriculum 2005) in 1998 was evaluated in 2000 and found wanting in accessibility to both teachers and pupils (Forgey 2000:253).

5.2.2.6 *The bitter fruit of powerlessness*

The realities of poverty as identified by poor health, education, housing, wages and high levels of unemployment are further complicated by (and often the result of) the state of powerlessness within which the poor have to live. It is a situation wherein the poor find it difficult to organise and bargain for access to resources, work and income that they need to better their situation. They are often physically weak, economically vulnerable and they, most importantly, lack influence, resulting in them often being subject to the power of others and therefore vulnerable to exploitation by the rich or those on whom their livelihoods depend, in addition to being ignored by state policies and practices²⁸² (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:152; Chambers 1995:21).

Wilson and Ramphele (1989:152) state that “one of the most tangible social consequences of poverty is *crime*”. Head (2000:71), in her findings on the role of unemployment in health and development in S.A., confirms this by noting that crime, social unrest and high levels of suicide and homicide correlate with poverty. South Africa has one of the highest violent crime rates in the world and violent crime can constitute a severe shock to already vulnerable households, which may cause them to become impoverished. It should be noted that it is the negative social factors that accompany poverty such as low educational levels, dysfunctional families and social life, alcohol and drug abuse, inadequate housing and unemployment, which result in environments that are conducive to crime²⁸³ (Naudé 1997:25; May 1998a:25). Crime (and more specifically gang-related crime, such as murder and drug dealing found on the Cape Flats) is shown by Wilson and Ramphele (1989:153) as clearly correlated to the socio-economic environment. Where social institutions (family, schools) are weak and disorganised, and “fail to function as agencies of social control...gangs and gang youths can become sources of organisational and political influence in these weakly organised or mal-integrated communities”²⁸⁴ (Spergel 1995:110, 111). Gang affiliation, therefore, could be a mechanism to compensate for, or a reaction to, the

²⁸² The results of this state of powerlessness often lead to deep anxiety and despair bred by harsh economic and social circumstances.

²⁸³ The interaction of these factors is illustrated by Wilson and Ramphele (1989:152): “Where work is difficult to find and where society is in a process of upheaval for whatever reason (such as urbanisation or resettlement), people are more likely to rob or assault others sometimes in order to gain a living or to make ends meet; sometimes out of sheer frustration. Crime is both a product and a cause of profound insecurity and despair in which millions of people find themselves trapped”.

²⁸⁴ See Redpath (2001) for an overview of the gang landscape (prominent gangs, the conflict, role players and community resistance) in the Western Cape.

powerlessness caused by poverty and its related ills.²⁸⁵ The effects of crime are far-reaching for the communities exposed to it. The residents of the area of Lavender Hill-Vrygrond are cited by the inquiry as constantly living in fear of their lives, a situation of fear and insecurity. Such fear and insecurity further extend to economic worries about loss of jobs, income and homes.²⁸⁶ This fear and uncertainty are often exacerbated by alcohol and its effects on those who are already vulnerable. Wilson and Ramphele (1989:159) emphasise that, while “the problems associated with liquor are not, of course, peculiar to the poor...their effects are often considerably more devastating for those involved, because of their greater vulnerability coupled with limited access to rehabilitative facilities”. One study that formed part of the inquiry noted astutely that “behind alcohol and violence²⁸⁷ lies the despair that eats away at the soul and overwhelms individuals with a sense of utter hopelessness”. This was noted as being more prevalent in situations where people had to “struggle daily for the bare necessities of living”.

The role of the state in creating further barriers to escaping the poverty trap is clearly noted by the inquiry.²⁸⁸ Factors cited were the burden of formal and informal taxation, as well as the “bureaucratic jungle of red tape woven by officials whose actions can enormously increase human suffering” (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:161).²⁸⁹ The rude behaviour and attitudes of officials, according to a study by May (1998b:102), are identified as being a “significant barrier for the poor when trying to access supporting services” (such as child support, pensions, unemployment or health services), and many may therefore avoid asking for these “crucial

²⁸⁵ Cohen (in Spergel 1995:112) found in the late 1960s that “social and cultural isolation may interact with social disorganization, poverty, and low income to produce not only different gang problem rates but different types of gang problems”. This analysis may have particular relevance for the Cape Flats, which was a product of the Group Areas Act and therefore of segregation and the dispersal of communities.

²⁸⁶ This is more so for vulnerable groups, such as those who have no employment or are dependent on UIF benefits, disability grants, workmen’s compensation, pensions and child maintenance grants (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:157-158).

²⁸⁷ Research of sentenced males in prison and under probation has found that there is a direct link between crime and alcohol/drug abuse as the offenders commonly took drugs for extended periods of time and usually came from social environments conducive to this (NEXUS 2004:58). What is interesting to note is that involvement in gangs is noted by Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) as “at least partly responsible for the onset and or continuation of especially illicit drug use and trading” (Swart 1997:21).

²⁸⁸ May’s study (1998:71), which deals more specifically with the experience and perceptions of rural poverty, unfortunately notes that, despite the new democratic dispensation, lack of equitable access to justice remains a major issue, particularly in the case of child maintenance.

²⁸⁹ Apartheid policies of that time included the pass laws and forced removals.

services”.²⁹⁰ The cyclical trap that renders these vulnerable groups powerless often works as follows:

In order to extract themselves from poverty, people must receive basic provision to ensure they are able to survive. They must also be in a position to pay for transport to centres where they can apply for assistance. For many of the most vulnerable, there are no household or community resources for this (Taylor 2000:61).

5.2.2.7 *The vulnerable*²⁹¹: children, women, the elderly and disabled

Wilson and Ramphele (1989:170) identified “the sudden shifts (such as drought or a rapid rise in food prices) that can plunge people into destitution” and asked, “who is most at risk” to these shifts? Vulnerability is identified by Chambers (1995:20) as a dimension of deprivation (which he identified as capturing poor people’s realities), meaning not lack or want, but defencelessness against damaging loss.²⁹² Both Wilson and Ramphele (1989:170-173) and Chambers (1995:20) identify these sudden shifts that expose the vulnerable to loss (be it physical weakness, economic impoverishment, social dependence, humiliation or psychological harm) as having such an impact that the loss of one or more of any asset by a sudden shift could possibly lead to the risk of destitution, starvation and even death.²⁹³ The question, however, more significantly focuses on the identity of the vulnerable. Which categories of people are the most vulnerable to poverty? Uys (1997:40) uses Wilson and Ramphele (1989) almost exclusively to assist in the identification of the societal groupings most susceptible to poverty and found that they were for the most part

²⁹⁰ Bureaucratic fragmentation of services is also noted by *Carnegie II* as playing a role in limiting access to basic services. In a post-apartheid context, administrative capacity, lack of economic viability “due to a culture of service payment boycotts” and community suspicion of government due to past experience of apartheid structures” increase lack of access (May 1998a:10). In the present structures, bureaucratic barriers may sadly even be a lack of specifications by Acts, which make people dependent on the official on whose desk a letter of application for a disability grant, for example, may land (Truter 2000:79; Wilson & Ramphele 1989:162-165).

²⁹¹ It should be noted that the original heading as identified by Wilson and Ramphele (1989:170) is “Who are the Vulnerable?”. For the purposes of clarity, I have chosen to phrase it as it now stands.

²⁹² A paper from the inquiry noted that “It is a general rule that poor people always receive less per unit of effort than rich people and are far less able to withstand the blows of fate which fall on everyone from time to time” (Hill 1984:3-4).

²⁹³ Many of these shifts, however, refer mainly to a rural context affected by drought, loss and disappearance of food crops and seasonality of income. More generalised factors include loss of jobs (and therefore loss of income), economic recession, rising inflation and prices of basic needs, and the dependence of family on the wages of low-income workers (Wilson & Ramphele 1989: 170).

black women, children, elderly and disabled.²⁹⁴ We have already discovered that black people make up the greatest proportion of those who are defined as 'poor' and that poverty in South Africa appears to have a rural bias.²⁹⁵

Children are one of the most vulnerable groupings to poverty and its effects, as is shown by the 40% poverty rate amongst South Africa's children estimated by the Department of Education's 2001 *White Paper* (Macfarlane 2003:7).²⁹⁶ Children are in addition also the most vulnerable to environmental and health risks. The RDP study (1995:23) found that children's development might be retarded because of a high disease burden, low access to health services and inadequate nutrition.²⁹⁷ Other forms of environmental poverty also noted by *Carnegie II* are lack of adequate play and recreation facilities as a factor of deprivation, which lead to children in some communities becoming involved in negative activities, such as glue sniffing and modelling gang behaviour (Uys 1997:42; Wilson & Ramphela 1989:176).²⁹⁸ After children, women are the next most vulnerable group, as they often earn lower wages than men, have lower literacy rates and often limited access to social services, as well as encountering more difficulties in obtaining employment (Lalthapersad-Pillay 2002:39).²⁹⁹ Lower levels of income for women in comparison to men result in them holding less power in society, which naturally make them more susceptible to sudden shifts in their environment (Taylor 2000:68). Gqubule's (2002:34) article reports that, despite an eight-year period after the advent of democracy and many laws and

²⁹⁴ The government's Department of Welfare, which makes social grants to these vulnerable groups for empowerment and assistant projects and organisations, was found to have spent less than 1% of the total R204 million allocated for poverty relief in the 1998/9 financial year (Forgey *et al* 2000:241).

²⁹⁵ These are facts borne out by both Uys (1997:40) and Wilson and Ramphela (1989:173), but because this study has an urban bias, these categories will not be dealt with again.

²⁹⁶ In 2000, there appeared to be insufficient child benefits with benefits only being available to children under seven years and under school leaving age (Forgey 2000:247). IDASA's analysis of the education budget 2003 notes that this has now been extended to 14 years of age (Macfarlane 2003:7).

²⁹⁷ Malnutrition may further lead to mental and physical stunting, as well as make children more susceptible to infectious diseases, such as Tuberculosis and measles.

²⁹⁸ However, what was termed by the second inquiry as the "famine of mind and spirit" was regarded as far more serious. An American study found that children from educationally and financially disadvantaged environments who were provided with loving, enriched and warm environments in a special day-care had distinctly better social behaviour in comparison to those from similar environments who had no such stimulation. Blackburn (1991:93) notes a similar effect of such environments on the mental and physical state of children.

²⁹⁹ The following figures bear testimony to these levels of inequality, particularly in employment: 56% of women are unemployed, compared to the rate of 44% for men. Where women are employed, they appear to be predominately employed in the low-skilled and low-paid professions in the formal and informal sectors.

policies³⁰⁰ aimed at empowering women, African women in particular still have limited participation in the economy.³⁰¹ Workplace discrimination is often subtle and women are often found in care- and service-related jobs (where people think they will perform) and often not viewed as leaders; there are therefore few women in management positions (Gqubule 2002:36). The most vulnerable women are identified as widows, women as heads of households (through either divorce or single parenthood) and migrant workers' wives (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:177).

The elderly make up the next category of the most vulnerable in South African society. During the apartheid era, the pensions of black people were considerably lower than those of their white counterparts, with parity being reached in 1993.³⁰² Pensions are payable to women from the age of 60 and to men from 65. The five to ten years preceding this period are recognised as usually the most vulnerable years, particularly for rural labourers and unemployed men in their fifties who are considered to old to hire, but too young to qualify for a pension.³⁰³ According to projections, the proportion of elderly people in the population will increase drastically over the next two decades (Dupper *et al.* 2000:3). The greater the number of people over the age of 80, the more vulnerable they will be due to factors such as "failing health, retirement provisions running out and lack of suitable accommodation and care" (Dupper *et al.* 2000:36).³⁰⁴ Pensions are also often low relative to the cost of living. However, it was found that because pensions are a reliable source of income

³⁰⁰ The Employment Equity Act (1998) "outlaws unfair discrimination in the workplace and requires employers (public and private) to prepare and implement employment equity plans" (Dept. of Labour 2003b). See the South African Human Development Report (2000:120) for other laws and policies undertaken to promote gender equity.

³⁰¹ Wilson and Ramphele (1989:179) identify "Barriers to women moving freely into the marketplace to work where they choose, combined with the educational disadvantages that weigh more heavily on women than on men, place upon them additional burdens which men do not have to carry. For example, women are often considered by male employers to be more unreliable than men in that they may need to be away from work when their children are ill. For this reason there may be a bias against hiring or promoting a woman in a job for which she is well qualified".

³⁰² The resultant effect being that the real value of pensions rose for Africans, stayed more or less the same for Coloureds and Asians, and dropped substantially for whites (Ardington & Lund 1995:558; Donaldson 1993:285).

³⁰³ Vulnerability also extends to loneliness and feelings of abandonment felt by many elderly, which may cause them to be less able to deal with the stresses caused by sudden shifts in their social or financial environment. This absence of love and care is noted by some as the bitterest form of poverty (Wilson & Ramphele 1989: 181,182; Uys 1997:42).

³⁰⁴ Dupper *et al.* (2000:36, 37) argue that the government's present policy, which sees home care of the elderly by their families as the only option, as unrealistic in the face of an increasingly more fragmented and impoverished South African society due to high unemployment, divorce rates, urbanisation, the migrant labour system and the breakdown of traditional society.

they were often used to supplement household income in poor, intergenerational households (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:181; Ardington & Lund 1995:571).

The final group identified by *Carnegie II* is that of the disabled, which is recognised not only as the physically and mentally disabled,³⁰⁵ but also those belonging to what is defined as ‘weak’ households.³⁰⁶ With disability, Wilson and Ramphele (1989:182) note that there is a “mutually reinforcing dual problem” in that the combination of both poverty and disability produce a greater degree of handicap for the disabled individual. Societal discrimination still exists and therefore many disabled are viewed as being unable to do the same work as the rest of society; these beliefs reinforce and are reinforced by physical and social structures that are not designed to accommodate the special needs of the disabled.³⁰⁷ In addition, the presence of a disabled person in a household often leads to the further impoverishment of that household due to the possible necessity of a wage-earning adult staying at home to care for him/her (Wilson & Ramphele 1989: 183).

5.2.3 Conclusion

The effects of apartheid, as identified by the *Second Carnegie Inquiry*, are still being felt by a large sector of the South African population when one considers the various dimensions of poverty. Inequality remains the lasting legacy of apartheid and one that is racially skewed so that the black population (Africans, coloureds and Asians) continue to earn less and have access to less. While the government continues to redress such inequality, it has been illustrated that the interlinked nature of the dimensions of poverty complicates their attempts.

5.3 COMMUNITY ANALYSIS OF POVERTY IN LAVENDER HILL

The *Second Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa* identifies poverty as a complex and multidimensional phenomenon. The discussion of Wilson

³⁰⁵ A disabled person is defined in terms of the Social Assistance Act 59 1992 as “any person who has attained the prescribed age and is, owing to his or her physical or mental disability, unfit to obtain by virtue of any service, employment or profession the means needed to enable him or her to provide for his or her maintenance” (Truter 2000:78).

³⁰⁶ The ‘weak’ households are characterised by Wilson and Ramphele (1989:42) as being households that have experienced social or economic dislocation. The latter refers to whether the household has the “personnel to fulfil certain vital economic roles” and the former refers to whether the “relationships between household members are the expected ones in terms of social norms” (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:184).

³⁰⁷ In 1996, Minister Jay Naidoo acknowledged that only 0.3% of the disabled are employed in the formal sector as a result of barriers such as ineffective and discriminatory legislation, lack of educational facilities, workplace discrimination and lack of occupational therapy (Sidiropoulos *et al.* in Uys 1997:42).

and Ramphele's (1989) identification of poverty as having dimensions or faces³⁰⁸ and Chambers' argument that they are interrelated, will furnish a comparative framework through which poverty in Lavender Hill can be discussed. An analysis of this framework with reference to the area of Lavender Hill will provide a picture of poverty and its interrelated challenges for the area to identify the key challenges the local church in the area faces with regard to community transformation. This is essential if one considers Wilson and Ramphele's argument (1989:7, 8) that such an analysis of poverty allows communities to build effective strategies for action.

The methodology used to test the relevance of this framework and the nature of poverty in Lavender Hill empirically is largely qualitative. Unstructured scheduled interviews, with guideline questions (cf. Appendix A) generated from the previous section's discussion of the dimensions of poverty, were conducted with various community role players³⁰⁹ involved with addressing these dimensions of poverty in Lavender Hill.³¹⁰ In this chapter, the findings of these interviews are discussed with particular reference to the field study conducted by Dreyer and Naidoo (1984) as part of the inquiry to track possible changes in the nature of poverty between 1984 and 2004.³¹¹ In order to create richer data, demographic data (Census 2001 and in parts 1996)³¹² compiled by the Unit for Religion and Development Research at the University of Stellenbosch of the area of Lavender Hill are utilised (cf. Appendix D). Various community documents and newspaper reports on aspects of these dimensions between 2002 and 2004 in the area are also drawn on. The section begins with a discussion of the historical background of the area, relying substantially on Dreyer and Naidoo's field study (1984), which includes historical information and case studies of what were largely accounts of the forced removals that led to the establishment of the area. It is argued that the socio-economic costs of such

³⁰⁸ These dimensions include work and wages, unemployment, hunger and sickness, housing and environment, literacy and learning, powerlessness and vulnerability.

³⁰⁹ Community role players consulted included school principals, social workers, community workers, the chairperson of the Ratepayers and Civic Association, a police inspector and the nursing sister in charge of the clinic.

³¹⁰ As the transcribed interviews are lengthy, with most over ten pages of verbatim transcriptions, a sample of one of the interviews is included as Appendix C.

³¹¹ It should be noted that the format followed by the field study was not utilised in favour of discussing the dimensions of poverty as put forward by Wilson and Ramphele (1989).

³¹² This data is based on a *Report on the Demographic Profile of Lavender Hill*, compiled by the Unit for Religion and Development Research at the University of Stellenbosch (Faculty of Theology) for the researcher according to requested variables. It is a comparative analysis of Census data from 1996 and 2001, which focused specifically on personal variables, economic variables and household variables.

displacement resulted in greater vulnerability to poverty and its related ills. Thereafter, the dimensions and the findings outlined in the previous section are analysed, with particular reference to the aforementioned empirical data and 1984 field study of Lavender Hill.

5.3.1 Historical background

5.3.1.1 *The effects of the forced removals on Hardevlei/Rondevlei communities*

The area of Lavender Hill and Vrygrond originally existed before the forced removals (a result of the Group Areas Act³¹³) as the communities of Hardevlei and Rondevlei, which were bordered by what is now known as Grassy Park, Steenberg/Retreat and Capricorn Business Park. Prior to 1967, these communities, although poor, “were proud property owners” with “big pieces of ground” who appeared to practice subsistence farming with “vegetables, fruit and flowers grown in the community” and fowl, pigs, goats, cows and sheep (Dreyer & Naidoo 1984:6)..³¹⁴

The Cape Flats had been earmarked as places of relocation for those removed forcibly by the legislation of the Group Areas Act (1950) from what were now declared as “white areas” such as Lower Claremont, Windermere, Newlands, Plumstead, Simons Town, Tramway Road and District Six (Field 2001:13; Naidoo & Dreyer 1984:9).³¹⁵ From 1951, property owners were not allowed to sell or rent property to the wrong racial group, as the system was administered by the Land Tenure Advisory Board (later the Group Areas Board) who controlled “property transfers and changes of occupancy that went across colour lines” (Bickford-Smith 2001:23). This board proposed that one of the ways of defining areas was to use the railway line as a separation zone between black and white areas (Bickford-Smith 2001:23). What was known as Rondevlei/Hardevlei fell on the Cape Flats side of the Cape Town/Simonstown railway line. The effects of this policy on the communities of

³¹³ The Group Areas Act (1950) legislated the unified scheme, which provided “for areas to be declared for the exclusive use of one particular racial group” (Terreblanche 2002:334).

³¹⁴ According to the *Second Carnegie Inquiry*'s area study, the community was “almost fully self sufficient” and many of its residents had lived in the area for generations, some with plots of over 2000 square meters that were often rented to those with no property ownership (Dreyer & Naidoo 1984:6).

³¹⁵ This legislation, born out of a fear of “racial swamping and mixing”, could in effect prevent this, as Afrikaners (and whites in general) became “increasingly threatened by black social mobility and mixing” (Terreblanche 2002:334). This is further evidenced by other discriminatory legislation such as the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) and the Immorality Amendment Act (1950), which prevented marriages and extramarital sexual relations between race groups. The Population Registration Act (1950) affected the coloured population in particular as it “required people to be registered from birth as members of one of four racial groups” (Terreblanche 2002:334).

Rondevlei/Hardevlei as part of the Cape Flats began to be felt in 1967³¹⁶ when the residents received the first letters from the City Council of Cape Town to individual owners of land. These areas were officially classified as agricultural smallholdings (and therefore defined as underdeveloped possible residential areas) and the residents were offered “paltry amounts” – an initial R1000 per acres for the “land and any dwellings on it” for land expropriated (Naidoo & Dreyer 1984:7). These amounts were grossly undervalued since land in the adjacent Grassy Park were at the time valued at R1500 per acre. Many families were offered blanket sums for several plots, which were far below even their designated value per acre.³¹⁷ The residents passionately opposed the Council through the organised action of bodies such as action committees, surveying committees³¹⁸ such as the Retreat Ratepayers’ Association and the Civic Association of Retreat. However, after a prolonged struggle some residents felt that resistance would only mean that they would “eventually get nothing for their land” and began to sell their properties (Dreyer & Naidoo 1984:8).³¹⁹ In 1974, the remaining residents hired a bus to confront the City Council who assured residents that eviction measures would only be meted out on shanty dwellers, not property owners. They were, however, to renege on their promise and shortly after “rangers came with loud speakers announcing that everyone (including property owners) would have to move to Vrygrond by the Monday or else their houses would be bulldozed the following morning” (Naidoo & Dreyer 1984:8). Many of these residents bought land in the Southern Hills Estate being developed for residential use. Later, many residents would feel cheated and disgruntled as the Council erected the low cost double and triple story flats of what was to become Lavender Hill around these houses. As a result, many of these houses have been devalued and will not appreciate much in value (Naidoo & Dreyer 1984:9). On the other hand, the low cost council housing of double and triple story flats built by the government to house those

³¹⁶ Omar (1989:520) argues that the forced removals are “inextricably entwined with the deprivation of political, economic and social rights of the people of colour.”

³¹⁷ The area study in the 1980’s discovered that one family was initially offered R5000 for 30 plots of ground. After many months of legal negotiations the Council finally increased this sum to R17 500 – still under half of what was due to them (Naidoo & Dreyer 1984:7).

³¹⁸ These committees visited house to house surveying the extent of ‘tenants’ and ‘landowners’ in the area were to be re-housed (Naidoo & Dreyer 1984:8).

³¹⁹ The Trauma Centre Community Profile 2003 quotes Beechey (1987) in confirming that the housing estate was constructed between 1972 and 1974.

who had been removed under the Group Areas Act from areas such as District Six³²⁰ were, as will be discussed, woefully inadequate (Bickford-Smith 2001:23).³²¹

5.3.1.2 Social costs of the removals

While the financial costs to those affected by the forced removals were great, the social cost was often higher with devastating long-term results. Case Study B of the area of Lavender Hill illustrates this clearly as Mrs B recounted the effects of a move from lower Claremont to Lavender Hill. Not only were the flats too small to house most of her furniture (which she later realised were antiques), but the rent in Lavender Hill was “four times the amount in Claremont, but all the rooms were half the size” (Naidoo & Dreyer 1984:24).³²² Furthermore, there were no pre-school facilities as there had been in Claremont at the time of the study so that younger children had to be left with older children in the absence of their working parents (Naidoo & Dreyer 1984:25).

While Bickford-Smith (2001:105) in recounting the social life of Lower Claremont before the forced removals notes that there was “poverty and generally poor living conditions, Lower Claremont was an energetic place, where neighbourliness and community spirit seem to have been valued above all else”. What Bickford-Smith (2001:115) notes came forth most clearly in her interviews with former residents of Lower Claremont is the overwhelming sense of loss of both the physical place and of the bonds of community, friendship and fellowship that were broken by the apartheid regime. Lavender Hill would consequently be made up of a mix of the former residents of areas such as Lower Claremont, District Six, Newlands and Plumstead.

The Trauma Centre’s Community Profile (2003:9) states that “when people were uprooted and moved to Lavender Hill there was a strong sense of historical background lost forever... it was the loss of community and values that were the fabric

³²⁰ According to Dreyer & Naidoo (1984:11), “the vast majority of Lavender Hill originally lived in Claremont, District Six and Steurhof”.

³²¹ It is interesting to note that, according to the Census 2001 statistics, 92.20% of the population have lived in Lavender Hill before 1996 perhaps as a result of these aspects mentioned (cf. Appendix D).

³²² Whereas in Claremont residents were closer to shops and public transport and were able to stow cars safely in garages, she complained that car ownership in Lavender Hill was highly problematic. Theft and removal of car parts of cars parked outside were commonplace and therefore public transport was preferred in an area which made no provision for garages.

of the community”.³²³ Perhaps one of the most devastating and long-lasting of the social costs of forced removals on the communities that now form the Cape Flats is that of gangsterism, which is accounted for by many to be the result of the forced removals. Kinnes (1996:17) argues that one of the reasons for the high incidence of gangsterism on the Cape Flats “is the sheer misery of the environment into which families and whole communities were forcibly relocated from inner city areas during the apartheid era”. Sources attest to the presence of gangsters or ‘skollies’ in areas such as Lower Claremont and District Six before the Group Areas Act removals, but they were regarded as street gangs and as part of the communities (Swanson & Harries 2001:80; Bickford-Smith 2001:110). These rough and ready street gangs have now metamorphosed into sophisticated crime syndicates, which Kinnes (1996:18) believes to be a result of high levels of unemployment, poverty and overcrowding that “exacerbate the problem, and criminality and violence easily emerge as a response to the experienced violence of a heartless system”.³²⁴ In a recent newspaper article describing the extent of crime on the Cape Flats and the causes of it, Professor Wilfred Scärf of the University of Cape Town said,

Undoubtedly one of the apartheid atrocities, Group Areas removals, fragmented extended families and family networks and dissolved the social glue, which existed before the removals (Lombard 2004:13).

5.3.2 The dimensions of poverty in Lavender Hill

The challenge of poverty in Lavender Hill is one clearly shaped by South Africa’s apartheid legacy in this largely coloured area: 97.99 % of the population are coloured, with 92.20% having moved to the area earlier than 1996 (cf. Appendix D:5). The dimensions or faces (Wilson & Ramphela 1989) of poverty in Lavender Hill are discussed below.

5.3.2.1 Work, wages and other sources of income

According to the findings of the previous section, while work was the key source of income for the majority of the population, wage income “also makes the largest

³²³ Communities had been socially destroyed, leading Mrs C (Case Study C) to lament: “We could not mix with the people around us – they were so unfriendly. When ill health struck, not a single neighbour came to check on me. All my old friends were scattered about” (Naidoo & Dreyer 1984:27).

³²⁴ Lotter (1997:74) sheds further light on the subject, noting that political violence “mostly leads to an increase in crime. The disregard for opponents, the lack of respect for the contents and rule of law, and the culture of violence existing in the society make committing ordinary crimes so much easier”.

contribution to income inequality". Thus, occupational status and therefore wage income were racially skewed. This appears to be borne out in the community of Lavender Hill, where the majority are employed in elementary occupations (a total of 29.20%) and therefore have elementary income. The second largest percentages are employed in craft-related industries (22.65%). Despite marginal increases in the numbers of technicians/associate professionals, clerical and service/sales workers categories between Census 1996 and 2001, tiny percentages are employed as senior officials, legislators, managerial positions or in professions.³²⁵ The largest percentages of the population of Lavender Hill are employed in the manufacturing industry (28.64%), followed by the wholesale/retail industry at 21.93% (cf. Appendix D:10). Llewellyn Jordaan (2004:2) estimates that most of the women are employed as machinists in the clothing industry or factory workers, which indicates that little has changed since the 1984 area study in which it was shown that what was then known as the Clothing Workers' Union had a strong presence in Lavender Hill (Dreyer & Naidoo 1984:19).³²⁶

This 'other' source of income is not, however, the most controversial in the area of Lavender Hill. While some residents take in relatives and friends to help pay the rent – a fact that has not changed since the *Second Carnegie Inquiry*, still others operate shebeens³²⁷ in order to make extra money (Dreyer & Naidoo 1984:29; Jordaan 2004:2). The estimation of population numbers for the area of Lavender Hill in 1984 was regarded as being overly conservative as "many tenants deliberately omitted the names of boarders or lodgers for fear of increased rentals or eviction" (Dreyer & Naidoo 1984:10). With a current population estimation of 19 821 (3 758 households), the average conservative estimate of income per household for one year was R32 476 (R2706.30 per month) in 2001. If the population number is divided by the household numbers, each household consists of an average of five members who live on a total of R2706.30 per month. Most disturbing with regard to other sources of income is collusion with gangsters. The high unemployment rate, exacerbated by largely single-

³²⁵ Llewellyn Jordaan, director of Community Services at the only NGO in Lavender Hill, verifies this: I was looking at the stats and ...what's encouraging is its going up by one or two percent like clerk jobs and retail, but like you say the majority are still lower skilled jobs" (Jordaan 2004:2).

³²⁶ An interesting fact is that community/social services at 15.15% rate as the third largest 'industry' of income (cf. Appendix D:10). The latter appears to verify further the findings in the previous chapter, which state that pensions, remittances and disability make up close to 45% of the income of the poor.

³²⁷ These are places where liquor is sold illegally. They are also known as 'smokkelhuise' or taverns. The Trauma Centre's Community Profile cites the Safer Cities Report in reporting Lavender Hill as having 47 shebeens.

parent families³²⁸ and low wages because of low-skilled positions, has led to economic power lying largely in the hands of the gangs in the area. Gangsterism is closely connected to the drug industry and many individuals begin by “smokkelling vir die pot”.³²⁹ It has become a norm in order to survive: the drug merchant pays your rent and later keeps you beholden because of financial needs (Isaacs 2004:2; MRM Consultation Meeting 2004:3). The economic power base being in their hands has devastating social effects, as they

...exploit the situation and where they would offer people money to buy electricity, to pay rent and in favour they will...just innocently ask the person: ‘listen this is not everybody’s business, but can you keep this parcel for me?’ And that is how gangs get that kind of hold. It’s also about making money without much effort. You don’t have to walk that far, you don’t have to spend taxi fare and train fare and you can earn quite an amount...I think that it creates the impression that: ‘listen here, if you need to work; you can become rich very easily’, that it’s not a big deal really to make money and sell drugs (Jordaan 2004:6).

The final sector of the job market (and one that is often not included) is that of the informal entrepreneurial sector. Owing to what one social worker attributes to a high level of fear with regard to gang violence in the area, there are not many shops and businesses in the area of Lavender Hill itself (Isaacs 2004:3). Informal trading does, however, happen in the community in the form of informal house shops (Isaacs 2004:3). Informal trading stalls also line the pavement of the shops nearest (within walking distance) to the community and are frequented by the Lavender Hill community.³³⁰

5.3.2.2 Unemployment

One of the key aspects of life identified by the *Carnegie II* area study in the area of Lavender Hill was that of high unemployment. Not much appears to have changed. A social worker in the area states that “economically, the thing is there’s not much,

³²⁸ This is borne out by interviews with social workers, health workers and the statistics that indicate an alarming rise in incidents of teen pregnancy and of people who never married (a total increase of 46% in 2001, since Census 1996) (Jordaan 2004:2; Kochlen 2004:2; Appendix D:6).

³²⁹ An example of this may be dealing drugs or setting up a shebeen to make a little extra money.

³³⁰ At present, plans are underway by the Unicity of Cape Town to “institute a regulatory programme that will ensure a better, friendlier, safer and cleaner shopping environment, benefiting the public, the informal traders and the areas retail shops and other businesses”. The area has been identified as a “new and viable business node...to create jobs for the unemployed” (Wolf 2004b:5).

unemployment has just rocketed, increased, together with the demand for housing” (Jordaan 2004:2).³³¹ This is supported by the statistics, which indicate a 4.10% increase in unemployment from Census 1996 to 2001, and an unemployment rate of 19.32% (cf. Appendix D:10). When the high numbers of an economically inactive population (which are currently 41.93% of the population)³³² are added to the statistics for the broad definition of unemployment used by the Central Statistical Service (CSS), it amounts to 61.25% of the population.³³³

What does appear to have changed slightly over the twenty years since the *Carnegie II* area study is the gender of those who are unemployed. At the time, young women in particular were reported to have been so desperate that they asked those conducting the study whether they could “assist them in getting any kind of employment” (Dreyer & Naidoo 1984:5). Today, the head of community development at the New World Foundation, Llewellyn Jordaan, states that the “largest proportion of the community that generates income are the women” (Jordaan 2004:2). The effects of unemployment on the wider population at the time were identified by the *Second Carnegie Inquiry* as that of frustration and anxiety, which often lead to the abuse of alcohol and an increase in shebeens, as was common in Lavender Hill (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:88, 89).³³⁴ Today liquor abuse and drug abuse are still regarded as some of Lavender Hill’s key challenges, with both the police inspector and the social worker noting that many of the men in particular are on drugs in order to “escape from the realities” (Jordaan 2004:2; Scott 2004:2).³³⁵

5.3.2.3 *Hunger and sickness*

The strong correlation between health and poverty is perhaps no more evident than in an area such as Lavender Hill. The proven high incidence of disease amongst lower-income groups is often a result of the links between poverty, poor housing and

³³¹ One resident, when interviewed by a community newspaper on the day of the national elections, said that she wanted political parties to “see that people get work as they had promised on their posters – there is a lot of unemployment in this place” (Haw 2004:3). According to the article she knew of the closure of several factories in recent months and therefore people who had been left jobless.

³³² The national average is approximately five and a half percent lower at 34.40 % (Appendix D p10)

³³³ A 2003 newspaper article cites unemployment at a staggering 69% (Wolf 2003a:7)

³³⁴ It was noted by the study: “it is evident that liquor is being abused. We saw men walking with bottles of beer at 10.00 in the morning” (Dreyer & Naidoo 1984:5).

³³⁵ More troubling is the fact that the abuse of drugs and alcohol may lead to drug related crime “... because with the drug you get from the thefts, the house breakings, the robberies – the guys need money to... feed the habit” (Scott 2004:1).

sanitation.³³⁶ Poor housing and lack of municipal facilities have also been noted by residents as a cause for sickness: “we have got 14 people in the one house – that is why there is a lot of sickness” (Haw 2004:1). Overcrowding is identified by the Lavender Hill Clinic³³⁷ nursing sister as a “major problem” in that “the kind of housing, quality of living and close quarters that most live in lead to higher rates of airborne diseases such as TB” (Kochlen 2004:1). As a result, Tuberculosis (TB) is still rated by the clinic as the most common disease treated at the clinic.³³⁸ The relationship between poverty, unemployment and illness was strongly stated by the nursing sister. For example, in the case of TB, “many of the patients are unemployed and have no income and no food, which means that they take, for example, their TB medication on an empty stomach which is not optimal” (Kochlen 2004:1). The correlation between TB and HIV/AIDS, however, is not clear in this area despite a high TB rate. This is largely as a result of fear of social stigma that often accompanies HIV/AIDS and so many opt to report to alternative clinics (such as Steenberg or Retreat). Statistics for this area are therefore often not an accurate reflection of the actual number of cases in Lavender Hill (Kochlen 2004:1).³³⁹

Not only was overcrowding cited as a health hazard, but also the fact that the housing is sub-standard (a fact that was identified over twenty years ago) and not equipped with hot running water, which further exacerbates ill health.³⁴⁰ Recently, residents also complained of leaking roofs and walls covered in damp (Haw 2004:2, 3).³⁴¹ A headline in a local community newspaper reads, “Unhealthy Living Conditions: Lavender Hill’s Wheelie big Mess”. It discusses what residents term a health crisis as a result of new wheelie bins, which they claimed act as a breeding ground for maggots

³³⁶ Cf. the previous section in this chapter regarding “Hunger and Sickness” in the broader South African context.

³³⁷ The Lavender Hill Clinic is cited as having a staff component of eight, including one clinic manager, one clinic nurse practitioner, two senior nurses, two record clerks and two general workers (Trauma Centre 2003:49, 50).

³³⁸ The 1984 study had recorded that TB at that time was one of the most commonly treated diseases (Dreyer & Naidoo 1984:13). A DOT outreach plan was instituted in recent years to deal with TB, but “meetings at the community centres are no longer attended because of power struggles” (Trauma Centre 2003:50).

³³⁹ The nursing sister did, however, indicate that in January 2004, fifteen were tested for HIV/AIDS, two of whom were positive and in February 2004, sixteen were tested, one of whom was positive. The Community Profile cited 120 registered HIV positive patients with twelve on treatment and nine babies on the mother-to-child transmission programme (Trauma Centre 2003:54).

³⁴⁰ Dreyer and Naidoo (1984: 27) note that because the flats are built from ash-bricks, they became a breeding ground for bugs.

³⁴¹ Dreyer and Naidoo’s study (1984:11) had found that “the dwellings were built very cheaply and of inferior materials”.

and flies. While the Council stated that these bins were in fact more cost saving and able to hold more rubbish, it appeared that the key problem lay in the fact that black bags had been provided free of charge in the past and that many could not afford the added expense³⁴² (Haw 2003a:1, 2). Another article indicates that poor sanitation is also evident, as many of the flats still do not have hot running water, a fact that increases the likelihood of poor hygiene and illnesses such as diarrhoea in children, both of which are commonplace.³⁴³ The nursing sister in charge of the local clinic outlines the problem as follows:

Some of the most common childhood illnesses are diarrhoea, chest problems, because of overcrowding, smoking and lifestyles of the parents, and some of the children have scabies and sores. Basic hygiene is still a problem as many of the children are left alone or taken care of by older children, as many of the mothers work during the day. All these things are interrelated. Often mothers will bring their children to the clinic with these problems and when asked when last the child was bathed they cannot tell me (Kochlen 2004:1).

Other health problems experienced include respiratory problems and poisoning through paraffin and other household cleaners (Trauma Centre 2003:53). Malnutrition is another common health concern, a problem that existed in Lavender Hill and Vrygrond at the time of *Carnegie II*.³⁴⁴ When asked whether malnourishment was still a problem in Lavender Hill, the nursing sister replied,

Malnutrition is still very much an issue because of unemployment and the family structures. Many families have four to five children and so the more mouths there are to feed, the more chance there is of malnutrition. The clinic does have a feeding scheme and gives out food parcels of milk and mielie meal, but this is usually only enough for one child. Also, many of the husbands, instead of using the money on food, will spend it on drugs (Kochlen 2004:1).

Teenage pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases³⁴⁵ were identified, together with TB and HIV, as some of the most common reasons for visiting the Lavender Hill

³⁴² A resident stated: "People don't even have money for bread these days, so where are they going to get R20 to buy black bags?" (Haw 2003a:1)

³⁴³ One mother complained when interviewed by a newspaper reporter that "I've got four children and my toilet and kitchen are both in one room" (Haw 2004:3).

³⁴⁴ In 1982/83, 200 cases of malnourished children were recorded by the clinic (Dreyer & Naidoo 1984:13). At the time, a special bi-monthly clinic was held for malnourished children.

³⁴⁵ Commonly known as STDs. Eighteen cases of STDs were noted for the month of March 2004 at the Lavender Hill Clinic.

Clinic (Kochlen 2004:1). Furthermore, this problem was described as directly related to a combination of gangsterism and peer pressure, which leads to many girls viewing it as “the in-thing, especially if they have children from the gangsters”. It is perhaps a positive response that a LoveLife franchise has been established in Lavender Hill, which offers various programmes to the youth, including “positive sexuality and lifestyles programmes” as well as HIV/AIDS programmes (Wolf 2003e:1).³⁴⁶ The target group for this programme is youth between the ages of 12 and 17 years who are most vulnerable to HIV/AIDS infection. Four groundbreakers³⁴⁷ have been employed in Lavender Hill (Lovelife 2004:11).

Perhaps one of the most troubling aspects of addressing hunger and sickness in Lavender Hill – and one not accounted for when defining hunger and sickness as a dimension of poverty – is that the gang-related violence in such areas often affects the clinic’s work. The clinic sister, when asked, felt that there was presently little respect for the health workers as has been in the past and that this meant that health workers no longer went out to do home care, unless it was an emergency (Kochlen 2004:3).³⁴⁸ Furthermore, during periods of gang violence clinics often have to be closed as a result of the violence,³⁴⁹ which results in many people not getting their much-needed medication (such as TB medication, family planning pills and food parcels) (Kochlen 2004:3).

5.3.2.4 Housing and environment

Beall (2000:19) states that there is a high correlation between poor living conditions and health risks – a fact that is borne out when analysing health and sickness in the Lavender Hill community. While the statistics concerning household variables indicate that 76.84% of residents live in dwellings with three to five rooms, 87.26% have piped water in their dwelling and 99.19% have direct access to electricity from

³⁴⁶ Cf. Delate (2003:33-38) for a critique of LoveLife’s programmes.

³⁴⁷ This is the term used by LoveLife to denote peer trainers who facilitate programmes dealing with debating, motivation, sports, and sex and sexuality.

³⁴⁸ She related how she had been threatened and the fear she sometimes experiences as a result of the violence. She asked whether I knew that someone had been shot the previous day in the same road as the clinic (Kochlen 2004:3).

³⁴⁹ The *Cape Times* reported in September 2002 that “the gang violence is so serious that we have had to close the clinics for long periods, and others for shorter times like Lavender Hill, which we closed temporarily recently for the same reason” (Caelers 2002:3).

the authorities,³⁵⁰ the reality of residents' living conditions are far removed from these statistics (cf. Appendix D:12).

The extent of overcrowding is obvious from the statements by community residents. When asked what they wanted the new government to deliver in the next five years, one resident complained that "here in the Marble Flats it is too crowded – there may be eight to ten people in one house"; another said that there could be up to fourteen living in one dwelling (Haw 2004:2). Such statements were borne out by the social worker, who indicated that the demand for housing is so high that many have become backyard dwellers (Jordaan 2004:3).³⁵¹ Other comments in this respect also lend support to Lochner and Botha's (2001:45) view that "lower environmental quality generates negative attitudes towards health, education and social welfare".

Economically, the thing is there's not much. Unemployment has just rocketed, increased, together with the demand for housing and most of the families have become backyard dwellers. One person said 'nigh ek gan maar 'n bungalow koop en in my ma se yard op sit'.³⁵² And the overcrowding and all those kind of things contribute and that's why I think people can't cope. Most of the men are on drugs to escape from the realities (Jordaan 2004:2).

The Moral Regeneration Movement's consultative meeting on gangsterism (2004:2) in Lavender Hill highlighted the close ties between the physical environment, the poverty of the community and high levels of gangsterism in the area. Llewellyn Jordaan and Willie Niewoudt explained that overcrowding in Cape Flats communities such as Lavender Hill is exacerbated by the fact that every flat on ground level has a bungalow. Housing is critical and three generations of families often share a two-bed roomed house, which leads to lack of privacy and ultimately conflict. The cramped conditions often lead to the exposure of children to parental domestic abuse, violence and sexual intercourse during the night, as they usually live in the same room.³⁵³ The poor quality of housing and accompanying health concerns were noted during the 1984 *Carnegie Inquiry* as being an area of concern and the following was reported:

³⁵⁰ Dreyer and Naidoo's study (1984:11) had indicated that "all the dwellings have electricity".

³⁵¹ Haw (2004:3) reports that one resident's "son married ten years ago, but still lived in a back-yard hokkie with his wife and three young kids".

³⁵² Translation: "No, I'm going to buy a bungalow and put it in my mother's yard."

³⁵³ A local principal remarked that this leads to the children often arriving at school uninterested, the results of lack of sleep, and showing behavioural problems.

The dwellings are built very cheaply and of inferior material. The families interviewed complained bitterly of the quality of the houses. Two families complained that their front doors would not close properly. The doors are made of egg boxes with a piece of hard board on either side (Dreyer & Naidoo 1984:11).

Twenty years have passed since the *Second Carnegie Inquiry* and residents now complain that the flats are “in a state of disrepair – the roofs leak, the walls are cracked and often covered in damp” (Haw 2004:3). In addition, many of the windows are cracked and coming out of their frames after 30 years (Feldman 2004:1). At the time of the *Carnegie Inquiry*, political powerlessness was identified as the reason for a lack of basic services and that basic services were “not well maintained by the appropriate authorities” (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:132). Not much appears to have changed.³⁵⁴ The chairperson of the Ratepayers’/Civic Organisation noted that Lavender Hill was not included in the Cape Town City Council’s draft policy and that complaints to Council regarding maintenance receive a bureaucratic response. When maintenance is done by the authorities, he stated, it is not done properly as qualified welders and plumbers are not used (Feldman 2004:1, 2). This lack of municipal services has led to a much-publicised outcry by the residents and the local NGO.³⁵⁵

Sanitation and refuse removal are key concerns with regard to health.³⁵⁶ A newspaper article highlighted that a drive through Lavender Hill reveals “filth, dirty streets, heaps of rubbish on the pavements, festering piles of dog excrement...storm water drains so blocked with gunk that when it starts raining in a month or two, the area will quickly be flooded” (Williams 2004:5). Cockroaches were cited as one of the key problems in the Council flats, but it was stated that the City Council of Cape Town is dealing with the issue (Feldman 2004:2). The inequality gap, a legacy of the past, is evident with regard to services in an area such as Lavender Hill in comparison to more affluent areas. This low level of service is viewed as being perpetuated by the

³⁵⁴ The effects of apartheid are still evident in a quote by the project manager of the NGO in the area with regard to the urban decay in Lavender Hill: “It’s still people’s mentality that they are second class citizens” (Williams 2004:5).

³⁵⁵ The headline of a *Cape Times* article which tracked Council cleansing changes between March 2003 and 2004 reads: “Promises amount to nothing as Lavender Hill left in the grip of decay” (Williams 2004:5).

³⁵⁶ Cf. Marias and Botha (2001:45) in the previous section on ‘Hunger and Sickness’ (Feuerstien 1997:41, 42; Richards & Thompson (1984:96).

residents and council cleaners' attitude that Lavender Hill deserved "second class status".³⁵⁷

The Council was further accused of "window dressing service delivery" and it was emphasised that only during visits by politicians to the area, would the area be thoroughly cleaned: "net skoon gehou as politicians of die mayor kom – dan word dit skoongemaak"³⁵⁸ (Feldman 2004:1; Williams 2004:5). Despite access to piped water and internal water supply and toilets, none of the dwellings have access to hot water, a fact which remains since Dreyer and Naidoo's study and one which local residents blame on lack of funds to install geysers (Haw 2004:3). Lack of income to pay for basic services is evidenced by the fact that many of the residents' rent was in arrears. This situation was noted by Dreyer and Naidoo (1984:12) who reported that, at the time Vrygrond residents who had moved to Lavender Hill had to pay rent, "many of them cannot afford" it, which had "created a situation in which houses are vacated and families retreat to Vrygrond". What appears to be a positive aspect of Lavender Hill's current crises is that recent lobbying by the Rent payers'/Civic Association has borne fruit with a successful application to the Council for rent relief. While terms apply, defaulting residents' arrears were scrapped half way for the years 1997 to 2001 (Feldman 2004:2).

An often overlooked yet essential aspect of environmental poverty is the lack of provision of amenities such as parks, playgrounds and other recreation facilities.³⁵⁹ Due to a lack of playgrounds during the time of the Carnegie study, the accident rate amongst children was cited as being high (Dreyer & Naidoo 1984:13). A case study interview at the time of *Carnegie II* also indicated dissatisfaction from residents about the lack of halls, play swings, swimming pools and libraries (Dreyer & Naidoo 1989:26, 29). During a recent interview with the chairperson of the Civic/Rent payers' Association, he noted that there is currently only one park, which is paved and dangerous as gangsters often populate it. The sports field was also said not to be safe for youth and children (Feldman 2004:2). A positive development in response to these

³⁵⁷ The following quote from Willy Niewoudt, a community worker with a local NGO, is revealing: "Where they would sweep twice in Bergvliet, they sweep only once in Lavender Hill". The people of Lavender Hill deserve more "...and Lavender Hill should be receiving twice the cleaning Bergvliet does because of the wind here... It was because the area was so windswept after all that the National Party government so happily gave it to the coloureds" (Williams 2004:5).

³⁵⁸ Translation: "only kept clean if politicians or the mayor come – then it's cleaned up".

³⁵⁹ Cf. the previous section (Housing and Environment) for a discussion of the adverse effects a lack of such amenities have on children's mental and physical health.

issues is the proposal of a 'peace park', to be named the 'Lavender Hill People's Cultural Park' and to be situated on a small piece of land traditionally used by warring gangsters (Wolf 2003f:1). Anthea Petersen, a community worker with the New World Foundation, describes this vision in a local newspaper's headline article as follows:

For me the park represents an alternative to what we currently see in Lavender Hill. The property that is earmarked for the park is very significant in that it's known as the 'battlefield of Lavender Hill'. But with the creation of the park we are saying that we are taking back ownership of our territories, that it can be a play park where our kids can run around and enjoy themselves (Wolf 2003f:1).

The Clean Green Safety campaign (run in collaboration with the City of Cape Town) is another positive development, which includes the planting of trees and shrubbery as well as the painting and restoration of the flats (Change, Best Medicine 2004:3). The lack of recreational facilities remains. Currently no sports centres exist in Lavender Hill itself, but there is a new multipurpose centre in Seawinds (a nearby area) and a community centre. The minutes of a meeting (2003:1) between several role-players (including the South Peninsula Administration, Community Libraries, the Library Bus and the local community centre) highlighted the need for better utilisation of the community centre. The discussions indicate that there is still no library in the community, but that the Library Bus visits the community once per week. In 2002, the only programmes run at the Lavender Hill Community Centre were a playgroup in the mornings and volleyball and badminton in the afternoons. These same minutes indicated, however, that the playgroup would have to be discontinued because "there is not enough manpower". Dreyer and Naidoo's study (1984:16) shows that at the time the centre was also used for a playgroup for pre-school children and that afternoon activities included 'kerm',³⁶⁰ table tennis and gymnastics, as well as a club for the aged. The reasons for such under-utilisation could be that the community often has to pay a levy to make use of the facilities. The latter is a fact noted with disdain by the chairperson of the Ratepayers'/Civic association who reported that the high dropout rate meant that many young people are unemployed and they "start with wrong things",³⁶¹ whereas they could get involved with programmes at these centres

³⁶⁰ 'Kerm' is the Afrikaans term for snooker.

³⁶¹ This is a translation of the original Afrikaans: "begin met vekere dinge". The meaning here most probably refers to gangsterism and drug dealing.

(Feldman 2004:1). Williams (2004:5), reporting on urban decay in Lavender Hill, states:

And we won't even go into the dire lack of proper community facilities, which community leaders say are crucial in providing an alternative to joining the gangs. On Friday, dozens of children in almost every street had obviously been caught up in the wave of World Cup cricket fever – but there was not a single proper pitch between them, just dirt and cracked paving.

The lack of facilities has complicated but not stopped the efforts of local sports initiatives, which are presently lobbying for the upgrading of sports and basic community facilities.³⁶² The importance of such facilities are believed to be key “if the neighbourhood has any chance of ditching its reputation for crime and hopelessness it needs to offer people more than just smokkelhuise³⁶³ and backyard mandrax merchants” (Haw 2003b:2).

5.3.2.5 Literacy and learning

A key aspect raised by both the second *Carnegie Inquiry*³⁶⁴ and the Reconstruction and Development Programme Report with regard to literacy and learning was that the apartheid policies regarding education have created significant (and continuing) inequality with regard to access and quality of the various race groups (RDP Report 1995:20). The local high school principal confirms that this legacy is alive and well. While discriminatory government funding no longer exists, other factors³⁶⁵ identified by *Carnegie II* continue to perpetuate this state of inequality. In comparing Lavender Hill Secondary School's fee structures to that of a nearby former 'white' public school in a wealthier suburb, inequality is evident. While the fee structure for Lavender Hill Secondary is R325, “the vast majority of the learners cannot afford those meagre fees and if you compare it to down the road, a school like Swaanswyk just 3 km from here, their fees are R8000” (Manie 2004:2)³⁶⁶. This, the principal argued, resulted in a startling disparity in the quality of education that could be offered to learners in an area such as Lavender Hill – despite additional government funding:

³⁶² Two local initiatives highlighted by the community papers are that of the local rugby club (which has 80 interested children, but cannot practice on the dangerous grounds) and the proposal of night sport (netball and soccer between the courts) (Haw 2003b:2; Haw 2004:1).

³⁶³ The direct translation is “smuggle houses” but it usually refers to shebeens.

³⁶⁴ Cf. Wilson and Ramphele (1989:143,144).

³⁶⁵ These include inadequate teacher training and morale, classroom conditions and amenities for sport and recreation (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:143,144).

³⁶⁶ For a transcription of Manie's interview (2004) see pages 1 to 8 in Appendix C.

We get R400 000 from the WCED, which is the Western Cape Education Department. I must say the new government is trying to affirm schools such as ours; we get higher percentages in terms of the funding, but we already start on a low base. So when you talk about: 'we got an increase of say 30%', it's 30% of a small amount (Manie 2004:2).

Poor schools, therefore, remain under-resourced despite attempts to redress the backlogs and this often results in lower academic progress.³⁶⁷ Census statistics indicate that, despite a drop in the number of those who have no schooling whatsoever between 1996 (6.58%) and 2001(4.45%) and a significantly positive increase in those completing grade 12 (almost double at 12.53%), the large majority (81.56%) attained grade 11 or lower³⁶⁸ (Appendix D). The RDP Report (1995:20) argues that these indicators have a major impact on the employment opportunities available to school leavers and later result in further income inequality. The high school principal highlighted a similar situation when interviewed:

We did an informal survey last year: we had 42 who passed Matric, of whom only ten had a job or went to tech or university. Now we are speaking ten out of fifteen if my arithmetic is right. So about 80% who have not entered the formal job market of course earn some money in a casual job and so on, but those are just some of the issues or the reasons why many of our learners don't have jobs or see the need to continue their education (Manie 2004:1).

Quality, in an area such as Lavender Hill, is closely connected to availability of access to resources. However, it may also be attributed to broader socio-economic conditions, which may influence the ability of educational institutions to deliver quality education. Overcrowding was identified by Dreyer and Naidoo (1984:14) as one of the key problems identified by the schools in Lavender Hill "because it results in inadequate individual attention being given to pupils". At the time, Levana Primary

³⁶⁷ 'Under-resourcing' also refers to resources other than financial. For example, there are no libraries in the area (a problem reported by principals in 1984 during the Carnegie study), with the nearest one "far away and much too small to cater for the Steenberg, Retreat, Lavender Hill and Vrygrond communities" (Dreyer & Naidoo 1984:14; Trauma Centre 2004:39).

³⁶⁸ In fact, 38.4% had grade 7 or lower in 2001, and while there was a 0.17% increase in those attaining post school qualifications, a meagre 1:46 can attain this. For those who have not completed Matric, the community newspaper highlighted a positive alternative being offered in the community of Lavender Hill. A "Second Chance Learning Programme" was launched in February 2004, run by the New World Foundation and False Bay College, which "offers learners an opportunity to study Computer Practice and Small Business Management at National Certificate Level for a year" (Wolf 2004a:12). Adult education programmes are currently offered with regard to catering, pre-school education, basic life skills and computer courses, home management and workplace skills (Trauma Centre 2003:40).

had an excess of 440 pupils, Lavender Hill Primary an excess of 230 and Lavender Hill Secondary an excess of 30 over its capacity. At the time, the teacher ratio was 1:20 (Trauma Centre 2003:38; Dreyer & Naidoo 1984:14). In fact, the number of teachers at the secondary school has dropped significantly (from 50 in 1984 to 29 in 2004) and yet the number of learners remains the same (Manie 2004:3).

Intimidation by gangsters was identified by *Carnegie II* as a concern for principals in the area and in the light of the spate of gang violence in 2002/2003 it continues to be an area of concern (Dreyer & Naidoo 1984:14; MRM Consultation Meeting 2004:3, 4).³⁶⁹ In a positive report on the repair and upgrading of Hillwood Primary, the following was noted pertaining to the effects of gangsterism on this primary school before the upgrading: “several months ago Hillwood Primary School was at the epicentre of a gang war. It was not unusual for pupils and teachers to duck for cover as the crack of gunfire sounded in the streets” (Haw 2003c:1).

As a result, an initiative was launched to address the issue of security at the schools, entitled the Safer Schools Cluster. It is part of a wider group of over 80 schools situated in high-risk areas in the Western Cape.³⁷⁰ Other interventions included the tightening of security at these schools with perimeter fences, access control, alarm systems and security personnel in order to curb vandalism³⁷¹ (Manie 2004:5; Haw 2004:1). Gangs have also become key ‘catchment’ areas for children who drop out of school. The Moral Regeneration Consultation Report argues that truancy and high dropout rates result in young children, sometimes as young as eleven, becoming involved with gangs. This, it is argued, is closely related to a lack of identity and belonging amongst the youth:

³⁶⁹ Cf. following discussions in this chapter on ‘powerlessness’ and ‘children as the vulnerable’ for a brief analysis of the influence and scope of gangsterism in the area of Lavender Hill.

³⁷⁰ Mr Manie (2004:5), the High School principal, describes it as follows: “...we meet once a month, it’s a way to kind of clear the air, share concerns and problems and so on. And when there is violence or shooting in one or at a particular school, then we stay in contact and more than once we had to send the learners home early; at the same time we get the police to patrol...”

³⁷¹ Despite the programme being acknowledged as a success story by some, critical discussion revealed that others regarded it as not holistic enough as it does not make provision for addressing the root causes of violence and vandalism. It was further argued that in some cases it in effect perpetuates negative power and control and may have a negative psychological effect (MRM Consultation Meeting 2004:5). However, it is interesting to note that the Community Profile (2003:41-42) compiled for the Children and Violence Trauma Centre cite the programme as being holistic and involving three types of programmes: environmental (protection of physical structure of the school), behavioural (“geared towards the modification of parent, educators and learner’s behaviour”) and systemic (training, organisational development, safety management, networking, community development of school, call centre).

The social environment spills over into schools and the child has to adapt constantly to different types of discipline. A lack of identity and sense of belonging are key to getting involved with gangsterism. Many feel alienation from family and the broader community and live in three worlds: school (governed by discipline), friends (governed by peer pressure) and home (governed by survival), each of which exert pressure (MRM Consultation Meeting 2004:3, 4).

Dreyer and Naidoo's study (1984:14) had cited the key reason for truancy at the time as being that children are "left by themselves and this gives rise to truancy". What is indeed more challenging to such schools is that, due to the image of the school being closely attached to gangsterism, they attract children that are least able to attend schools outside of the area. The high school principle explains:

So you see the type of learner who comes here is the one who may not have the option to go to a so-called better school, so I'll give you an example. We did a survey last year and this year, and 39 of our grade 8 learners are functionally illiterate. From primary school, in grade 8, we've got 380... in fact they are not even weak, they really can't read (Manie 2004:3).

He goes on to explain that in some cases this may be due to factors such as Foetal Alcohol Syndrome. It appears that home environment and socio-economic conditions play a significant role in the performance of children. Due to the poverty of many households, malnutrition has been identified as a problem, which may lead to physical and mental stunting. As a result, feeding schemes have been introduced at schools on certain days of the week (MRM Consultation Meeting 2004:2; Manie 2004:1). Often cramped home conditions result in young children being exposed to the domestic violence and sexual intercourse of their parents. A primary school principal in the area, Mrs Claasen, remarked that such exposure often leads to children arriving at school uninterested, the result of a lack of sleep, and behavioural problems (MRM Consultation Meeting 2004:3,4).³⁷² In addition, some cases reveal a lack of parental support and the pressure, due to poverty, to work in order to contribute to the household (Manie 2004:1). Such factors, in turn, place a massive burden on teaching staff and have a significant impact on teacher morale. Furthermore, there are not many

³⁷² A 2003 community newspaper report highlighted the introduction of a schoolyard play, which was staged at Lavender Hill Secondary. The play focused on "providing solutions to learners – and to a lesser degree, women – who found themselves being enticed into or trapped in abusive relationships with their peers, gangsters, drug dealers and parents" (Wolf 2003c:17).

institutions where these children can be sent and no systems in place, which leads to a strain on the schools that are already under-staffed and teachers underpaid. The Moral Regeneration consultation (2004:3, 4) in Lavender Hill reported, “teachers in Lavender Hill were severely traumatized by the violence two years ago which Mrs Claasen says ‘broke’ teachers, despite de-briefing, and that there will never be enough support because there is a continuous circle of violence”.

It appears that much progress has been made with regard to pre-school education in the area since the 1984 study. Naidoo and Dreyer (1984:15) had reported that there were only two pre-schools in Lavender Hill, which in total accommodated only 150 children. In 2003, an Educare forum³⁷³ was formed, which assists in networking and registering the various pre-school education facilities in the area with Social Services. Examples of such networking include the organisation of a Children’s Day in September 2003, which brought children and parents together in celebration of the Educare Forum and a march against violence (NWF 2004:9). When the head of the Educare Forum was asked whether there were sufficient pre-school education facilities in the area, she replied that it

...depends on what you regard as Educare facilities. We have a lot of home-based Educare in our forum. We have about two, three, four schools that are in a different venue other than a home, and we have about thirteen Educare centres. So there’s about nine of us, nine of the people within the forum that’s based at their homes, because there isn’t space available within the community (Andrews 2004:4).

Funding is currently subsidised by social services and fees are often paid by parents on a sliding scale according to income (Andrews 2004:3).

5.3.2.6 The bitter fruit of powerlessness

Wilson and Ramphela (1989:152) and Chambers (1995:21) agree that at the heart of powerlessness, whether it be social, economical or political, lies the constant struggle of the poor as they seek to access resources that will enable them to better their situation. Unfortunately, this makes the poor both vulnerable to exploitation by the powerful and to feelings of anxiety and despair when they are not able to overcome their circumstances. A social worker in the area, when asked about the relationship

³⁷³ This forum exists as a sector of the Lavender Hill Development Forum (see Appendix H).

between powerlessness and poverty, noted that in many instances the poor have no control over their environment and life. This situation later creates apathy and an acceptance of the status quo, therefore becoming self-perpetuating (Isaacs 2004:1).

It is the nature of this struggle in an area such as Lavender Hill that causes it to be so vulnerable to crime and crime-related activities as one of the “most tangible social consequences of poverty is crime” (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:152). This was confirmed by the police officer interviewed, who proposed that poverty was a possible “generator of crime”. Today, owing to the high unemployment levels, it is reported that some residents resort to crime in order to buy the things they need (Scott 2004:1). The nature of the most prevalent crimes committed in the years 1982/83, as reported by the Steenberg police station, were the following: assault, theft, armed robbery, rape, ‘shebeening’ and drug dealing, and murder (Dreyer & Naidoo 1984:20). In 2004, the most prominent remain assault, attempted murder, drug-related crime and theft (Scott 2004:1).

The issue, however, appears to lie even deeper. Social and economic power exercised by gangsterism (which is closely connected to the influential drug industry) has perhaps the most devastating consequences. At the time of the *Carnegie Inquiry*, Dreyer and Naidoo (1984:4) discovered that the five gangs operating in Lavender Hill would “walk up and down the streets in their ‘territory’. They also sit or stand on street corners”. There are currently four prominent gangs (Junky Funky Kids (JFK), Boston Kids, Corner Boys and the Mongrels) in addition to many smaller groupings.³⁷⁴ These gangs continue to operate in territories, exercising control over certain courtyards between the blocks of flats (Scott 2004:2). However, today gangs are “tightly organized syndicates in control of anything from drugs and prostitution to perlemoen smuggling, taxi fleets, protection rackets and gun smuggling”³⁷⁵ (Merten 2002:25).

³⁷⁴ Among these smaller groupings the community role players cited common names such as Lover Boys, Hot Boys and Wonder Kids. These smaller groupings also include junior recruitment bases for the prominent gangs with innocent names such as the “Wonder Kids” or “Junior Funkies” and initially operate as social clubs (Scott 2004:2; Jordaan 2004:5).

³⁷⁵ These syndicates now also extend to prison gangs, due to the capital involved and extent of the activities of such syndicates (Merten 2002:24, Scott 2004:2). The dominant social system in prisons in the Western Cape are the numbers gangs, “each reflecting a modern state with its own parliament, legal system and army” (Merten 2002:24). Merten (2002:24) reports that “in recent years Western Cape prison gangs have become increasingly associated with gangs on the outside. Hence the Americans are ‘Twenty Six’ prison gang like the Sexy Boys or the Mongrels; the ‘Twenty Eights’ are found in The Firm”.

A community worker commented that many individuals begin by “smokkelling vir die pot” (dealing/selling liquor illegally to make a little extra), but that this leads to greater involvement and even death for those involved. While there is not a crime such as “gang violence”, the majority of the murders and attempted murders were reported to stem from gang violence in the area. It has become a norm in order to survive: the drug merchant pays one’s rent and utilities and in exchange one either becomes a dealer, or one’s house a storage facility for firearms and drugs. Often gangs continue to keep residents beholden because of financial need and insecurity. Often, the poorest residents are targeted and the impression given to children is that drug dealers are good people (MRM Consultation Meeting 2004:3; Scott 2004:3, 4; Jordaan 2004:6). Merten (2002:24), reporting on gangsterism on the Cape Flats at the height of gang violence, reports that it may well be that “gangs have largely replaced Council authority and filled the vacuum left by the lack of jobs, social services and recreation facilities. They organise everything from cash to school uniforms, a free taxi ride to hospital, rent money and soccer tournaments”.³⁷⁶

Fear and insecurity are obviously an integral part of such an environment where gangs exercise social and economic control. In 1984, the Carnegie study researchers witnessed police raids on flats and “school children being assaulted by a few gang members” (Dreyer & Naidoo 1984:4). Isaacs (2004:1) reports that children continue to be harassed by gangs on their way to school. A spate of gang violence in 2002 and 2003 on the Cape Flats led to the shooting of five children caught in the crossfire.³⁷⁷ Residents and community role players³⁷⁸ understandably fear the gangs. Scott (2004:3) reports that he believes the “most common fear is for the gang members. Lots of people get robbed by the gang members, they don’t report it out of fear. They don’t want to go to court”. Some, out of fear, even protect gang members from the police and it is therefore difficult to build up a network of informants from the community (Scott 2004:4). Such fear may be exacerbated by the apparent inability of the police to deal with such upsurges of violence, an inability which, according to the

³⁷⁶ Dreyer and Naidoo’s study (1984:4) cited the mother of a gangster defending her son in these terms: “He had to be a gangster.” With him being a gangster, she could still expect some food, money and clothes. “This keeps the family going.” Pointing to her refrigerator she proudly said, “Without him, I would not have this fridge.”

³⁷⁷ One of these children was a teenage girl who “came within centimetres of death when a gangster fired several rounds through the door of a Lavender Hill flat” (Haw 2003d:1).

³⁷⁸ Both the teachers and nursing staff in Lavender Hill were severely traumatised by the violence two years ago, which a local principal says “broke” teachers despite de-briefing and counselling (MRM Consultation Meeting 2004:3; Kochlen 2004:3).

police in the area, stems from a lack of sustained man power (Scott 2004:4; Contreras & Van Zilla 2003:11)³⁷⁹. Wilson and Ramphela (1989:151) argue that fear and uncertainty are often also exacerbated by alcohol and drug use. Dreyer and Naidoo (1984:5) reported that they observed “men walking with bottles of beer at 10.00 in the morning”. The police officer interviewed noted that liquor and drug abuse were still what he regarded as some of the key problems in the area (Scott 2004:2). The reported numbers of shebeens³⁸⁰ in the area are 47, as reported by the Trauma Centre’s Community Profile 2003.³⁸¹

The residents of Lavender Hill, however, do appear to be reclaiming their communities in the face of such fear and insecurity. Several initiatives were taken as a result of the situation during the period of gang violence in 2002/2003. The secretary of the Western Cape Anti-Crime Forum at the time stated the following:

The people who commit crimes are not strangers, they live among us...Why do we have to feel powerless? It is a handful of people who are holding us to ransom (Haw 2003e:1).

Such sentiments saw residents from Lavender Hill and its surrounding areas (Steenberg and Retreat) taking to the streets to protest against crime and gangsterism in the area at the height of the violence and the establishment of a neighbourhood watch (Wolf 2003b:8). Perhaps the most significant initiative is that of the launch of the Lavender Hill Development Forum³⁸² (a partnership initiative of community role-players in Lavender Hill) on 19 June 2003. This community forum brings together 23 community organisations and was born out of a vision to bring together a representative civil structure in order to focus local government’s attention on the area (Change, Best Medicine 2004:3).³⁸³ During this time, the mayor’s office sponsored the erection of a Christmas tree on the site of the piece of ground commonly known as the “battlefield”, where residents were to sing Christmas carols around the tree during

³⁷⁹ Another newspaper reported the Steenberg police station commander as saying that while her station serviced 240 000 people, there were only five police officers per shift and that 14 detectives were handling “120 case dockets at any given time” (Wolf 2003a:1).

³⁸⁰ Often commonly known as “smokkel huise” (smuggle houses) or “smokkies,” as illegal liquor is sold there.

³⁸¹ See the discussion on unemployment in this chapter for the relationship between economic powerlessness and substance abuse.

³⁸² See Appendix H for a pamphlet of the Development Forum’s structure.

³⁸³ According to the New World Foundation’s May newsletter (2004:3), the Provincial Development Council did not include Lavender Hill in their 2002 Urban Renewal Strategy (which focuses on urban/economic renewal, social renewal and community safety/law enforcement. The forum’s lobbying has resulted in the late inclusion of Lavender Hill in the strategy.

the festive season. The newspaper reports that, while there was initial apprehension as the “carols by candlelight were held over a weekend when four killings took place”, the residents nevertheless gathered together (Wolf 2003g:3). Anthea Petersen, a community worker with the NWF,³⁸⁴ emphasised the following aspects of such a gathering:

It was the darkest week in Lavender Hill and the challenge amidst all these killings was: will the churches go ahead with the carols by candlelight? Everyone was scared and locked indoors, but that Sunday afternoon the churches and Muslim religious institutions gathered together on the field and held the ‘Carols by Candlelight’. In the evening the lights were switched on and there were a carols by candlelight (Wolf 2003g:3).

The role of the religious organisations³⁸⁵ in addressing these fears are clearly prominent in the protest march organised by religious leaders against the violence, a ‘Healing and Restoration Service’, and a gathering on the United Nations International Day of Peace on the “battlefield” (Wolf 2003b:8; HOLI Newsletter 2002:2).

The community’s success in their own empowerment, however, is often impeded by the very state that seeks to improve their lot. Government bureaucracy is identified by Wilson and Ramphela (1989:161) as often resulting in “enormously” increasing “human suffering” and by May (1998:102) as being a “significant barrier for the poor when trying to access supporting services”. According to community workers, the state provides limited support in terms of grants, which is often “not in line with the needs of the people”, a fact that results in them continually being trapped in the cycle of poverty. Furthermore, these grants are not easily accessible and provide limited support³⁸⁶ (Isaacs 2004:2; Jordaan 2004:3). An informal conversation with a community worker revealed that, as a result of red tape, it is difficult to access unused sports equipment (R40 000) stored at the community centre for use by the youth.

³⁸⁴ New World Foundation

³⁸⁵ The Heal Our Land Initiative (HOLI) was initiated by a group of ministers and the New World Foundation with a threefold strategy (prayer, protest and proclamation) to address the issues of Lavender Hill and its surrounding communities and bring healing.

³⁸⁶ Isaacs (2004:3) revealed that the state provides R160 per child and R750 per pensioner per month.

5.3.2.7 The vulnerable: children, women, the elderly and disabled

The most vulnerable groups in society are defined as those who are most at risk to destitution via sudden (largely) socio-economic shifts in the environment³⁸⁷ (cf. Wilson & Ramphela 1989:170; Chambers 1995:20). For the purposes of this study and in accordance with the findings of the previous section, the following groups will be discussed with regard to their vulnerability.³⁸⁸

The findings by the Department of Health that children are most vulnerable to both poverty and to the environmental and health risks associated with it are supported by findings in the community of Lavender Hill. Llewellyn Jordaan (2004:3) identifies them as the most vulnerable group in a community, where, according to census statistics, 45.5% of the population are under the age of 19 years. The development of children has been found to be stunted by greater susceptibility to disease and malnutrition – the latter being closely linked to “maternal income, single parenthood and lack of sufficient day care facilities and supervision” (Wilson & Ramphela 1989:175). Current statistics reveal that almost half of households are headed by women (48.28%),³⁸⁹ a factor which in turn influences the vulnerability of children.³⁹⁰ Single-parent households were identified as being on the rise by a local social worker – a fact that was noted as one of the key challenges currently facing Lavender Hill (Isaacs 2004:1). Priscilla Andrews (2004:1), chairperson of the local Educare Forum, noted the problems experienced by female-headed households when asked whether children received adequate stimulation:

Once again, I would say it's a matter of survival. They need to focus on getting funds in. The children are just there by the way, they come by accident, you know? And so the mommy...she focuses on getting bread on the table, clothes on the person and that's about as far as it goes. If she can get them into a school, that's fine.

³⁸⁷ This includes the loss of jobs, economic recession, rising inflation and the dependence of family on the wages of lower income workers.

³⁸⁸ Dreyer and Naidoo (1984:18) identified the Lavender Hill Advice Office (situated at the Community Centre) as one of the key places for help with problems that rendered community members powerless and vulnerable, such as “maintenance, pensions, Unemployment Insurance Fund, sick pay and other work related problems”. Currently, the Advice Office is based at the New World Foundation.

³⁸⁹ An increase of 4.83 % since the 1996 Census for the area.

³⁹⁰ Census statistics reveal that there is an alarming decrease in marriages (from 62.13% to 24.21%) and a proportionate increase in those choosing to remain unmarried (from 17.77% to 65.16%) within the population of Lavender Hill between the 1996 and 2001 Census.

Findings that the lack of stimulation and healthy family relationships and inadequate play and recreation facilities may lead to violent and negative behaviour were also borne out by the findings. Jordaan (2004:3) identifies many of the children as developing serious behavioural problems as a result of a dysfunctional family situations. He highlights the following:

Although the children don't have the vocabulary to express...their hurt, they would cry. They don't have the words to express themselves and explain why they are crying, why they are upset and how they feel. I mean, this is overlooked and the child is quieted down: "vir wat tjank jy? Jy moenie vir nonsense tjank nie".³⁹¹ And especially if the children have to witness the swearing and the verbal abuse, physical abuse and the hopeless situation, they can't do anything and just have to stand there hopelessly, or go to the corner and withdraw themselves, you know? And when they're at a later stage, the impact of these social evils is revealed. You detect it in the early teenage years of the child, or from the age of six, seven, then it's regarded as "ag die kind is maar net stout",³⁹² not looking at really what is happening within the earlier childhood years (Jordaan 2004:7).

Much of this behaviour is modelled, and one of the key messages communicated to boys is "be tough, be a man" – a statement often connected with parental modelling (Jordaan 2004:7).³⁹³ Other environmental constraints, such as lack of privacy in cramped housing conditions, were found by the panel consulted to lead to the "exposure of children to the domestic abuse and violence of their parents during the night as well as sexual intercourse, as they usually live in the same room" (MRM Consultation Meeting 2004:2). The report further notes the following:

Zelda Holtzman noted that a psychologist at UCT argues that there is a predisposition towards violence (biological predisposition) in certain individuals and if you are in a violent community or community where this cannot be addressed or is seen as the norm, you are more likely to gravitate towards violence. Many children in such communities suffer from chemical imbalances due to prenatal drug and alcohol abuse by parents, which may lead

³⁹¹ The translation of the Afrikaans is the following: "Why are you crying? You mustn't cry for nonsense".

³⁹² The translation of the Afrikaans is the following: "Oh, the child is just naughty".

³⁹³ The Moral Regeneration Consultation (2004:2) on Lavender Hill reported that in one particular class of forty, ten out of the forty children's fathers were gang leaders.

to Attention Deficit Disorder (ADD)³⁹⁴ and Foetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS).³⁹⁵

Due to the poverty of many households, malnutrition is also a problem and this may lead to physical and mental stunting.

As a result, many of the boys in particular are found to be aggressive and display verbal and physical abuse towards the girls. Priscilla Andrews (2004:1), the head of the Educare Forum in Lavender Hill, further noted that children are also vulnerable to abuse by family and other community members:

I think the children are more vulnerable in a sense that we have a lot of unemployed people abusing them. There are more people, adults at home with time on their hands, who are not involved in too many things and they get involved in sodomy and they abuse the children. They feel frustrated and the children are easy targets to take it out on.

The lack of adequate play and recreation facilities was noted by Wilson and Ramphele (1989:176) as resulting in modelling gang behaviour. The lack of community and recreation facilities is evident in the previous discussion on powerlessness and well documented in the media. Several respondents noted the susceptibility of children in this area to gangsterism and drugs as a result of environmental factors. Llewellyn Jordaan (2004:5) cites gangs as recruiting via demarcated territories³⁹⁶ in which the children reside through innocently named groups,³⁹⁷ which initially provide protection from bullying incidents but which later lead to full involvement. Dreyer and Naidoo (1984:4) proposed this lack of facilities over twenty years ago as a contributor to gang involvement.³⁹⁸ Scott (2004:8) notes that children from as young as twelve years of age are particularly vulnerable to drug use. The use of the drug 'Tik' or 'Tik Tik',

³⁹⁴ ADHD is also commonly known as 'Hyperactivity Disorder' and is characterised by inattention, impulsivity and hyperactivity "that are considered inappropriate to their developmental levels". While the causes are not known, both environmental (such as unstable families and marital break-ups) and biological (such as prenatal alcohol or drug abuse) factors are viewed as playing causal roles (Nevid *et al.* 1997:470, 471).

³⁹⁵ FAS occurs as a result of mothers who drink during their pregnancy and thereby place their children at risk for infant mortality, birth defects, central nervous system dysfunctions and academic problems later in life. These children are also "at increased risk of hyperactivity, serious behaviour problems, and emotional disorders in childhood and adolescence" (Nevid *et al.* 1997:351).

³⁹⁶ In Lavender Hill, the flats are known as 'courts' and certain gangs are usually associated with different courts. Anyone moving out of their 'court' into another gang territory could be harmed.

³⁹⁷ For example, the name "Wonder Kids" is the name for the children's group associated with the Mongrels gang and "Junior Funkies" is that associated with the Junky Funky gang. Often parents are not aware of their child's involvement and will defend their children in the event of violent incidents (Jordaan 2004:5).

³⁹⁸ They cited one mother as saying: "the children need each other and that is why they play together as a unit. They do things together, grow up together and later become gangsters together".

more commonly known as Speed,³⁹⁹ is particularly popular on the Cape Flats. Some children become involved in the peddling of such drugs due to the financial benefits involved and the 'role-modelling' of gangsters in a situation of economic and social powerlessness. According to the police inspector interviewed, gangsters buy them food, cell phones, the latest name brand clothing and other material goods telling them that "your mother, that family at home, they're not your family, they don't look after you", in exchange for their services as drug dealers (Scott 2004:8). The impact of gangsterism is deeply connected to poverty: gangsters become the role models for the children and youth in the community.⁴⁰⁰ Teenage females are also often sexually exploited by gang members who ply them jewellery and other material goods at one of the most vulnerable stages in their development. Jordaan (2004:7) further elaborates that often even parents encourage these relationships, believing them to be innocent as gangsters often will wait until the age of consent and a crucial stage in the girl's education. Sometimes these young girls are later drawn into prostitution. Sex trafficking is identified as a key issue as "many young girls in such areas are being drawn or coerced into this – a practice which is very closely attached to drug trafficking" (MRM Consultation Meeting 2004:3).

The vulnerability of women, who make up 52.85% of the total population of Lavender Hill, extends to women of all age groups. Isaacs (2004:2) regards women as the group that experiences the most suffering in the community due to many of the factors identified in the previous chapter.⁴⁰¹ He sees this as closely related to the fact that women are forced to accept sole responsibility for the children when they are abandoned by the fathers.⁴⁰² He further notes the following with regard to the

³⁹⁹ Also known as "Crystal Meth" this drug is an amphetamine, which produces "high states of arousal by stimulating the release of neurotransmitters norepinephrine and dopamine and by interfering with their reuptake". Any level of dosage may be fatal as this drug is highly unpredictable and the effects of long term usage include heart attacks, vitamin and mineral deficiencies, depression, stroke, organ damage, lowered resistance to disease and weight loss. One of the most troubling aspects of this drugs usage in an environment such as Lavender Hill is that violent behaviour might occur especially when the drug is smoked (Nevid *et al.* 1997:353; *Cape Times Supplement* 2004). Locally it is "sold in drinking straws which are placed in an ordinary light bulb referred to as a 'lollipop' which is then heated and smoked" (*Cape Times Supplement* 2004).

⁴⁰⁰ The police respondent explains it in the following manner: "I'm at school, now I see this guy, all this chains. Gold, copper rings they wear. Hey look he's got this 4x4 now, mm, its easy, easy money..." (Scott 2004:8).

⁴⁰¹ These factors or realities include lower literacy rates, more difficulties in obtaining employment, lower pay, workplace discrimination and vulnerability through death, divorce or single parenthood.

⁴⁰² Jordaan (2004:4) points out that in some cases the fathers are in prison for criminal activity.

financial situation of many female-headed households because fathers default on their responsibilities, which results in women becoming the only breadwinners:

... they become vulnerable financially, and the fact that it is an impoverished area in itself means that the women find it difficult to survive and because they are in low paid jobs they can be replaced easily they don't have any specialised skills. They can easily be replaced by the major companies (Isaacs 2004:4).

Jordaan (2004:2) also refers to this issue and estimates the number of women raising their children as single parents as high as 65%. Andrews (2004:2) notes that many of the women live in a "survivalist" mode and that there is as a result no opportunity to for them to follow their dreams if there is a tension between doing so and "putting bread on the table". Women are particularly vulnerable to crime and violence, a fact noted by the New World Foundation's newsletter (2004:9), which states that "it is after all their children being killed, it is they who are being abused by their husbands and they are the ones who have to pick up the pieces". Jordaan (2004:2) reports that it is common for men who have abused drugs to become psychotic and that this has an enormous impact on the women "because of the pressure that they have to endure with violence" that coincides with this psychotic state. Women in the area have, however, been given the opportunity to address some of these areas of vulnerability through various initiatives.⁴⁰³

The elderly were also identified as a vulnerable group by the *Carnegie Inquiry*. According to Census statistics, 11.61% of the population of Lavender Hill are over 50 years of age, with a total of 17.86% over 60 years of age as heads of households. When one considers that over 10% have grandchildren residing with them and that 45.58% of children still live with their parents, the logical conclusion is that fewer children leave their parental homes to establish their own. This often means a greater financial burden on the elderly of the household and sometimes financial abuse:

...the pensioners are also extremely abused, by their children: 'almal is lief vir ouma, maar dit gaan oor ouma se pensioen'.⁴⁰⁴ Ja, and that's the reality. And there's a big fight amongst the children about who are taking care of granny, because whoever takes care of her gets the money (Jordaan 2004:3).

⁴⁰³ The NWF newsletter indicates the women's group at NWF participating in sex-trafficking workshops, an association with Gun Free South Africa (which has established a group in Lavender Hill), a march against violence and an income-generating sewing project (Sewing Project 2004:9).

⁴⁰⁴ Translation: "Everyone loves grandma, but it's actually grandma's money they're after."

Pensions are commonly used to supplement household income in poor, intergenerational households. For those who do indeed live alone with no family support, the R750 monthly pension covers very little other than rent. Isaacs (2004:4) argues that this often results in greater vulnerability to poverty. The elderly were also found to be vulnerable to feelings of “loneliness and abandonment”, which affects their ability to deal with sudden environmental or economic shifts. Isaacs (2004:4) notes, however, that neglect is not especially common and that there are facilities available that cater for the elderly.

The mentally and physically disabled are the final group identified by the inquiry to receive attention with regard to vulnerability. Lavender Hill currently has 660 disabled people.⁴⁰⁵ In addition to the mentally and physically challenged, the inquiry also included ‘weak’ households⁴⁰⁶ such as single parent households, economically inactive households or elderly households. The latter is of particular significance when one considers that most of the paraplegic or quadriplegic children born in Lavender Hill have had to be placed in foster care or in institutions “because the parents were unable to look after them” (Isaacs 2004:4, 5). With regard to mental disability, according to Llewellyn Jordaan (2004:5), many of the cases result from the long-term effects of drug use which leads to the psychotic behaviour of many of the (particularly male) users. In the early 1990s, Lavender Hill had the largest outpatient load on the Cape Flats. Currently, psychiatric patients are referred to the Day Hospital in the nearby vicinity of Retreat.

5.3.3 Conclusion

It has been illustrated that viewing poverty as seven interdependent dimensions of a single entity assists in the analysis of their interplay in a particular community. The social impact of the forced removals were clearly significant in exacerbating the poverty cycle in that it displaced people, destroying the tight-knit social fabric of the original communities and forming platforms for greater vulnerability to socio-economic destitution (which includes all the dimensions) and gangsterism. One of the

⁴⁰⁵ This includes the following categories of disability: sight (50), hearing (38), communication (24), physical (288), intellectual (112), emotional (124) and multiple (14) (Trauma Centre 2003:17).

⁴⁰⁶ Defined by whether the household has sufficient “personnel to fulfil certain vital economic roles” and whether the relationships are the expected ones in terms of household norms (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:184).

key threads running through the dimensions of poverty in Lavender Hill, and reinforcing them, is that of gangsterism.

5.4 SUMMATIVE CONCLUSION

The following may be regarded as summative propositions arising from this chapter, which will be interacted with critically at certain points in the next chapter:

- *Poverty is indeed cyclical and interlinked as “faces of a single entity”, as identified in the first section of this chapter. The seven dimensions of poverty identified play into one another, resulting in an ever downward-spiralling cycle, which is borne out by the Lavender Hill analysis in the following ways:*
- *With regard to ‘Work and Wages’, most Lavender Hill residents continue to be employed in lower-skilled and lower-paid jobs, and many rely on remittances and pensions as key sources of income where unemployed. Low income results in vulnerability to exploitation from gangsters, one of the most economically powerful sectors of the community.*
- *The state of unemployment remains dire twenty years after Carnegie II, affecting the ability of community members to escape from poverty. Women, however, are now the chief breadwinners in this community. The effects of unemployment are frustration and anxiety, which often leads to liquor and drug abuse, factors that remain evident in a community where illegal sale of liquor and drug dealing are widespread.*
- *The strong correlation between poverty, powerlessness and health is glaringly evident in Lavender Hill. Malnutrition remains a key issue, which leads to mental and physical stunting in children, later resulting in the inability to escape the poverty cycle. HIV/AIDS is stigmatised in Lavender Hill, as many in the community choose to be tested in surrounding community clinics. The spread of airborne diseases, such as TB, is exacerbated by unhealthy environmental and housing conditions.*
- *Many of the characteristics of poor living conditions identified at the time of Carnegie II in Lavender Hill include overcrowding, badly built and maintained housing, and lack of hot running water, all of which have multiplied in severity over time. Furthermore, a high unemployment rate has*

led to many not being able to afford their own housing and therefore becoming backyard dwellers. Children are particularly vulnerable to overcrowding and lack the recreational facilities that could contribute to their mental and physical well-being.

- Literacy and learning remain a challenge for the community in a post-apartheid context. Many of the schools are overcrowded and considerably understaffed in comparison to the 1984 study. *A socio-economic environment of powerlessness, vulnerability, poor living conditions, hunger and sickness all disadvantage children before they begin their education and often lead to high dropout rates and vulnerability to gangsterism and substance abuse.*
- *Poverty is profoundly connected to powerlessness in this community. Gangsters continue to exercise a high degree of social and economic power over the community, leading to fear, insecurity and ultimately vulnerability to exploitation.* Government bureaucracy also provides limited support to vulnerable sectors of the population.
- *In Lavender Hill, as in most communities, women, children, the disabled and elderly are often the most vulnerable to sudden shifts in the environment.* Children and youth are the most vulnerable to the considerable environmental and health risks as a result of low maternal income, high rates of single parenthood and insufficient quality day-care. They are, furthermore, vulnerable to the influence and role modelling of delinquent behaviour by the most powerful members of the community – gang leaders.
- Based on the above, it is evident that the community continues to face similar challenges to those they faced in 1984, much of which may be the lingering effects of the past. These dimensions of poverty have the severest impact on the children and youth, leading to greater vulnerability to gangsterism and its related activities, which further play into their remaining trapped in their circumstances. *Powerlessness remains one of the most dominant factors in addressing and breaking the cycle of poverty in this community.*
- Nevertheless, the community has begun to make significant and positive attempts to challenge feelings of powerlessness, particularly with regard to gang violence and their built-environment. These attempts include the

establishment of a united community front and several community role-players have entered into partnership. One of the most significant initiatives is that of the Lavender Hill Community Development Forum.

CHAPTER 6

CHURCH AND COMMUNITY: TOWARDS DEVELOPMENT AS TRANSFORMATION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The problem statement outlined in Chapter 1 posed the following research question: In what ways is the local church in the area of Lavender Hill acting as an agent of change in this area? Four hypothetical statements were outlined concerning the challenges faced, the theoretical approach and the possible strategies used by the local church in acting as an agent of change. The first statement proposed that Lavender Hill faces many socio-economic challenges that call for the holistic approach of *development as transformation*. The second statement proposed that the local church, particularly in partnership, is strategically positioned to facilitate development. The third statement proposed that for this to occur congregations, individuals and Faith Based Organisations in the area would need to be aware both of the socio-economic challenges that exist and their missional and ecclesial identity in order to respond in a holistic and sustainable manner. Finally, *development as transformation* is proposed as a holistic conceptual framework that outlines the distinctive missional and ecclesial identity of the church.

Chapters 2, 3, 4 and the first section of Chapter 5 sought to build a theoretical basis by presenting both theological and sociological frameworks regarding poverty, development, and the church as an *agent of change*. Building on the conceptualisation in Chapter 1, Chapter 2, argued for a theological conceptual framework of *development as transformation*. This has been argued on the basis of the need for a holistic missional framework that allows for greater dialogue between the various development debates, but provides a distinctive and balanced theological framework. It is followed by a description of the church's ecclesial identity as agent of transformation. Chapter 3 discussed the use of the *Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development (Carnegie II)* as a contextual conceptual framework. It further sought to discuss the *Second Carnegie Inquiry* critically in dialogue with transformational development and proposed transformational development as a widely applicable theological framework. In Chapter 4, the *Second Carnegie*

Inquiry's identification of the church as an 'organisation for change' and the challenges faced by the current South African church context in fulfilling this role were discussed. This was done to provide a macro analysis of the challenges faced by the South African church in a post-*Carnegie II* era, which in turn will provide a comparative basis for micro analysis of Lavender Hill in Chapter 6. Chapter 5 is comprised of two sections. The first part discussed Wilson and Ramphele's (1989) identification of the dimensions of poverty with reference to the current South African context. This was then used as a tool to provide a basis for a socio-economic analysis of the micro context of Lavender Hill. Findings indicated that this particular community continues in a post-apartheid context to experience several socio-economic challenges that relate largely to powerlessness and vulnerability.

Chapter 6 finally returns to the research question in seeking to firstly describe and analyse the extent to which the local church in the area of Lavender Hill is acting as an agent of change in addressing these socio-economic challenges. This will be done by describing the local church's involvement in the community and by utilising the theoretical discussions and conceptualisation laid out in Chapters 1 to 4 regarding the church's missional and strategic positioning. This chapter, therefore, turns finally to the local church of Lavender Hill: its clergy and laity, partnership initiatives and faith based organisations (FBOs) and seeks to test the hypotheses laid out in the first chapter. The first section of this chapter (Section 6.2), is therefore largely descriptive. It will describe the local church's understanding of the socio-economic situation, the relationship between community and the local church with regard to these challenges and the nature of their current involvement in the light of the findings of the fieldwork and questionnaires. This will inform an analysis (Section 6.3) of whether the challenges to the church as an 'organisation for change', as identified by Chapter 4, are relevant to the context of the local church in Lavender Hill.

This chapter further seeks to critically analyse the relevance of *development as transformation* as a broadly applicable theological framework. Section 6.4 will, in the light of these findings, conduct a critical analysis of the relevance of the use of the theological framework of *development as transformation* (as proposed by Chapter 2 and discussed with reference to the Carnegie framework in Chapter 3). Finally, Chapter 6 will propose concluding recommendations. Possible strategies for action (Section 6.5) will be suggested for the contextualisation of this framework for South

African contexts such as Lavender Hill, with reference to Chapters 3 to 5 and the resulting empirical findings of Chapter 6 (Sections 6.2 , 6.3, 6.4).

Theoretical and methodological triangulation, as outlined in Chapter 1, was used as a methodology in order to gain various perspectives and, therefore, a more representative picture of the role the local church is playing as an *agent of change*.⁴⁰⁷ Unstructured scheduled interviews were conducted with seven clergy of local congregations in Lavender Hill, who were contacted to gain an insider view of their awareness and understanding of these missional challenges.⁴⁰⁸ The clergy were selected on the basis of confessional status in order to obtain a representative sample.⁴⁰⁹ Furthermore, a “Church and Community” questionnaire,⁴¹⁰ was distributed to a relatively small sample of approximately 35 local laity from three congregations with varying confessional status (Pentecostal, Traditional and Evangelical).⁴¹¹ This was done to obtain the laity’s perspective about socio-economic challenges faced by their community, the congregation’s relationship to/with community and their perceptions with regard to their own congregational involvement (cf. Appendix E). This data was then statistically analysed using SPSS, a statistical/analytic software package (cf. Appendix F). As defined in Chapter 1, the definition of ‘local church’ includes use of the church as ecumenical body and church as believers in their societal involvement with voluntary organisations in the locality of Lavender Hill. With this in mind, a community worker from the local Faith Based Organisation was interviewed and secondary documentation regarding their work in the community was obtained in the form of Annual Reports. Furthermore, secondary documentation from the community’s religious forum and its related events will also be used. The latter

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. Chapter 1 (13-21) regarding research design and methodology for a detailed explanation of the sampling frames, data collection methods and data analysis employed. Limitations are also discussed.

⁴⁰⁸ The question guide focused on three key areas, namely the church’s awareness of the needs and priorities of the area as described by the contextual analysis of Lavender Hill, the church’s theological understanding or basis in addressing these issues and, finally, its concrete response (Appendix D).

⁴⁰⁹ According to the demographic analysis undertaken by Mans and Erasmus (2004:16) regarding religious attendance, African Independent Churches and Apostolic Churches were included in identification as well as other religious groups. For the purposes of this study, however, only theologically orthodox Christian groups were used to simplify theological analysis. Clergy interviewed covered Reformed, Traditional, Pentecostal, Independent/Charismatic and Evangelical groups. This sample represents approximately 20% of all 34 clergy in the area.

⁴¹⁰ It was decided to entitle the questionnaire “Church and Community”, rather than “Congregation and Community”, as the questionnaire had to be as clear as possible to the respondents who may have been confused by the latter designation.

⁴¹¹ This questionnaire draws loosely on section III (Congregational Identity) of the Parish Profile Inventory, developed by Hartford Seminary Centre. It touches on “important dimensions of a church’s identity”. In answering these questions, members reveal how they see their church, particularly in relationship to their community (Parish Profile Inventory 1998:244).

included the attendance of monthly meetings and community events organised by this forum from October 2003 to March 2005.

6.2 COMMUNITY AND LOCAL CHURCH: PERCEPTIONS, EXPECTATIONS AND INVOLVEMENT

This section focuses on the research problem of this thesis, which asks how the local church in Lavender Hill acts as an agent of change in this area. It therefore describes the local church's current involvement in addressing the social challenges described by Chapter 5. It thus attempts to investigate the church's relationship with the community. It furthermore investigates whether the church's understanding and awareness of these challenges are congruent with that of other role players in the community. The purpose of this section is largely descriptive, because it establishes a basis for analysis in the rest of the chapter.

6.2.1 The local church's current involvement

Chapter 1 defines 'local church' as comprising congregations, as an ecumenical body co-operating across denominational and confessional lines and believers operating in partnership with voluntary organisations such as non-governmental organisations. For this reason, each entity that composes the 'local church' in Lavender Hill will be discussed with reference to its community involvement. In addition, the local church's involvement in community structures has also been included as an additional dynamic in order to add further perspective to the character and extent of involvement of the local church.

6.2.1.1 Local congregations and individual believers

By and large, the majority of congregations are involved with relief work in the form of soup kitchens. Four out of seven congregations interviewed ran soup kitchens on a weekly basis (Rev B 2004:1; Rev M 2004:8; Rev H 2004:14; Rev A 2004:14). One of the remaining three identified no involvement, but said the following:

I can't really see our congregations being involved in anything at the moment. No community involvement, at present, to deal with any social issues at all. And it is not an ideal situation to be in. At the moment we're very focused internally, which is why we are not focusing outwardly (Rev C 2004:15)⁴¹².

⁴¹² For a transcription of Rev C's interview (2004) see pages 9 to 17 in Appendix C.

The remaining minister was unsure about his congregation's involvement as he had recently been appointed to the congregation. Soup kitchens were also identified by other community role players as common practice and appeared popular across the confessional spectrum, with the local high school principal mentioning two independent Charismatic congregations providing bread weekly (Manie 2004:6). Two of the congregations interviewed provide food parcels in addition to the soup kitchen, and one other church provides 'care packs'⁴¹³ to those families affected and infected by HIV/AIDS (Rev M 2004:8; Rev A 2005:14). The latter is a national initiative of their denomination to address the HIV/AIDS pandemic and is run by laity, with no direct involvement of the minister. One of the clergy consulted readily volunteered that soup kitchens do not really address the roots of poverty, which is unemployment (Rev H 2004:14).

Counselling services are another key service offered by all congregations, many of which are used for referral by other community role players. Both the high school and clinic referred counselling cases to local ministers. In a community such as Lavender Hill where women and children are particularly vulnerable, this is an essential service. The nursing sister in charge of the local clinic emphasised the following:

The church plays a major role and is effective as some churches do counselling and speak about safe sex and the importance of abstaining from early sexual intercourse. One or two churches have asked the clinic for counsellors to speak to their youth on these issues. I also refer women with domestic problems to their pastor or Imam or whoever (Kochlen 2004:2).

Clergy, however, are also points of referral for other services and further assistance. One minister cited a case of domestic abuse within his congregation, which resulted in his assistance in taking out an interdict against the abusive husband (Rev H 2004:5). Ministers are called upon to address certain issues at schools in a preventative manner and are called upon by role players to do so (Rev M 2004:8). One particular congregation has been pioneering in facilitating the training of lay counsellors in the community by networking with various NGOs and tertiary institutions interested in assisting. Their counselling network offers services to a broad spectrum of issues including drugs, alcohol, rape, violence, suicides, HIV/AIDS and cancer, as they

⁴¹³ More often than not 'care packs' for individuals suffering from HIV/AIDS contain basic dressings, ointments, vitamins and essential foodstuffs for the AIDS sufferer receiving home-based care.

“believe in reconstructing family lives” (Rev L 2004:24). They began with a group of 24 people (mainly members of their congregation, but also from other congregations) who were trained for sixteen weeks, after which they went into the community: “we started first in our church and then into the community and we’re still quite busy” (Rev L 2004:25). The training has grown to include other religious groups, such as the Muslims (Rev L 2004:26). This particular congregation has a mentoring programme for released prisoners, which begins six months before they are released and continues for six months following their release to facilitate a smooth transition back into society (Rev L 2004:27).

Another quite popular form of community involvement is the establishment of an Educare or crèche facility, which is often housed at those churches that possess buildings. Two of the seven had crèche facilities, and the head of the Educare Forum noted that the churches “actually get quite involved in the Educare centre. You get a lot of minister’s wives that’s involved in the Educare centres, establishing it within their church” (Andrews 2004:3). Partnership with the wider community regarding civic matters, are mainly cited as being through the community’s FBO, the New World Foundation (NWF), and the religious arm of the Lavender Hill Development Forum (the Heal Our Land Initiative). Most ministers interviewed stated that they had a healthy relationship with the NWF, which is currently assisting in bringing religious organisations together in order to address some of the community’s challenges. However, most were vague in their definitions of association and their levels of involvement (Rev B 2004:8; Rev. H 2004:16; Rev V 2004:13; Rev M 2004:8).

It is interesting to note that while a community development worker stated that very few congregations are directly involved in addressing community issues, he emphasised that believers in their individual capacities as community members are involved (Niewoudt 2005:7). This was confirmed by at least two of the interviews with clergy who, despite being of vastly different confessional status, admitted that their community involvement was largely through volunteerism by individual members of their congregations (Rev. A 2005:15; Rev B 2005:8).⁴¹⁴ In both these cases the individuals involved were laity who did not act in an official congregational

⁴¹⁴ I visited an after-school children’s programme at a Pentecostal church, which is run by an unemployed member of the church and is open to all children of the community. She feeds many of the children (out her own pocket) and while the congregation allows her to use the building, they offer no extra financial assistance.

capacity, but were supported by the congregation. One of the ministers noted the following: “I don’t see my role as getting personally involved. I think it should be from the congregation...My task is primarily to pray and be silent” (Rev A 2005:16). One of the Pentecostal churches where I administered questionnaires had five volunteers (both paid and unpaid) who assisted daily at the children’s shelter in Lavender Hill (Williams 2005).

6.2.1.2 Faith based organisations

The New World Foundation (NWF), which is situated centrally in Lavender Hill and is the most prominent NGO in the area, was initiated approximately 25 years ago. It sprang out of local clergy’s concern that they were only addressing the spiritual needs of the people and not their physical needs, “their housing, their unemployment, their sickness” (Niewoudt 2005:1). Originally begun by what is now known as the Uniting Reformed Church (URC),⁴¹⁵ it started with a soup kitchen and parenting skills training. Soon after, funding from German donors ensured the erection of a building to serve the broader needs of the community of Lavender Hill.⁴¹⁶ The organisation has gone through various phases of development, beginning with relief and welfare projects and political activism during the apartheid years to a focus on empowerment initiatives in the form of skills training in the 1990s, and finally towards an approach that integrates the former two with a more marked emphasis on advocacy and community mobilisation (Annual Report 2002:3-7).⁴¹⁷ The vision of the NWF is “Building a new world of hope, justice and peace” and it is noted by the community developer interviewed that the organisation maintains a Christian ethos and regards itself as a faith-based organisation (Niewoudt 2005:3). Even though many of the key employees are Christian, the programme’s scope and content are broad and not overtly Christian in character.⁴¹⁸ Current involvement is covered by three units,

⁴¹⁵ What was then known as the Dutch Reformed Mission Church (NG Sendingkerk).

⁴¹⁶ The NWF continues to be largely funded by the German donor, EED, and other funders who are not indicated in their report (Annual Report 2003:3). According to one of the founders of the NWF, this money is generated by church taxation money, which is then channelled by the German state to Third World countries (Niewoudt 2005:4).

⁴¹⁷ In 2001/2002, the organisation underwent a strategic planning process in order to determine the way forward for the coming five years. Following this process, they devised a new strategic focus, which lays down the vision, mission, objectives, roles and strategies up until 2006. This arose out of dissatisfaction with what was identified as the “handout process of the past”, which hindered community members from being self-reliant (NWF Annual Report 2003:5-8).

⁴¹⁸ Through interviews, event attendance and informal conversation it became evident that most key staff were Christian. This cannot be across the board policy as two names on the staff list are Muslim

namely “community mobilisation and empowerment”, “Educare” and “training”. The Annual Progress Report of the NWF (2004:1) indicates that this involves programmes which address a large number of vulnerable groups in the community, including women,⁴¹⁹ youth,⁴²⁰ children⁴²¹ and the aged.⁴²² The involvement of the NWF in the community is wide ranging and quite comprehensive in scope, and the organisation is seen to partner with government, fellow NGOs and other community role players regularly. Training is clearly a strong feature of its work and many workshops are offered to such groups (NWF Annual Report 2004, NWF Annual Progress Report 2003). Recent developments as a result of the envisioning process have shifted the organisation’s focus towards capacity building for the empowerment of local structures. The recognition of the necessity of a strong civic community equipped with “appropriate skills and knowledge” is recognised as the first operational objective of the organisation (Annual Report 2004:7, 9).

One of the key initiatives facilitated by the NWF (in partnership with the Social Development Directorate) is that of the Lavender Hill Development Forum (LHDF),⁴²³ which it is envisioned will be a “permanent representative structure for the area, to plan for the area and act as a mouthpiece to take up local community issues with authorities” (Kinnes & Associates 2004:2). As one of the key community organisations, the NWF is an instrumental role player in ensuring the success of the structure. Twelve sectors are represented by the structure, with one of the few

(NWF Annual Report 2002:9). The chairperson of the NWF Board of Trustees is, however, a minister of religion (Christians 2004:12).

⁴¹⁹ Women fall under Organisational Objective 3 of the NWF, namely “to empower women to claim their rights and to fulfil their rightful place in society by means of awareness raising and the transfer of knowledge and skills” (NWF Annual Progress Report 2004:18).

⁴²⁰ Youth fall under Organisational Objective 4 & 5. The aim of Objective 4 is “to equip youth with relevant knowledge and skills to make informed choices; to then use them as multipliers in the community”. Objective 5 identifies congregations as essential in addressing the problem of gangsterism: “To work more closely with specialized institutions, churches, schools, etc. in addressing the enormous problems surrounding gangsterism in our areas of operation” (NWF Annual Progress Report 2004:20).

⁴²¹ Children’s programmes include Educare as well as violence prevention programmes, and has the following objective (Objective 6): “to provide children with a solid foundation to meet life’s challenges. A special focus will be on equipping parents to strengthen the positive efforts of our Educare programmes” (NWF Annual Progress Report 2004:36).

⁴²² The aged fall under Organisational Objective 9: “to work towards the empowerment of the aged by service provision and impacting on negative practices and perceptions in society” (NWF Annual Progress Report 2004:37).

⁴²³ The Forum was established in August 2002, but a workshop facilitated by independent consultants in October 2004 revealed that, while some participants were positive about their progress thus far, others “were ambivalent and others felt completely disillusioned” (Kinnes & Associates 2004:2). See Chapter 5 for a more comprehensive discussion of the LHDF.

functional structures being the religious forum, called the “Heal Our Land Initiative” (HOLI). The NWF has played a significant role in attempting to ensure the success of the HOLI following an outbreak of gang violence in 2002/2003.⁴²⁴ Their involvement is based on the conviction that “the church would be the vehicle to provide a message of love, peace, and hope to a traumatised community” (NWF Annual Progress Report 2004:10). In fact, one of the aims of the NWF, flowing from its operational objective to “organise, train and empower the various churches, civic action and other interest groups”, is the action of supporting and strengthening the HOLI to achieve its objectives (NWF Operational Plan 2003:4). The HOLI was spearheaded by a group of ministers and relies on the support of religious leaders from all faiths to ensure its success, but participant observation together with secondary documentation revealed that the cost and infrastructure of many of the community events hosted by the HOLI were largely funded by the NWF. Letters of invitation were often addressed on NWF letterheads and until 2005 meetings were chaired by a NWF community worker (HOLI Minutes 11/9/2003; HOLI Letter 3/2004; HOLI Letter 10/2003). Most of the monthly HOLI meetings were held at the premises of the NWF and many of the events co-ordinated by NWF staff, the portfolio of one being congregations (NWF Annual Report 2002:9; HOLI Minutes 18/3/2004; HOLI Minutes 11/5/2004). Furthermore, the NWF has facilitated a workshop for ministers and youth workers in the area, which the researcher was asked to assist in facilitating in order to “find a common understanding on youth issues and how we as a church can build on these relationships” (Youth Workshop Programme 2004).

Another FBO working in the area, albeit on a limited scale, is Youth For Christ (YFC), a “non-profit, non-denominational, Christian youth development agency” (Youth for Christ 2005).⁴²⁵ According to their website, YFC runs a diverse number of programmes “aimed at preparing young people for the future and addressing challenges and problems that they face”. Such programmes include “shelters for street children, leadership training, HIV/Aids and life skill education in schools, job creation

⁴²⁴ The NWF, by all accounts, perceives the “church” as a separate entity. It should be noted, however, that they may understand “church” only as congregations. This reveals that they may not view themselves as part of the local church in Lavender Hill.

⁴²⁵ In 1998, YFC South Africa received the *Pan Commonwealth Youth Service Award* for its work among street kids. Their national mission is the following: “YFC South Africa exists to participate in the mental, physical, social and spiritual development of young people” (Youth For Christ: About Us 2005). Their regional vision statement reads as follows: “we will strive to ensure that every young person in every community in Cape Town in which we are active will have an opportunity to come to faith in Christ” (Youth For Christ Newsletter 2001:1).

programs for young adults and community development projects". It is in this light that YFC, soon after hearing about the discovery of a murdered child at Lavender Hill Secondary, offered to send a fieldworker to the school (Manie 2004:7). Although only one worker is based in the area of Lavender Hill, his work through their "Siyithemba" schools programme at Lavender Hill Secondary is highly valued by the principal.⁴²⁶ - YFC has had a field worker at the high school since the year 2000. This worker teaches life orientation and is paid a small stipend by the school. The school principal reports that his relationship with them "can't be better" and cited the leadership camps and motivational workshops as especially beneficial for his learners (Manie 2004:5, 6). Another strategy in partnership with the school is the "Operation Take Back Project", which focuses on mobilising students who have failed matric to volunteer "time and services to assist the local high school". A YFC newsletter (2001:1) cites the involvement of their workers in Lavender Hill as being successful, and mentions the following case in their newsletter headlined "Practical ways of 'reaching' Lavender Hill":

"Allen" is only Grade 9, and is already a notorious gang member, and active in the world drugs. Allen came into contact with Stephen-John and Lloyd (YFC staff) at Lavender Hill High School. Through their friendship he came to learn about love and forgiveness offered him from God. It was their privilege to lead this young man to Christ and it is their joy to disciple him in his faith, gently nurturing and teaching him.

Youth For Christ does not, however, appear to partner with the New Wold Foundation or local congregations as no mention is made of YFC during any of the role player or clergy interviews.

6.2.1.3 Local church involvement in civic structures

While no ministers' fraternal exists in the area of Lavender Hill, ministers do interact via the Heal our Land Initiative (HOLI), the religious (interfaith) sector of the Lavender Hill Development Forum (LHDF). Initiated by a group of (mainly) Christian religious leaders, including workers from the NWF, the HOLI came together

⁴²⁶ "Siyathemba" is a programme run by YFC, which places youth workers at schools on a full time basis, who then work alongside the school communities in order to "assist the schools to put systems into place to turn them into 'schools of excellence'. Youth workers who are deployed in schools run life skills education with the aim of empowering the youth to make informed decisions about life, reproductive health & sexuality issues...This project has a strong focus on working with the teachers" (Youth for Christ: About Us 2005).

to “address some of the social challenges that the community of Lavender Hill faces” (HOLI Information Document 2005:3). In October 2002, barely two months after the launch of the Lavender Hill Development Forum and during a period of heightened crime and violence in Lavender Hill, which resulted in the temporary closure of many churches and services in the area, the HOLI was launched. The need was identified for the church to “be used as a vehicle for love, peace and hope” in a community filled with “extreme fear and hopelessness” and one that many role players had given up on (Where is the Love? 2004:6). While the forum is an interfaith initiative and the Muslim community participates in key events, the Christian church is by sheer numbers the more dominant party.⁴²⁷ Eighteen congregations across the confessional spectrum participate officially in the HOLI, according to a register of participants (2004). Active participation by congregations, however, fluctuated widely during the researcher’s period of study. At recent meetings it was noted that, while a community crisis had given rise to the HOLI, the present relative calm has resulted in a withdrawal of some churches from active participation (HOLI Minutes 17/3/2005).

The Heal Our Land Initiative is formally recognised as one of the few fully functional sectors of the LHDF. The vision of the Heal Our Land Initiative is that of “impacting the community from brokenness to wholeness with a holistic approach” and its objectives are broad, focusing largely on the contribution that the religious community can make towards community transformation (HOLI information document 2005:2, 3).⁴²⁸ The HOLI’s threefold strategy in addressing the challenges

⁴²⁷ Muslim participation is largely through the Muslim Women’s Group and Darur Ragmaan youth on a committee level with Muslim leaders participating only at key events, as there is no Mosque in the area. It is also interesting to note that the name of this sector is not fully inclusive as the name of the HOLI was derived from II Chronicles 7:14, which states: “if my people who are called by my name will humble themselves and pray and turn from their wicked ways then I will hear from heaven and I will heal their land”. The scripture was inspired by “Transformation” movement’s prayer day, which has the same theme verse (HOLI Newsletter 2002).

⁴²⁸ The objectives of the HOLI, however, are not ‘faith specific’ and identify several broad ways in which faith communities can contribute to community change. It is notable, however, that even this list of objectives makes direct mention of the church, but not of Islam. The objectives are described as follows (HOLI Information Document 2005:1):

- To bring a message of peace and hope to a traumatised community
- To bring about healing and restoration of broken relationships
- To encourage the community to be all they have been created to be
- To give spiritual support to families and the community at large
- To show compassion and mercy to all who sincerely seek support
- To encourage the people to break the cycle of powerlessness, hopelessness, self-pity, despair, abuse and to take responsibility for themselves and their community

of Lavender Hill are prayer and fasting, protesting, and proclamation (HOLI Report 2003:1). A newsletter of 2002 highlighted how these three pillars were operationalised through a 24-hour prayer chain (cf. Appendix G), a protest march and a youth day during a particularly violent time in the area. The 24-hour prayer chain is cited as an alternative to confrontation, during which the families of gangsters “who have been traumatised by the loss of their children through the ongoing gang wars” and other key community issues could pray for these issues. The second strategy was then enacted through a protest march against the gang-related violence:

... instead of carrying banners denouncing the crime and violence, we were armed with placards bearing scripture such as: ‘Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called sons of God’. Simultaneously, we had posters lining the streets; on gates, fences and in windows of houses bearing messages of hope and comfort to the people of the area: ‘Blessed are those who mourn for they shall be comforted’, ‘Blessed is the man who does not walk in the counsel of the wicked’ (HOLI Report 2003:1).

The third strategy of proclamation appears to be strongest as most of the events that have become annual, such as “Carols by Candlelight”, the “Love Concert” and the “Healing and Restoration Service”, may be characterised as predominantly ‘proclamation’ events in that they seek to symbolically activate hope in a context of turmoil.⁴²⁹ Other events that proclaim this message included a peace vigil held in September 2003 on the United Nations International Day of Peace and the planting of a tree of peace on a piece of ground infamous for gang-related activity (cf. Appendix G). A glance at the programmes of such events reveals that they focus on either creating a space for expression of hope or sorrow during periods of community turmoil, or on conscientisation regarding a particularly pressing community issue. Pressing community issues that have been dealt with include the topics of family, non-violence, accepting and embracing difference, excelling above circumstances and drugs. Such events are also marketed as community events and are held in an open public space or hosted by a particular church. Ministers from the various

-
- To educate, sensitise and conscientise the church around the challenges facing the youth to make concrete choices, to enhance their potential and growth to develop as responsible citizens
 - To reinforce the identity and value of young people as an integral part of the community

⁴²⁹ Both the “Carols By Candlelight” and “Love Concert” are promoted as community events that bring a message of hope and cheer to the community. Such events are held, weather permitting, on the Blode Street Sport Field infamous for gang activity.

congregations usually participate in the programme together with schools, a Muslim leader and other community role players (cf. Appendix G). Such events create an opportunity for various role players, including government structures, to set up partnerships to deal with pressing community issues.⁴³⁰

Through the HOLI, the religious community has a representative structure on the Lavender Hill Development Forum, which allows the local church to engage with their community prophetically. As a result, community initiatives such as a “Crime Stop Campaign” led by the Steenberg Community Police Forum, or the threat to the adjacent wetlands area by development, are brought to the attention of the HOLI. The legalisation of shebeen activity in the area was also opposed by the HOLI in a letter addressed to the relevant structures (HOLI Minutes 13/4/2004).

6.2.2 Expectations and perceptions of role players regarding the local church

The inclusion of a religious wing in the local Lavender Hill Development Forum illustrates the importance that other community role players attach to the civic engagement of religious organisations (Kinnes & Associates 2004:4). Community role players interviewed⁴³¹ were unanimous in their belief that the local church did indeed have a role to play in addressing the socio-economic challenges faced by the community of Lavender Hill (Isaacs 2004:6; Kochlen 2004:2; Jordaan 2004:9; Feldman 2004:2; Scott 2004:5; Andrews 2004:3). However, despite high expectations, some felt that the church was often more of a hindrance than a help in building community (Isaacs 2004:6; Jordaan 2004:9, 10; Feldman 2004:2).

One of the most prominent contributions identified by role players regarding the church is that of value formation. Social workers in particular felt that the church (and religious groups in general) are the only institutions that could publicly and

⁴³⁰ Role players that have participated in HOLI events include local and national role players from various sectors. Partners in HOLI events from the local community include local schools, the Trauma Centre, NWF and the local SAPS. On a national level, partners include the Moral Regeneration Movement, the Department of Defence and even business in the form of Coca Cola (Carols by Candlelight Programme 2004, Healing and Restoration Service Programme 2004, International Day of Peace Programme 2003).

⁴³¹ Community role players interviewed included two social workers from two separate NGOs working in the area (Cape Flats Development Association & New World Foundation), a police officer, the nursing sister in charge of the local clinic, the head of the Educare Forum and the chairperson of the Civic and Ratepayers' Association. These interviews were semi-structured and included both questions regarding the socio-economic situation (informed by and utilised in Chapter 5) and questions regarding their perceptions of the church and her role and involvement (see Appendix A for sample schedule questionnaire).

powerfully proclaim the values of “love and peace” in the face of the kind of violence experienced by Lavender Hill residents (Jordaan 2005:1).

It's generation upon generation that are part of this cycle of violence where they are reared...that is a concern. Maybe the churches can break this cycle, if they can change those young lives, I think that will be good (Isaacs 2004:7).

As a value-based institution, one of its functions in community is that of providing a certain amount of stability, which in turn is provided by stable family units within the congregations. Their influence is perceived as having the possibility to be quite powerful in the transmission of values as illustrated by the following: “I think that if there is any institution or organisation vehicle that can be used in terms of transforming society, I think that the church could be it” (Isaacs 2004:6). Those who work with youth regarding sexuality and deviant behaviour identify the church as contributing “stability” to the community through moral formation (Manie 2004:7; Kochlen 2004:2). The “code of conduct of religious people” is understood by the local high school principal as possibly contributing to his learners leading a better life: “it can impact on school pregnancies, it can impact on the dagga smokers, on the boys who just beat their girlfriends and people who steal cell phones” (Manie 2004:11).

The youth were identified as a particular group that should be targeted by the church for action. The church should provide programmes to the youth directly to address the drop-out rate from schools and prevent and curb the involvement of youth in delinquent activities (Feldman 2004:2; Scott 2004:5). It was also suggested that in addressing the issue of youth in the community, “the church can perhaps focus on educating the older people to cultivate trust with their children and take time to listen to their thoughts” (Kochlen 2004:2). Some role players however already perceive the local church (inclusive of congregations and Faith Based Organisations) as a reliable partner with regard to youth issues. Referral appears to be the most common means of partnership with congregations regarding youth issues, with counselling and preventative education being most common. Youth For Christ (YFC) and the New World Foundation are mentioned as most often used for referrals regarding more extreme cases such as drug abuse and domestic/sexual abuse (Manie 2004:7; Scott 2004:6). Finally, social support was a key aspect which local congregations could offer the community. Llewellyn Jordaan (2005), head of Community Development at

the New World Foundation, appealed to congregations to be a places of refuge and service to the broader community during times of death and bereavement. Jordaan (2005), encouraging the participation of religious leaders in facilitating healing, argued that scientific (sociological) knowledge alone is inadequate in the healing of a community broken by gang violence and domination. An expectation therefore exists that only religious organisations can bring about spiritual healing. The use of ministers and a faith-based organisation in confronting a satanic cell at the local high school is surely one of the most interesting examples (Manie 2004:7,8). Active social support from community members in activities such as assisting the police in peacekeeping was also pointed out as a way in which the church could serve the community.

While the local church is perceived as potentially a help *to* or *for* community, local congregations were not perceived as truly involving themselves or understanding themselves as part *of* the community. Several instances were recounted of local congregations that were not sufficiently rooted in community. Some congregations were perceived as not wanting to bury gangsters on account of the danger to their equipment and safety to their members, a very real fear considering the rate of crime in the area (Jordaan 2004:9,10). However, the police officer interviewed said they were most often only communicating with the police in these same instances of crime (Scott 2004:6). This perception pointed out that some congregations are focused on self-preservation and self-interest, rather than ministering to the root causes of gang-related crime. The local FBO⁴³², despite being a member of the local church in Lavender Hill, expressed frustration that local congregations often did not express social support for issues that affected the community, but instead focused on the “heavenly” or spiritual pursuits of evangelistic campaigns:

I give them all the support with their spiritual tent services and with their evangelical campaigns...but it's another thing to join us when we have a march against crime...when we have a march against hunger, when we have a march against the shebeens and the gang leader and when we have a march against drugs. When “Bambanani” comes then they should join us in saying that this is what we're standing for in our community as a church. Then they are not there to give us that necessary support and I still think that there is a role for the

⁴³² This refers to the New World Foundation.

church in this community to support these initiatives and to make Lavender Hill and every community a better area to live in (Niewoudt 2005:5).

Another role player expressed similar frustrations in noting that congregations could do more and should be more preventative in their approach: “the only time...when you see these people is when someone gets killed, especially a child” (Scott 2003:3, 4). Congregations, in certain instances, were also not perceived as having the best interests of the broader community at heart and were therefore perceived as a threat to community, rather than a help to community. The chairperson of the Ratepayers’ and Civic Organisation complained of the following:

Churches occupy every building and house. The Pentecostal churches are business orientated. They occupy the community hall Monday night to Thursday night because they can pay. There are enough churches that are empty in the week ‘om daai kerk te gebruik in plaas van die community centre wat kan oop wees vir die jeug – veral die drop outs’⁴³³ (Feldman 2004:2).

This was a statement alarmingly echoed by another role player who, while generally positive about the church, questioned the motives of some church groups in communities vulnerable to exploitation:

I suppose the concern – and I assume the churches are not all necessarily honest, I suppose, in terms of being there for the communities ... in other words their motives are not pure but because the people are so vulnerable they are so quick to attach themselves to churches and to anybody they consider role players...and the church is full, but there the values may not be good, because at the end of the day they are only there to benefit themselves as a form of income (Isaacs 2004:6).

The above indicates a possible underlying lack of trust with regards to certain sectors of the church. It further indicates that churches are regarded as powerful community role players in a poverty-stricken community vulnerable to exploitation.

6.2.3 Church and community

It is obvious that the church is regarded as a powerful role player in communities such as Lavender Hill. However, in order for the church to address the socio-economic needs of the community, the church’s relationship with its community and awareness

⁴³³ The English translation reads as follows: “to use that church instead of the community centre, which could be open to the youth – especially the drop outs”.

of its challenges are essential in understanding the levels and character of community involvement.

Clergy of local congregations interviewed were acutely aware of the community's socio-economic challenges, with the top five challenges being poverty, unemployment, domestic violence, crime and substance abuse. Four out of seven identified unemployment (which they related closely to poverty) as the single socio-economic factor that has the greatest impact. This was followed by gang-related crime. Furthermore, three of the seven clearly identified poverty as being interlinked in nature and recognised that factors did in fact "feed off" each other and create a poverty trap (Rev H 2004:1-3; Rev B 2004:3; Rev C 2004:9; Rev M 2004:1-2; Rev V 2004: 1-3; Rev L 2004:1-3). These findings were irrespective of denominational affiliation. Rev V (2004:1) describes the challenges faced by the community in the following way:

...people are very vocal about drugs at the moment, the Tik-Tik, alcohol abuse, HIV/AIDS, poverty and the associated things around poverty, apathy. People are poor, but they are also...ja, they've been poor for so long. To get out of it is very hard even if it looks from the outside: 'why don't people just do something?' Ja, it's, it's very hard. Domestic violence and the people are frustrated. Now behind it all, all these things are also interlinked. Alcohol abuse, domestic violence, because of gender roles and the fact that men believe that they should be strong and they should be leaders. But, in society they aren't, so people often say, the men are not the role models, the woman are the role models.

The relationship between church and community was explored by a question which sought to understand whether clergy believed the socio-economic challenges identified affected the members of congregations. In this way, it could possibly be 'measured' to what degree community was regarded as a separate entity. The answer was an overwhelming 'yes', with most reflecting on the effects of these challenges on participation in church life. Issues such as domestic and substance abuse, poverty, unemployment and illiteracy were all identified as affecting members. Low self-image, family life and the inability to provide for family members are all cited as affecting congregants (Rev H 2004:1-3; Rev B 2004:3; Rev C 2004:9; Rev M 2004:1-2; Rev V 2004: 1-3; Rev L 2004:1-3). An overwhelming percentage (50%) from all three confessional groupings of laity who completed questionnaires cited

unemployment as the most prominent challenge, followed closely by crime (25%) and poverty (8.3%) (Appendix F:10). It was interesting to note that in completing the questionnaires several respondents felt that it was difficult to choose the most challenging socio-economic problem in their community as all were regarded as equally important. A cross tabulation of age and socio-economic factors revealed that young people between the ages of 16 and 24 overwhelmingly revealed that crime was the most important socio-economic challenge to them at 78.8% (Appendix F:9). When asked to respond as to how these problems could be addressed, 39% noted that job creation was the key. It is significant that this was followed by prayer and spiritual assistance at 20.9%. These were followed by crime reduction (11.6%), more congregational involvement (9.3%), the discipline of children (4.7%), greater government involvement (7%) and encouraging people (7%) (Appendix F:11). The role that the members believed the church should and could play, if one adds together spiritual assistance/prayer (20.9%) and church involvement (9.3%), is significant as it amounts to a total of 30.2%. This, therefore, closely follows job creation as an answer to socio-economic challenges.

Several statements regarding the character of respondent's congregations and their relationship to the broader community were posed by the questionnaire (Appendix E). Perceptions regarding church involvement in the community were exceptionally high (94%), with all denominational groups citing involvement (Appendix F:16). Furthermore, when asked to what extent their congregation was involved in solving the socio-economic challenge identified, 30.6% believed that their congregation was very involved, followed by 33.3% who identified themselves as being somewhat involved, and 25% who believed their congregation was not very or not involved at all⁴³⁴ (Appendix F:13). The latter is interesting if one considers that prayer/spiritual response and church involvement is perceived as an answer second only to job creation as a way of addressing the socio-economic challenges of their community. A high level of "bonding" within congregations is evident by the high degree of member orientation (58.3%) and feeling of family (88.9%) as indicated by the percentages indicating that they agreed or strongly agreed (Appendix F:4).⁴³⁵ This may also have an influence on the fact that 55% of respondents agreed or agreed strongly that they

⁴³⁴ A total of 11% did not know. All Pentecostals believed their denomination was very involved.

⁴³⁵ The Traditional group indicated the lowest levels of bonding both with regard to member orientation and feelings of family. However, these percentages remain relatively high (Appendix F:24).

had the same values and lifestyle as the people in the community (Appendix F:3). This was also found to be across denominations, with the Pentecostal group having the largest percentage of agreement (75%) (Appendix F: 15).⁴³⁶ When asked whether their congregation had a proven history of taking a stand on issues that affected their community, 64% felt they did; however, a significant percentage (30.6%) either did not know or did not answer this question (Appendix F:24). A Denomination Recode Cross tabulation regarding this issue revealed that members of traditional congregations indicated a high percentage on this issue, with no one believing their church was not involved. A startling percentage of the Evangelical group (88.9%) “did not know”/ “did not answer” (Appendix F:21).

One of the ways in which the local church’s relationship with the community could be evaluated is through the extent of partnership both with community role players and within its own ranks regarding community issues. The Heal Our Land Initiative is a symbol of the local church in Lavender Hill’s concern for community. Having been initiated by clergy together with the local FBO during a time of community crisis, it stands out as an initiative from the community for the community. So much so that one clergyman commented that he attended the HOLI as not only a spiritual leader, but as one who came to represent the social needs of the people whose spiritual needs he serves (HOLI Meeting 13/2/2004). Furthermore, issues tackled within this forum were related to community issues such as gang-related crime and violence, domestic violence and drug abuse.

However, not all clergy view church and community as being interrelated and nowhere is this clearer than at the interfaith forum of the HOLI. In a discussion regarding Christian ‘Coffee Bars’ organised by a worker of the NWF and open to all youth in the community, it became clear that some clergy made a distinction between ‘community youth’ and ‘church youth’. The community youth were perceived as disruptive and as a negative influence to church youth. Others present, however, made it clear that this was a false dichotomy and that attempts needed to be made by all concerned to form a united front. Ultimately, it was decided to focus on the church

⁴³⁶ This is interesting, particularly due to the fact that they felt they possessed similar values as those in the community. It appears that this question has an inherent fault and that values and lifestyle should have been separated. Lifestyle may be misunderstood to refer to wealth. Several respondents struggled with interpreting and understanding this question as it had the second highest “don’t know”/ “not answered” response (cf. Appendix E for questionnaire).

youth for the year 2004 in order to strengthen these groups first before including the community youth (HOLI meeting 13/2/2004). It was further noted at many of these meetings that, when events regarding community issues were held, few clergy attended or indicated interest (HOLI Minutes 19/8/2004; Niewoudt 2005:7). This is no more apparent than in the level of participation and erratic and often weak attendance of clergy at the HOLI meetings. According to Mr William Niewoudt (2005:4), the NWF facilitator of the HOLI, out of a possible 34 congregations in Lavender Hill, only 18 congregations participate in this forum. Attendance of such meetings was often weak, with fellow participants in attendance noting possible reasons for non-attendance by others. Reasons cited were that some misunderstood the aims of an interfaith forum and felt that it would promote conflicting doctrinal positions to their own. Still others were cited as being less interested in community issues than they were in evangelisation (HOLI Meeting 22/4/2004; Niewoudt 2005:7). Fear of conflicting doctrinal positions were temporarily discarded during the time of community crisis, which brought congregations together to form the HOLI. The fact that the forum is interfaith may also be a factor in some churches not co-operating fully. Furthermore, the participation of the New World Foundation in co-ordinating the forum is an additional factor. Despite the NWF being a faith-based NGO, it was perceived during the apartheid era as being too political by some clergy in its involvement in the struggle. One minister, in proposing why this was so, commented that when some clergy think of the NWF “dan sien hulle die ANC”.⁴³⁷ However Youth For Christ appears to interact with the community and other members of the local church and community in very specialised ways, which limits its impact on certain role players and sectors of the community.

6.2.4. Conclusion

The involvement of the local church in Lavender Hill varies in each of its forms as congregation, individual believers and faith-based organisations. While congregations are mainly involved with relief and welfare work and counselling services, their members are considerably involved in their individual capacities as community members. Faith-based organisations such as the New World Foundation and Youth For Christ, on the other hand, are considerably more involved in addressing the needs of the vulnerable members of the community through training, advocacy and

⁴³⁷ Translation: “then they see the ANC”.

community mobilisation. These organisations were, however, often recognised as not being part of the ‘church’ and were at times perceived as too secular or political. Interfaith and cross-sector initiatives such as the HOLI are also not consistently well supported by all local clergy. The local church is recognised by community role players as possibly playing an essential role in the community through contributions such as value formation, conscientisation regarding community issues and social support. However, it was proposed that congregations needed to involve themselves in initiatives that deal with the root causes of community challenges. Congregations were also identified as needing to be more significantly rooted in community. Congregations, however, perceived themselves to be rooted in community and involved in community issues in appropriate ways. It is significant that one of the key appropriate responses to community issues was identified as prayer.

6.3 CHALLENGES FACED BY THE LOCAL CHURCH AS ORGANISATION FOR CHANGE

This section analyses the response of the local church in Lavender Hill to the socio-economic challenges in the community with reference to the proposal in Chapter 4 that the church is an ‘organisation for change’. This encompassed a brief overview of the historical witness, call to action, and the various challenges faced by the broader South African church in fulfilling its function as an agent of change. This section will seek points of congruency and departure from the discussion in Chapter 4. It compares the macro and micro contexts in a post-*Carnegie II* context. It will draw on the previous section’s description of the church in relation to community, but will problematise some of the findings. Particular attention will be given to the local church in partnership with other role players in the community.

6.3.1 Historical witness and the call to action

Chapter 4 notes the church as historically being a champion of social justice and welfare (cf. Chap. 4:97-98). The *Carnegie II* Church, Poverty and Development workgroup’s interview with residents of Lavender Hill revealed that for some years there were no congregations in this area. At the time of *Carnegie II*, however, several congregations had been established, but were accused of “not being interested in us as people” and avoiding political involvement (Nash 1984a:8). Other accusations made against the church included that it was too concerned with spiritual matters (“often it’s

pie in the sky”) and took up spaces meant for community use (Nash 1984a:9). However, while congregations were not viewed as actively involved by a community role player such as the Residents’ Association, a faith-based organisation had been initiated. The New World Foundation was founded during this time and supported by the Dutch Reformed Mission Church.⁴³⁸ Section 6.2.1.2 for example states that it began with social welfare projects and also extended its scope to the social justice issues relates to the apartheid struggle.⁴³⁹

Despite such criticism, the church was identified by members of the local Residents’ Association, at the time of the establishment of this area, as possibly having been “invaluable in putting people in touch with one another and building community” if it (the church) had been present from the inception of this community (Nash 1984a:8). The church was therefore identified as an agent for and of community. Despite criticism, the church was being called to act with regard to the challenges this community faced at the time. Furthermore, Lavender Hill currently has over 30 faith communities and a Christian population of 74.09%, which implies great potential for change in this area (cf. Appendix D:6). Section 6.2.2 confirms that role players of this community believe the church to be an important role player. Not only is the church used to refer community members to, it is viewed as playing a role in value formation, conscientisation regarding community issues and in social support. The fact that the church is represented on the Lavender Hill Development Forum through the religious forum confirms the willingness of such civic bodies to form partnerships with the church (cf. Chap. 4:99-103).

6.3.2 Mode of theological discourse

The fact that Theology and Development is a fairly new discipline and combined with the late arrival of the concept of development within South African academic institutions does indeed present a challenge, particularly at grassroots level (cf. Chap. 4:103-105). Theological discourse within congregations and FBOs is often influenced by the presence or lack of training.⁴⁴⁰ This in turn influences praxis, which often highlights the inadequacies or contributions of a dominant discourse. In support of this statement, the summative conclusions of Chapter 3 may be cited as they revealed

⁴³⁸ Now known as the ‘Uniting Reformed Church’ (URC).

⁴³⁹ Through this FBO as ally in the liberation struggle and centre of community development, findings regarding Lavender Hill indeed confirms the findings of Chapter Four (pg 102).

that both Carnegie inquiries had identified the church's inaction as a result of a dualistic spiritualisation of the Gospel and an individualistic view of salvation. This was seen as due to a lack of practical training.⁴⁴¹ While no questions were posed to clergy about practical theological training regarding community issues, the aforementioned mode of community involvement on congregational level (namely relief/welfare and curative counselling) in Lavender Hill is one possible indicator. The latter modes of involvement are simpler to initiate and control, and require little assistance outside of the church.

Furthermore, according to the clergy interviews some, particularly the Pentecostal/Charismatic groups, still maintain evangelism as a priority. For example, one Pentecostal minister noted the following: "well I feel as I always felt that evangelism is, you know, evangelism is a priority" (Rev. H 2004:6). And while it appears that, other than mainline congregations who supported the New World Foundation's involvement during the apartheid struggle, certain other clergy still regard the FBO (by and large) as too "political". The latter is, perhaps, an indication of the widespread existence of dualism within local theology.⁴⁴² Therefore, the focus on welfare and relief when addressing the challenge of poverty may well be the by-product of a lack of holistic theological training. Nevertheless, at least two of the seven clergy interviewed mentioned Christ as motivation for addressing poverty (Rev. A 2004:3; Rev. H 2004:6). All agreed that addressing the scourge of poverty is necessary and even biblical (Rev. L 2004:19; Rev. B 2004:5; Rev. C 2004:14; Rev. H 2004:6; Rev. A 2004:3).

The local FBO, having firmly placed itself within a liberation theology framework during the apartheid era, has shifted its focus toward a more pragmatic approach. While it has indeed moved from 'resistance' to 'assistance', and offers almost comprehensive services to the community, its vision/mission statements and programmes reflect little or no theological basis (cf. Chap. 4:103). In fact, one could argue that this may be a contributing factor to the recent reluctance of participating clergy in the HOLI to have the NWF seen to be speaking for the local congregations

⁴⁴¹ To this end, *Carnegie I* proposed that theological training include practical sociological training. *Carnegie II* compiled a practical manual/resource book to be used by clergy and laity in addressing poverty and injustice (cf. Chap. 3: 73).

⁴⁴² A proposal, which will be discussed in greater depth by the next point, which focuses more specifically on "dualism".

in Lavender Hill, or as the facilitators of the HOLI (HOLI Minutes 19/5/2005).⁴⁴³ Local congregations in this area therefore want to reflect the distinctive redemptive identity of the church in inter-sector engagement. One clergyman reflected on the following with regard to the balance needed between relevance and the unique redemptive identity of the church:

...the church also needs its identity and the identity is the spiritual and universal, the all-encompassing...the relationship with God. That's what makes the church different from an NGO. But if the church is not relevant at all, it dissolves into an 'airy fairy'ness' (Rev V 2004:5).

These findings appear to support the assertion in Chapter 4 that there is therefore a need for a development theory that will address the non-involvement and charity approach of many congregations in this area (cf. Chap. 4:105).

6.3.3 A dualistic Gospel

The "airy fairy"ness" suggested by the aforementioned clergyman refers to a dualistic spiritualisation of the Gospel, which focuses purely on personal salvation, the spiritual rather than the material and the life hereafter. This view of the Gospel lacks holism, with the practical result being that evangelism is regarded as a priority and social concern is often neglected (cf. Chap. 4:105-107).

While a high proportion of laity (63%) indicated that they believed their congregation had a history of taking social stands, a disproportionate amount (22%) indicated that they did not know. The former view is not unlikely if one considers that all three congregations to whom questionnaires were administered are participants in the Heal Our Land Initiative (HOLI). All three congregations cited their community involvement as high and yet 21% felt that prayer (second only to employment) was the solution to the socio-economic challenges faced by their community. Prayer could possibly have been perceived as community involvement and would result in congregations not addressing these needs materially in addition to spiritually.⁴⁴⁴ While

⁴⁴³ Mr Willie Niewoudt, a community worker with the NWF and co-ordinator of the Church Profile, notes that one of the barriers to congregations partnering is the fact that ministers are "afraid that they will lose their identity...we don't want them to lose their identity. We don't want them to lose their learning and their teaching out there. They can maintain it and all we want is for them to buy into this whole movement of networking, of 'partnershiping' and sharing their expertise and benefiting the people in the community through it".

⁴⁴⁴ This is further reflected by one Pentecostal minister who when explaining his congregation's involvement emphasised prayer as the answer to the 'Tik' drug scourge (Rev B 2004:2).

most of the clergy interviewed indicated that social concern was one of the key tasks of the church, it was often not regarded as integral to the Gospel. When asked to describe the concept “Gospel”, interviews with clergy revealed that there was a definite split with regard to opinion. Traditional and Reformed clergy very clearly stated the importance of balance as illustrated below:

The role of the church is to bring people into a relationship with God and ...which means that they see themselves, ja, in the perspective of God. This also means that they see their everyday practical life in the perspective of God, which is the way, which is also *my* way in which I combine the social involvement and the practical things of the church and the spiritual side (Rev V 2004:6).

However, four of the other five (who were split between Evangelical and Evangelical-Pentecostal) mostly explained the Gospel in otherworldly or personal terms (Rev. L 2004:5; Rev. C 2004:3; Rev. H 2004:9; Rev. B 2004:4). While the congregations represented by these four clergy were all involved to some degree in the community, three of the four were mainly involved in relief and welfare. It is interesting that these congregations were Evangelical and/or Pentecostal and that they mostly viewed sin as individual and subscribed to premillennialism. Both the concept of sin and the Kingdom were explored by the clergy interviews.⁴⁴⁵ Sin affects how one perceives the scope of the Gospel – if sin is regarded as purely individual then the “good news” of redemption is only for the individual and any societal change can only take place through individuals, not through the transformation of structures. The concept of the Kingdom also plays a role as premillennialism, which is pessimistic towards life on earth, directs life to the world hereafter and thus places little emphasis on social change. Pentecostals and Evangelicals either perceived the Kingdom as future or confused the church with the Kingdom (Rev. M 2004:9; Rev. H 2004:9; Rev. L 2004:7; Rev. B 2004:6; Rev. C 2004:3). The minister from the traditional group perceived the church as needing to be worked towards, and only the Reformed minister viewed the Kingdom within the terms described by the conceptualization in Chapter 1 (Rev. A 2004:10; Rev. C 2004:3). With regards to their understanding of sin, three understood it as individual (Pentecostal and Evangelical), two as both

⁴⁴⁵ Both theological concepts are core conceptual building blocks identified in Chapter 1, which affect whether social action is viewed as an integral part of the Gospel and to what extent the Gospel is viewed in “otherworldly terms”.

individual and social (Evangelical and Traditional/Evangelical) and two as being more social than individual (Traditional and Reformed).

The weak and often erratic attendance of the Heal Our Land Initiative by clergy is further indication of the priority placed on addressing such issues in a sustainable and holistic manner. One could postulate that, if the Gospel is regarded as holistic (addressing the spiritual and material), then such initiatives would be regarded alongside Evangelism as important. Niewoudt (2005:7), a co-ordinator of the HOLI and NWF community worker since its founding, in fact highlights this imbalance of priorities. In reflecting on the involvement of congregations in the work of the NWF over the years, he had the following to say:

...many of our brethren out there have become so heavenly-minded that they are of no earthly use, and I think maybe to a greater extent it is still the case out there. People are not prepared to dirty their hands, come down and work where the work really is, where it really hurts... It's one thing getting people in church on a Sunday and it's one thing – I'm not criticising my brothers outside there I... give them all the support with their spiritual Tent Services and with their Evangelical Campaigns...but it's another thing to join us when we have a march against crime.

It is clear, therefore, that while the HOLI was initiated during an issue-based crisis, the emphasis of congregations is largely on the spiritual and, therefore, there is little enthusiasm for sustained social action. In fact, the New World Foundation itself is regarded as too secular and political, and is therefore not welcomed as a representative voice of congregations.⁴⁴⁶

6.3.4 Social welfare or community development?

It has been argued in Chapter 4 that dualism in turn “not only determines whether or not the church engages in social ministry, but also the character of their engagement”. That dualism and works of charity are dominant in the macro South African praxis are indeed reflected by the micro context of the congregations of Lavender Hill (cf. Chap. 4:107). As mentioned before, the two most dominant forms of community

⁴⁴⁶ The fact that its programmes reflect very little overt Christian ethos perhaps contributes to this perception, despite the organising of congregational participation in the community being an operational objective and their assistance in the formation of the HOLI. Like most FBOs, it has to interface with other sectors and serve a diverse community. It therefore runs the risk of itself becoming unbalanced by placing such emphasis on the material, that it loses its Christian ethos.

involvement by congregations are in the form of relief and welfare or a 'First Generation' approach. Soup kitchens and food/care parcels that provide direct assistance to those in need are popular, despite many congregations being the 'churches of the poor'.⁴⁴⁷ Educare centres, often housed in the church building or adjacent facility, are also common and may well be identified as welfare institutions as they provide a daily service and are at times formally constituted and registered with the state.

Such efforts have been deemed necessary and even appropriate responses to emergency situations, but they may lead to dependency and beneficiaries becoming objects of development. When beneficiaries become passive objects of development, the project runs the danger of lack of ownership (cf. Chap. 4:107-108; Chap. 3:92). This may threaten the initiative itself, as beneficiaries may then even act against the exact project from which they benefit, as illustrated by the description of a minister in Lavender Hill:

Ja, we started a soup kitchen there, although they stole our stoves and whatever. I don't know if it's the same people that you feed that steal your stoves and your pots (Rev H 2004:16).

Community role-players cited the usefulness of clergy with regard to referrals and counselling services and recognised congregations as potentially powerful role-players. Critique largely had to do with congregations not always being perceived as providing social support to the community or as addressing the root causes of certain challenges, due to a more spiritual focus. Only one congregation, from the seven clergy interviewed, truly moved beyond a welfare and relief approach through the creation of a counselling network. As a result, they have begun to train and thereby empower residents from a cross-sector of the community.⁴⁴⁸ This congregation's initiative is significant in that it moves beyond a 'First Generation' strategy in developing the capacities of people from the community to minister healing to fellow traumatised members of the community (cf. Swart & Venter 2000:488).

It is important to note that the New World Foundation as the local FBO appears to operate most firmly in a 'Second Generation' approach of Community Development.

⁴⁴⁷ Cf. Chap. 4:107 for a discussion regarding Korten's 'First Generation' approach.

⁴⁴⁸ The fact that individual believers often acting in an unofficial capacity volunteer with various projects in the community, is perhaps a sign of laity seeing the need to move beyond this model.

Empowerment initiatives in the form of training, advocacy and community mobilisation are core components of the NWF and its target groups (the aged, youth, children and women) are the most vulnerable groups in the community. This approach is one that has led them to attempt partnership with congregations in addressing some of these challenges.⁴⁴⁹

6.3.5 Harnessing the local congregation as a vehicle for development

Chapter 4 has argued that enabling the local congregation to be “the resource base for ongoing development” in any community would be more sustainable than a development organisation “doing it for them” (Gustafson 1998:40; cf. Chap. 4:109-111). In Lavender Hill, there is a clear indication that the New World Foundation, as the local FBO, remains the key “delivery specialist” in community development.⁴⁵⁰ Hammet’s (2000:199) proposal that there is often much contention with regard to their theological basis and relationship to church structures has indeed been recognised as an issue within the context of the Heal Our Land Initiative (HOLI). Furthermore, the findings in Chapter 4 suggested that, while individual believers in their personal capacities and FBOs are involved with development issues, congregations are not as involved with these issues.⁴⁵¹ In Lavender Hill, this is indeed the case when one considers that congregational involvement mainly falls into the categories of welfare, relief and counselling. Individual believers, it has been discovered, are often more involved in community but are often not well supported in financial or human terms by the congregations they are members of.⁴⁵²

Congregations as stable, non-partisan institutions are indeed able to often affect change where NGOs and government are unable to (cf. Chap. 4:109). This is clearly recognised by Lavender Hill community role-players, many of whom indicated that the church is one of the few institutions that can truly proclaim love and peace, a perception borne out by many of the HOLI events (cf. Section 6.23). As a moral agent

⁴⁴⁹ The NWF fits with this approach in several respects. The NWF’s focus is vulnerable groups (youth, women, children and the elderly), a key characteristic of the Second Generation Strategy. In addition, mobilisation and training is another key characteristic of the NWF. Their approach with regard to the LHDF and the HOLI indicates that they seek to support self-reliant local action (Swart & Venter 2000:488).

⁴⁵⁰ In positioning itself as the ‘development specialist’, the NWF may in fact be reducing the ability of congregations to own the socio-economic challenges in their community.

⁴⁵¹ Cf. Chap. 4:109 which cites Mans and Erasmus’ study (2004:11).

⁴⁵² This may explain why such a high percentage (64%) of the laity with whom questionnaires were conducted indicated that their congregations were involved in addressing the community’s needs. This is despite role player’s views that congregations were not sufficiently involved in community.

the church is further recognised as being central to the moral formation of families and ultimately society (cf. Chap. 1:22).⁴⁵³ The contribution that congregations could make in terms of infrastructure and human and financial resources varies in a community such as Lavender Hill (cf. Chap. 4:110). While some congregations do indeed possess church buildings and often operate Educare facilities from these, there are many smaller congregations that worship in homes, schools and community facilities.⁴⁵⁴ The financial state of most of these congregations is determined by their members, many of whom are unemployed or employed in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs (cf. Chap. 5:147-150). As a result two of the ministers noted that they believed finances to be a constraint to their church being more involved in the community. One stated that it should be kept in mind that “believers that I’m with in Lavender Hill, they’re also struggling themselves”, while another noted that as a church in a poor community, what they can do “might not actually amount to much” (Rev. H 2004:15; Rev. C 2004:7). These opinions perhaps reveal the powerlessness that clergy themselves feel in addressing poverty and its related challenges. These opinions also reveal that they believe that addressing poverty demands financial resources. Human resources,⁴⁵⁵ however, are considerably richer and it is evident that members are indeed taking the initiative. All clergy, however, do not appear to be supporting their initiatives in a structured manner and this limits the impact of their involvement.

Congregations, through initiatives such as the HOLI, have indeed proven to be a source of hope and encouragement to the community in a crisis time (cf. Chap. 4: 110). This form of social support is further sustained through the standard service offered by congregations in the form of counselling and moral formation through Christian education initiatives such as the youth and children’s ministries. Nevertheless, the former are largely internal and, while members experience high levels of bonding within their congregations, the challenge remains for congregations to be more visible in their external focus.

⁴⁵³ It is troubling however that in the previous section (which discussed role-player perceptions), a few congregations were cited as not trustworthy and only interested in their own self preservation.

⁴⁵⁴ One minister in fact noted that church buildings should and could be used for community initiatives as they are barely utilised during the week (Rev M 2004:11).

⁴⁵⁵ Human resources are identified as forming part of ‘social capital’, which refers to the “institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality of society’s critical interactions”. Social cohesion, as evidenced by such voluntary action, is identified as being “critical for societies to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable” (World Bank 2005).

6.3.6 Partnership across the divide

6.3.6.1 Globalisation: *Divide and conquer?*

The reality of globalisation is often a harsh one for communities such as Lavender Hill that are often marginalised from the mainstream economic, market and political processes. Chapter 4 has argued that Christian compassion and solidarity “will be the only hope of survival for victims of the global economic process” (cf. Chap. 4:111). Particularly through fostering civil society, the marginalised poor can be given a voice. The Heal Our Land Initiative is surely such an initiative on the micro level, which creates space – and may even provide a model – for religious engagement with mainstream processes. Partnerships such as the HOLI, which is both a partnership of religious leaders and a partnership of religious leaders with a representative civic structure (LHDF), are avenues for creating community and presenting a united front to combat socio-economic ills. Local ecumenical bodies such as minister’s fraternals partnership with regional, national and international bodies and social movements are another effective way of engaging with the social/political and economic systems and advocating for the rights of such a community (cf. Chap. 4: 113; Chap.1:22). Policy development on a national or international level that marginalises poor communities such as this may be one of the pressing issues that could be advocated for.

The *cooperative model*, which promotes harnessing the forces of globalisation to connect rich churches from the North with poor churches from the South, is one that is evident to a certain extent in this community (cf. Chap. 4:113). While the sample of clergy interviewed revealed none such partnerships on a congregational level, the New World Foundation is supported by German church taxation money intended for the Third World. It is significant that this funding began during the apartheid era. Crisis situations, such as the present African debt crisis, direct possible donor attention to searching for cooperative initiatives. In the case of local congregations, this would possibly need to be initiated through denominations or individual clergy themselves. Smaller non-denominational congregations that often populate communities such as Lavender Hill would find it difficult to initiate and sustain such partnerships.

6.3.6.2 *Uniting for redistribution*

Local inequality demands creative initiatives that recognise that, while there remain ‘many rivers to cross’ in terms of racial, gender and generational unity, part of a united witness is care for one another based on equal measures of love and justice. An *inter-congregational model* provides the opportunity for wealthier suburban congregations to partner with poorer congregations in areas such as the Cape Flats (cf. Chap. 4:113-114). One local congregation was identified as partnering in this manner with a local wealthier suburban congregation in the form of a soup kitchen. While none of the other clergy interviewed revealed the existence of such an initiative (and it is therefore perhaps even pioneering in this way), the character of the suburban congregation’s involvement is revealing:

This is a white church in Plumstead, the Presbyterian Church there. So, what happens is they make the soup and then they freeze it and then we go and fetch it and we warm it and then we go and distribute it to the people. You see, a lot of white people are not prepared to go into some of our areas. They’re a little bit scared, you know? (Rev. M 2004:8)

The *inter-congregational model* focuses on the exchange of technical expertise and skills, which are clearly not evident here as there is no direct contact with any of the congregation or community members in this example. It remains a relief approach, which clearly runs the danger of dependency and paternalism further exacerbated by the legacy of apartheid. Areas such as Lavender Hill are indeed areas with high levels of crime and violence, but it is precisely for this reason that such inter-congregational initiatives could be beacons of hope and light.⁴⁵⁶

The *servant-partnership model*, on the other hand, proposes para-church agencies as legitimate partners with congregations and the broader church (cf. Chap. 4:113). Through this model, redistribution of technical, financial or material resources could also be promoted. The relationship of the New World Foundation (NWF) as a FBO with congregations in the community is perhaps an example of this model. The NWF’s involvement in establishing and supporting the events of the HOLI has been

⁴⁵⁶ Another possible model is of course that of congregations in a particular geographical community co-operating and pooling resources to address one or two community issues more effectively. At present congregations co-operate through the HOLI. However, the HOLI is an interfaith forum, which is part of a community forum, and this makes co-operation more challenging. No ministers fraternal exists in Lavender Hill (ministers for the most part attend the Steenberg fraternal) and this may also hinder this model.

financial, material and technical. Many of the events were organised, financially supported and correspondence regarding HOLI events distributed and printed by the organisation. This model is not without its challenges as has been revealed by clergy's perceptions of the NWF as being too political or social. It remains a positive model, however, but demands transparency, high levels of trust between para-church and church and an understanding of the para-church as part of the Body of Christ.

6.3.6.3 Cross-sector partnerships

That the church is viewed as a highly valued institution within poor communities is supported by the feedback from community role-players in Lavender Hill. The previous section notes that role-players were unanimous in their belief that the local church had a role to play in addressing socio-economic challenges (cf. Chap. 4:113). Furthermore, most volunteered ways in which they partnered positively in particular with local congregations. An incarnational approach, however, demands sacrifice and risk if the church is to enter into the life of the community. The challenges identified in partnering across sectors in this community mainly concern fears that it will compromise its prophetic character and witness.

Interviews with clergy reveal that they believe partnership is desirable and even necessary.⁴⁵⁷ Most noted that networking is important as there are complementary skills and resources in the community. Working together is also identified as creating solidarity against the socio-economic evils faced by the community, which brings hope to the community (Rev. H 2004:16; Rev. M 2004:8; Rev. V 2004:15; Rev. L 2004:26; Rev. C 2004:14). One explained it as follows:

I think networking is important in the sense that some churches and organisations have strong points and others have weak points, you know? Now where the one has got a strong point, it can link up with somebody else again, you see. It's like the body of a person. The body has so many parts in it, all different functions, but they all need to work together and I think at the end of the day, it would be a very important factor in trying to address the poverty and some of the issues in our communities. And the church, the NGOs, the schools, the police and a lot of them do work together and to see where they can help. Like the church feels, 'Well, this is out of our jurisdiction, give it over to the

⁴⁵⁷ Clergy were posed two questions regarding partnership. One question inquired whether they worked in partnership with any other community role-players and the other inquired the reasons for co-operation or non-co-operation (Cf. Appendix D for sample interview schedule).

police', then we'll go to them, you know and again on the other hand, where the community feels, okay, the NGOs, 'This, this is a spiritual matter. Give it over to the church' and so forth, you see. So, I think by doing that, you can cover much more ground, because no one can do everything by themselves. You don't always have the resources, you don't always have the expertise and so forth, you know and especially given to the people that you feel specialises in that particular field. Instead of trying to do it then all by yourself, you know?

Despite such positive feedback regarding partnership, weak attendance of partnership initiatives such as the HOLI and reluctance of working with the NWF indicate that there are certain factors hindering full participation by congregations in particular. Mr. Niewoudt (2005:10), the co-coordinator from the NWF for the HOLI, notes that while many ministers pay lip service to the HOLI being a positive forum they seldom "buy in" fully:

They all give us the blessing, but they're always absent...and many times, they are there, but they leave their congregations out. I don't know where, I don't know why.

The tension between Kingdom ethics and dialogue with non-Christians, as evident in the interaction of local congregations with other religious groups and civic structures in Lavender Hill, may be one factor (cf. Chap. 4:114-117). The fact that the HOLI, despite being initiated by the church and a local FBO, has metamorphosed into an official sector of the Lavender Hill Development Forum (LHDF) has brought the local church into interfaith co-operation. As the 'religious' sector, the church is no longer the sole religious role player and, therefore, official events and meetings include the participation of Islamic religious leaders.⁴⁵⁸ While this is not overtly referred to by most clergy interviewed, one evangelical minister clearly stated that his denomination and congregation "would not align ourselves with a partnership, with any denomination, religion or organisation who are denying essential aspects of the Christian faith". Examples cited of such "essential aspects" were the "Lordship of Jesus or salvation by faith in Christ alone, you know those sorts of issues, the Bible isn't God's word". He went on to make a distinction between working alongside and partnering, which is clearly perceived as more intimate and involving greater

⁴⁵⁸ Despite the HOLI's objectives containing no overt references to any one religion and being broad in focus, community conscientisation events hosted by the HOLI often included prayers from other religious leaders, which may be unacceptable to more evangelical groups.

compromises of these essential aspects. While partnerships with other members of the local church were acceptable, partnerships with other faiths are regarded as unacceptable on theological grounds: “Would we form a partnership with a Muslim? No we wouldn’t, because theologically we don’t agree” (Rev. C 2004:16). The line between partnership and “standing together” against social ills is very fine, however, as illustrated by this quote from the same minister:

So as an example again, if we had to be involved with a demonstration against abortion we’d stand side by side with Catholics, Muslims, Baptists, Pentecostals, you name it, it makes no difference.

Yet, another congregation is also training Muslims in counselling and partnering with them (Rev L 2004:24). Theological constructs such as dualism and conceptions of the church as the Kingdom add to a privatised religion of dualism, which shies away from social justice and does not perceive a Kingdom ethic as being “available to all neighbours” (Sugden 1999:215; Covell 1993:170; cf. Chap. 4:115-117). The civic realm, therefore, may be viewed as “too political” or secular and therefore not within the scope of the church’s mission. This of course limits the practical scope of the local church in Lavender Hill’s influence if congregations withdraw from such initiatives, which have the ability to influence community decisions and even state policy through forums such as the LHDF. Mr Niewoudt (2005:11) explains the advantages of congregations being active participants in the LHDF as follows:

We are encouraging our ministers to be part of the Lavender Hill Development Forum. Once again, you cannot isolate, ja, you cannot isolate the one from the other. We have to see holistically. For instance, one of the sectors in the Lavender Hill Development Forum is, for instance, the Lavender Hill Housing branch, or the Lavender Hill Civic Association...If you have a housing problem, you go to the Housing sector to see to that. If people make a dump yard in front of your gate, you go to the Friends of Hope who are responsible for the greening of the community. They have a working relationship with the City, with the SPM – South Peninsula Municipality... they’ve got a direct line to them. They can call that direct line because the Friends of Hope, who are responsible for the greening of our town, have got that direct line. They can call that direct line and then you will get a quicker response to come and have your dumping removed from your front gate. So yes, in that way I’d say it is

important for the church. We encourage church leaders to support the Lavender Hill Development Forum.

The local church, however, needs to live within the tension of what Bosch (1993:95) identified as a “positive but sober attitude to the civic realm”. The tension between losing their prophetic and redemptive identity and involving itself in the social, political and economic realities of the people the church is called to serve is the challenge for such communities (cf. Chap. 4:116-117). Niewoudt (2005:10, 11) also emphasises that one of the key barriers to ministers involving their congregations in these realms is that the church will lose its identity. A practical example of this is the use of a Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM) representative as speaker for a HOLI event.⁴⁵⁹ Minutes from the HOLI meeting following this event revealed that, while many were disappointed with the speaker’s lack of understanding of grassroots issues, others “expressed misgivings about such events” based on another basis. The following was then clarified:

...these misconceptions should be dealt with in love and it should be continually emphasised that the HOLI’s intentions were not to promote/interfere with various doctrinal positions, but rather about bringing the community together around issues that concerned everyone (HOLI Minutes 22/4/2004:1).

Nevertheless, ministers do recognise that members of their congregations are members of the community and are therefore affected by the same challenges faced by all other members. They understand and feel compassion for the people of the community. While congregation members nevertheless appear to be moving beyond the boundaries of congregational sanction and acting as concerned citizens in the communities interest,⁴⁶⁰ many clergy still fear the civic realm. This fear may include partnerships with state, marketplace or other members of civil society. Positive

⁴⁵⁹ As a government initiative striving to co-ordinate the restoration of the “moral fibre” of society, it seeks to engage with faiths, but is not faith specific (MRM Promotional booklet 2004). It is important to note that this particular event was hosted by a Pentecostal congregation during an evangelistic campaign and was therefore significant.

⁴⁶⁰ Mr Niewoudt (2005:7) noted the following regarding this: “It is believers who have an individual, who have a personal interest in what’s happening around them, turning a dumper yard into a green area. Turning a dump yard into a little garden, a backyard garden, you know, but churches as such – very few of them”. He is referring here to the very successful ‘greening’ of Lavender Hill, which has seen little gardens cultivated by community members to beautify their community.

initiatives, such as those started by the congregation that networks and partners with several other bodies, are signs of hope for partnering across sectors (cf. Chap.1: 22,23).

6.3.7 Conclusion

It may indeed be the case that a possible lack of practical theological training regarding social challenges and the nature of theological training may be affecting the nature of the local church in Lavender Hill's action towards poverty. Despite the fact that most clergy of local congregations note that addressing poverty is biblical, a dualistic spiritualisation of the Gospel and conceptions of the Kingdom that focus life to the hereafter are also evident. Such theological departure points result in a prioritisation of word over deed, little enthusiasm for sustained social action and manifest in the domination of 'First Generation' strategies. Nevertheless, congregations are largely involved in 'First Generation' strategies of relief and welfare and are furthermore recognised by NGOs and other community role players as able to affect change where NGOs and government cannot. Findings reveal that the local FBO currently has little or no overt theological basis, but remains the key delivery specialist in community development in the area. Its lack of theological basis, despite claiming to have a Christian ethos, appears to be a factor in hindering its partnership with the local congregations. These congregations feel strongly that they wish to manifest their unique redemptive identity in addressing the socio-economic challenges of the community. Partnership is welcomed by clergy, but cross-sector co-operation with partners from state or other religions are not always welcomed – a factor which may relate to their various conceptualisations of the Kingdom. Nevertheless, individual members of congregations appear to be taking action beyond the official sanction of their congregations.

6.4 CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENT AS TRANSFORMATION IN THE LIGHT OF FINDINGS

It is apparent that theological issues are central to the praxis of the local church in Lavender Hill and that partnership initiatives are threatened by differing theological conceptions. In the first subsection (6.4.1), ways in which the theological perspectives of congregations in particular hinder or help the local church in this area to respond in

a holistic and sustainable manner will be analysed.⁴⁶¹ It will utilise the core theological building blocks of *transformational development* as identified by the 'Theological Conceptualisation' in Chapter 1 and the issues identified by the mission debate in Chapter 2.⁴⁶² 'Transformational Development' has been proposed by the hypothesis of this thesis as a broadly applicable and holistic framework, which may address the theological challenges the church faces in various contexts. The second subsection (6.4.2) discusses the suitability of this framework (as described by Chapter 2) in revitalising the praxis of the local church in Lavender Hill. The findings of subsection 6.4.1 and the contextual challenges highlighted by Chapter 5 will therefore be discussed with more direct reference to *development as transformation*. The church, described by Chapter 2 as an 'agent of transformation', will also be discussed.⁴⁶³

6.4.1 Theological perspectives and their influence on praxis

It has already been suggested that a dualistic spirituality is currently influencing praxis in Lavender Hill and that this is further influenced by doctrinal views with regard to the nature of sin and the Kingdom. Such theological views and their proposed influence on praxis will be explored in greater depth in this sub-section.

A lack of a holistic spirituality, which views the world as divided into two distinct realms, may influence whether local congregations, in particular, are perceived as places which serve community (cf. Chap. 1:22-23). The fact that some clergy make a distinction between 'church youth' and 'community youth' may indicate that they perceive a separation between the secular and the sacred. The result of this dichotomy may be the reason behind congregations' unwillingness to open their youth 'Coffee Bars'. In a community where children and youth are so vulnerable to the influence of gangsterism, teenage pregnancy and drug abuse, this action sends a message of judgement, not love. This may be identified as an a-contextual approach, which leads to a separation of faith from the situation within which Christians live.

⁴⁶¹ The data analysed here stems mainly from unstructured scheduled interviews obtained from the clergy as clergy are often the dominant theological shapers of congregations. See Appendix D for guideline questions for clergy. Questions were asked regarding how clergy understood certain theological concepts such as the Gospel, the Kingdom and the nature of sin.

⁴⁶² Doctrinal concepts such as eschatology and soteriology, the *Missio Dei* and the influence of a dualistic spirituality are discussed by Chapter 1 and their influence illustrated in greater detail by the discussion in Chapter 2 of the 'Mission Debate' (cf. Chap 1.4.2, 1.4.3, 1.4.5; cf. Chap 2.2.2).

⁴⁶³ And discussed with reference to the *Carnegie II* conceptual framework in Chapter 3.

Another possible indication of a dualistic spirituality is the separation of social responsibility from evangelism in describing the Gospel (cf. Chap. 1:23). Findings have indicated that while social concern has been identified as important, it is often not viewed as integral to the Gospel.⁴⁶⁴ When asked what clergy considered to be the most important task of the church,⁴⁶⁵ three of the seven focused on the presentation of the Gospel, referred to variously as “to present the Gospel”, “evangelism”, and bringing “people into a relationship with God” (Rev. V 2004:6; Rev. M 2004:3; Rev. H 2004:3). Two felt that the most important task of the church was worshipping God as this is “what distinguishes the church from every other organisation or denomination”, and two felt that teaching or training was the most important task (Rev. L 2004:3; Rev. C 2004:8; Rev. B 2004:5; Rev. A 2005:6). This question was posed to clergy with the end purpose of discovering their ministry priorities. Those aspects which are considered most important are prioritised and it is interesting that two of the three who mentioned a presentation of the gospel as important, emphasised that social involvement should accompany evangelism. It was, however, mentioned in a secondary rather than primary manner. A prioritisation of ‘worship’ may imply an emphasis on the vertical relationship with God to the detriment of the horizontal relationship with fellow human beings. Social responsibility would therefore not be considered a priority. It is significant that the two clergy who mentioned teaching/training as the key task of the church were significantly focused on equipping or supporting laity to minister to the needs of the community. The New World Foundation’s objectives and programmes, despite proclaiming itself to have a Christian ethos, are so broad in scope that they run the danger of being perceived as not addressing the spiritual realm.⁴⁶⁶ On the other hand, that prayer is perceived by members of congregation as an adequate response on its own may also indicate a dualistic spirituality that places spiritual action (such as prayer) above social action (cf. Section 6.2.2.3). The Heal Our Land Initiative (HOLI) presents a threefold strategy of prayer, protesting and proclamation and appears to address both the spiritual and material/ structural realities of this community. Furthermore, it creates space for people to express hope or sorrow and provides an opportunity for

⁴⁶⁴ Chapter 2 deals with this dichotomy between evangelism and social concern under point 2.2.2 “The mission debate: Shifts in defining development and social responsibility”. It traces the shifting emphases between evangelism and social responsibility, particularly over the last century.

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. Appendix D for guideline questions posed to clergy.

⁴⁶⁶ They nevertheless address the contextual needs of vulnerable groups in this community in a more sustainable manner and promote the church as a key agent for community change.

conscientisation regarding the challenges faced by this community. However, as an interfaith initiative, it perhaps rightly has no religion-specific spiritual objectives (cf. Section 6.2.2.3).

Both soteriology and eschatology were explored by the clergy interviews, as it is argued that they affect whether social action is viewed as an integral part of the Gospel and to what extent the Gospel is viewed in ‘otherworldly terms’. Sin affects how one perceives the scope of the Gospel – if sin is regarded as purely individual then the ‘good news’ of redemption is only for the individual and any societal transformation can only take place through individuals, not through the transformation of structures (cf. Chap. 1:22). Furthermore, if sin is regarded as being purely societal, then salvation was viewed as something that we could bring about through our own good works, by merely attacking and eradicating structural sin (cf. Chap. 1:23). An understanding of sin further influences whether evangelism or social action is viewed as two separate activities prioritised above one another.⁴⁶⁷ Three clergy understood it as individual (Pentecostal and Evangelical), three as both individual and social (Evangelical, Traditional/Evangelical and Reformed) and one as being more structural than individual (Traditional).⁴⁶⁸ Views regarding sin are however complicated by the fact that, while some understood sin to be both individual and social, one viewed social sin as stemming from individual sin and expressing itself through individuals within institutions:

Ja, I think sin is no respecter. You know, it is something that can be in an individual’s life. It’s also in a community. I think right through up to the political and governmental leaders, you know, of, countries, you know? Ja, it’s a major factor of a lot of heartaches in our world today (Rev M 2004:5).

This view would imply that individual change remains the sole key to social and change.⁴⁶⁹ Involvement in structures such as the Lavender Hill Development Forum,

⁴⁶⁷ Cf. Appendix D for questions regarding sin and its nature.

⁴⁶⁸ Soteriology is one of the key doctrines that shapes an evangelical theology of mission and an evangelical (and this would include Pentecostals and Charismatics) motivation for mission arises mainly from the “spiritual need of humanity” and in viewing this humanity as lost and eternally damned. As a result, other responses such as social action may be viewed as secondary and even “false and misleading” (Rommen 2000:340). Of course, Chapter 2 has illustrated that many evangelicals have come a long way in terms of viewing evangelism as pre-eminent, but it should be kept in mind that some maintain this dichotomy.

⁴⁶⁹ Two of the seven clergy interviewed were critical of the fact that some churches (it was hinted that these were usually the more evangelical congregations) were often very conservative and judgemental towards individuals who were perceived as not conforming to their standards regarding dress – such as

which seeks to affect structural change through advocacy and partnership, would not therefore be viewed as a priority. One minister, despite regarding sin in terms of personal sins committed by individuals, indicated that despite an emphasis on evangelism he believed that evangelism and social action should

... coincide with one another, like say for example, you can't preach to a person on an empty stomach...the Gospel is caring and sharing and loving and you know, we've got to give the Gospel (Rev M 2004:5).

Nevertheless, the 'deed' of social action is viewed as a way to 'draw' people to the 'word' of evangelism:

I believe you can give the Gospel in many loving ways. In helping people and also giving them the Word of God and to draw them. People must know that they must be saved; they must accept Christ to change their life (Rev. M 2004:5).

Such an approach, however, does not recognise social action as an equal component of the Gospel and continues to uphold the supremacy of evangelism.⁴⁷⁰ The results of such an approach were proposed by Chapter 2 in its discussion regarding the 'Evangelical Debate' as resulting in a dominant relief/welfare approach (cf. Chap. 2:44-46). Findings mentioned by the previous section of this chapter confirm that those congregations that viewed the Gospel as purely 'spiritual' tended to remain firmly within a First Generation paradigm of relief and welfare (cf. Section 6.3.3). The traditional church regarded sin as being more structural than individual:

I certainly do see it as universal...universal in the sense that it is not so much an individual thing. It is structural. The fact that certain individuals have to make a choice, yes, but it's usually individuals who get together and make a structure out of it, that brings about certain evils, which exclude God. So sin is universal in a sense that, that it is the group not recognising the presence of God, particularly in Christ Jesus. 'This is the Lamb of God. Behold He who takes

women not wearing a hat or skirt to services – or behaviour. This non-conforming behaviour was often perceived as tantamount to sin (Rev. V 2004:7; Rev. L 2004:15). This is further cited as a hindrance to the youth, a key vulnerable group in this community, feeling welcome and accepted by the church (Rev. H 2004:3).

⁴⁷⁰ This viewpoint advocates social action as a means to make people more 'vulnerable' to evangelism. Motivation for social action is therefore secondary and based on the presupposition that evangelism (and therefore spiritual need) remains primary. During the early years of evangelicals' involvement in social action, this was often the dominant position taken and resultantly their action was often in the form of the establishment of relief and welfare organisations.

away the sin, the one sin of the world'. So it's not the individual sins of people (Rev A 2005:10).

The aforementioned congregation would, therefore, place a higher priority on social action than evangelism, a fact which is confirmed by the questionnaires conducted with this same congregation.⁴⁷¹ Members of this congregation felt that they were very involved in their community. Unlike the other two congregations with whom questionnaires were conducted, only two of the fifteen respondents suggested a spiritual response to the challenges facing their community. Despite it not being a holistic response, such a congregation would show higher levels of community involvement. The most holistic involvement identified from the sample, however, is shown by a church that may be viewed as coming from a traditional or "mainline" denomination and evidencing an evangelical theology. The minister emphasises that he saw social action and evangelism "together", but it is interesting that despite their work across different sectors, he views sin in a personal manner:

For the people who don't know sin, people who didn't accept Christ yet, who live in sin under the bondage of Satan. But as soon as he accepts Christ as Personal Saviour, then all the lights go on. You see everything in a totally new dimension and the minute the Holy Spirit comes into your life, He will convict you. Say for the first day you, have accepted Christ today and tomorrow you go to work, you see a total new day. And you were somebody in the past who used to steal and you came to that, point where you want to steal again, the Holy Spirit will convict you and say, 'No, this is sin, whether it's small, big' (Rev L. 2004:13).

Their focus, however, may be explained by the fact that this congregation focuses mainly on the individual and their maladies through their counselling network, rather than on structures. Despite this focus on the individual, this minister emphasises that healing needs to be holistic based on the fact of God having

...created us three-dimensionally. Body, soul and spirit...He never just created the spiritual world, he never just created the physical one, but because the

⁴⁷¹ The findings of the questionnaire indicated that members of this Traditional congregation felt their church placed little or no emphasis on personal conversion, but indicated the highest levels of congregational involvement (cf. Appendix G). This would perhaps suggest the placement of this congregation within a more theologically liberal paradigm which emphasises love of neighbour above the message of eternal salvation (cf. Chap. 2:38).

church sort of primarily sees the need to feed the spiritual man only, the physical man suffers (Rev. L 2004:18).

Eschatology has also been proposed by Chapters 2 and 3 as a key to unlocking involvement in community transformation. The concept of the Kingdom plays a role as it relates directly to certain confessional groupings' view of "God's work in the world today and God's agenda for the future" (Snyder 1999:118; cf. Chap. 1:27-30). One set of views has been identified as being pessimistic towards life on earth, directing life to the world hereafter. It therefore places little emphasis on social change, while other theologies of the Kingdom proclaim that it can be worked towards and attained by human effort. Clergy were therefore asked to describe their understanding of the Kingdom (cf. Appendix B). Only the Reformed minister viewed the Kingdom within the terms described by the conceptualisation in Chapter 1 (Rev. V 2004:3). The minister from the traditional group, despite emphasising the Kingdom as a community where the "values of God are being lived out on a daily basis", viewed the Kingdom as needing to be worked towards: "the idea is that the church must *work towards* the Kingdom of God to the extent that the church gets rid of itself" (Rev. A 2005:12, 13).⁴⁷²

Pentecostals and Evangelicals in this area were found to either perceive the Kingdom as future and heavenly or confused the church with the Kingdom (Rev. M 2004:9; Rev. H 2004:9; Rev. L 2004:7; Rev. B 2004:6; Rev. C 2004:3). An example of it being understood as future and heavenly is illustrated below:

I understand the Kingdom of God as being established. Jesus Christ will sit at the throne of His father David and I believe the throne of His father David was on earth. And I believe it's going to be as the Bible says in Revelation 21 that there will be no more tears, no more death and no more pain and the first things will pass away and all the earth become new. And there will be a new establishment with Christ reigning and ruling with a rod of iron. People have to adhere to His rule, to His law. We will have a new, heaven and a new earth.

⁴⁷² This view veers dangerously close to emphasising that the Kingdom of God could be "attained through human effort". Social responsibility may, therefore be placed above evangelism and touches on an understanding of the *Missio Dei*. In this view, mission is regarded as humanisation, not holistic salvation. While the values of the Kingdom must indeed be proclaimed and lived out over and against the powers of this *kosmos*, the church will never be able to "get rid of itself" by human effort alone. A congregation influenced by this view would place an emphasis on social responsibility (which this particular congregation does) over and above individual salvation. (Cf. Chap. 1:26). Findings of the questionnaires indicated that the majority of this congregation felt that little or no importance was given to individual salvation (Cf. Appendix F).

Well, I believe that He will sit on the throne of His father, David. He will rule for a thousand years and we're going to be with Him and I believe that we're going to have what...what the world has desired from the beginning of the ages. God is going to establish His Kingdom on this very earth. On this very earth (Rev. H 2004:9, 10).

Those that perceived the Kingdom as future and literal subscribed to a premillennial view, a view which could lead to the justification of apathy, quietism and paralysis by the church as it awaits Christ's return (cf. Chap. 1:30). This, it was discovered, is not always the case. Some of the clergy who promote premillennial views recognise the need for social action based on the example of Christ's loving service; however, actions regarding the challenges of the community are purely within the relief/charity mode. A relief approach addresses the results rather than the structural justice issues, which may lie at the roots of these challenges.⁴⁷³ It may then be suggested that the fact that a premillennial view does not regard the content of the Reign of God as being socio-political, while not fully cancelling out the Golden Rule of love of neighbour, may hinder holistic congregational involvement that seeks sustainable structural transformation (cf. Chap. 4:111-113). The reluctance of congregations to involve themselves through the HOLI in a sustainable manner beyond a period of community crises and lack of commitment may illustrate a lack of understanding of the Kingdom as having socio-political content (cf. Chap. 1:28-29).

Furthermore, views regarding the Kingdom influence how the church understands its identity, and flowing from this, the character of its mission. The church is not the Kingdom but an agent of the Kingdom as the community under Christ's rule (cf. Chap. 2:53). As such, the church is to embody and proclaim the values of the Kingdom over and against the values of this world. The ethics of love is to be modelled by the church as the community of faith and the message of *shalom* proclaimed – the eschatological future makes demands on the present (cf. Chap. 1:29-30). It follows, therefore, that if the Kingdom is limited to the church, then the

⁴⁷³ A significant percentage of the traditional group, who subscribe to an understanding of the Kingdom as being attainable through human effort and place greater emphasis on social responsibility than on evangelism, believed that their congregation was significantly involved in addressing social justice issues. Evangelicals, who place an emphasis on the supremacy of evangelism and generally view the church as the Kingdom or the Kingdom as future and heavenly, revealed that a startling percentage (88%) either "did not know/ did not answer" this question. The latter points to the possibility that these congregations were either not involved or that respondents did not answer the question due to confusion surrounding the meaning of the question.

church's influence beyond itself is perceived as limited. If such ethics are abandoned by the church and not recognised as needing to be proclaimed beyond the church, then, as Sugden (1999:215) suggests, the Lordship of Christ over all aspects of life and living are not recognised. This, by implication, reduces faith to the personal and internal belief promoted by a dualistic spiritualisation of the Gospel (cf. Chap. 1:22; Chap. 4:116). It has already been suggested that a reluctance to partner with structures perceived as outside of the church, such as the Lavender Hill Development Forum, Heal Our Land Initiative (HOLI) and even the New World Foundation, may be the result of such a perception.⁴⁷⁴ It is interesting, however, that the church is recognised by role-players as one of the few institutions that proclaims love and peace and which brings a message of hope to communities.⁴⁷⁵

The influence of eschatology may also perhaps lead congregations, who are influenced by the pessimism of premillennialism, to offer support and comfort to those seeking shelter away from the evil present reality of this *kosmos*. The high levels of bonding indicated by overwhelming levels of member orientation (58%) and feeling of family (88.9%) perhaps indicate that members perceived their congregations to be such places. The fact that counselling is one of the key services offered by congregations to *community* and that many role players refer community members to them may reinforce this suggestion. Eschatological beliefs that may hinder certain forms of social action may nevertheless “provide space and place for the poor that they do not find in broader society”, which may restore the dignity and self-worth of these people (cf. Chap. 2:59-61).

6.4.2 Transformational development as an applicable model

This sub-section will deal more specifically with considering in what respects a framework of *development as transformation*⁴⁷⁶ addresses the issues of missional and ecclesial identity of the local church in Lavender Hill adequately. The previous

⁴⁷⁴ A liberal view, which regards the Kingdom as needing to be worked towards through a process of secularisation, however, is not as concerned with the church expressing its distinctive redemptive identity within a community. This is, indeed, illustrated by the following statement from the minister of a local Traditional congregation: “We have beautiful countries all over the world which don't have Christ and there's wonderful social development there and lots of Muslim countries are pretty prosperous and they do wonders for their people...If people have the humanitarian understanding about a respect for a nation, a society, or a community, that's fine. Yes, good is good and good comes from God” (Rev A 2005:7).

⁴⁷⁵ The NWF has, however, expressed frustration that the church is often more focused on the “heavenly or spiritual pursuits of evangelistic campaigns”.

⁴⁷⁶ As proposed by the hypothetical statements and Chapter 2 of this thesis.

section has, indeed, identified the need for a holistic framework. The local church's ability to respond in a holistic and sustainable manner is hindered by certain perspectives on soteriology, dualism and eschatology. This section argues the value of such a framework in addressing the issue of missional and ecclesial identity. It will also seek to highlight the role the church should and could play as an agent of transformation based on a unique goal and motivation for development. Finally, it looks more specifically at ways in which this framework speaks to the challenges faced by the Lavender Hill church in addressing their socio-economic situation as identified in Chapter 5.

6.4.2.1 A unique motivation for development

Findings in section 6.2 and 6.3.1 reveal that congregations, in particular, wish to manifest their unique redemptive identity when addressing community challenges. Attempts that are addressed in a manner perceived to be 'too secular' or 'political' are rejected. Section 6.4.1 confirms that this is further linked to theological perspectives intimately related to eschatology and soteriology in particular.

The fact that the goal of transformation, as put forward in Chapter 2, is unique and addresses the socio-economic challenges from a redemptive perspective may speak to these findings. This approach addresses the root of these challenges as being cosmological in scope and the result of a fallen creation and reality distorted by sin. It therefore links soteriology, a key theological category, with physical-material challenges in a particular context. Sin is understood by the majority of congregations as being purely individual and therefore redemption is confined to the personal/spiritual realm. This has been found to place such congregations within a dominant charity approach (cf. Section 6.3, 6.4.1). The fact that this framework describes it as both personal and structural, but in theological categories, makes it both more accessible as a framework to a wider set of denominational and confessional groupings and more helpful to encouraging holistic praxis.⁴⁷⁷ It is an approach which begins with the Creator and His purposes for creation, which is recognised as having been distorted by sin, rather than beginning with the creation and its socio-economic challenges (cf. Chap. 2:47-49). Initiatives such as the Heal

⁴⁷⁷ Words such as 'sin', 'evil' and 'principalities and powers' address the theological language of the evangelical and, more so, Pentecostal and Charismatic groups in that this terminology acknowledges the spiritual dimension of poverty and power.

Our Land Initiative, which stemmed from a social crisis, despite being a pioneering response, have not been sustainable. Once the crises had subsided, despite ongoing sporadic violence, many congregations withdrew their support and labelled the initiative 'too secular' (cf. Section 6.2, 6.3, 6.4.1). 'Transformational Development' links sin with the socio-economic challenges of the context and cites sin as the root cause of the poverty, violence, powerlessness and vulnerability so evident in communities such as Lavender Hill (cf. Chap. 2:48). In so doing, it demands that the church continually confront the structural aspects of sin in society as those concerned with God's mission. It challenges the church, then, to view social action as an intrinsic aspect of ministering the Good News, rather than a secondary task or 'evangelistic tool' as highlighted by Section 6.4.1. Furthermore, it may address those congregations that refuse to take part in any united community action (cf. Section 6.3.5.3). In challenging a dualistic spirituality, which is based on an unhealthy dichotomy between the secular and the sacred, the church may become more involved in social action. This approach challenges what congregations reject as a dominantly humanistic approach of the local FBO, and challenges the FBO to consider the spiritual dimension more seriously in their operational objectives (cf. section. 6.2, 6.3).

Transformational Development affirms and acknowledges evil as a category, which more humanistic approaches may not. It also places socio-political issues within an approach that does not deny its socio-political nature, but affirms that these issues also exist within a spiritual reality. The power manifested by gangsterism may be recognised as structural evil of the kind that seeks to exercise dominance over every aspect (economic, social, political and spiritual) of such a community's life (cf. Chap. 5:162-164). Power and powerlessness are very real categories within vulnerable communities such as Lavender Hill, which not only experience the results of being caught up in a downward interrelated cycle of poverty, but must live with the legacy of apartheid. apartheid, itself cited as an example of structural evil by the *Second Carnegie Inquiry*, continues to exacerbate the challenges faced by such a community (cf. Chap. 5:144-147). These structures or systems have indeed taken on a character of their own and evidence a distorted reality of God's intended *shalom* for this community.

The roots of powerlessness are broken and unjust relationships. Chapter 3 noted that the fruits of powerlessness are “the loss of dignity and pride, the loss of hope, turning to drug, alcohol or escapist religion families in disarray, violent crimes as desperate reactions to life without the power to pursue dreams and aspirations” (Dennis 2001:39; cf. Chap 3:93). Chapter 5 confirms this and, within the framework flowing out of *Carnegie II*, the effects of powerlessness resulting in alcohol and drug abuse, domestic violence and gang involvement in the community of Lavender Hill are discussed.⁴⁷⁸ Transformational development recognises that the “principalities and powers” refer both to the inner (spiritual) reality of organisations such as gangs and their outer organisation of power – their leadership hierarchy, initiation rites, recruitment efforts, drug cartels and sex-trafficking operations. Such powers are labelled ‘demonic’ and idolatrous in placing themselves above God, resulting in the evils noted in Chapter 5, such as violence, drug and sex-trafficking and the exploitation of vulnerable community members. Development that is transformational exposes the spiritual dimension of power and powerlessness behind power systems “and recognises that through Jesus Christ there is a way out of sin toward transformation”. It calls the church to engage the ‘powers that be’ – civic, political and economic authorities – prophetically (cf. Chap. 3:85). The HOLI’s initiatives in the form of protest marches against the violence and participation in the Lavender Hill Development Forum are already signs thereof. However, sustained and committed action may perhaps be awakened by an explanation of power in theological categories.

This framework emphasises that sin needs to be taken seriously as it interacts with power systems. This localised *kosmos* (system), in the light of the previous discussion regarding the fall, is one that an understanding of transformational development would recognise as being estranged from God and His purposes for humanity, namely *shalom* (cf. Chap. 2:49). It therefore challenges the local church to operate in a more holistic paradigm than charity or prayer alone (cf. Section 6.3). Both charity and prayer, while necessary responses, often serve to distance the church from the human face of suffering if they are the only responses employed to address poverty. The church, however, is called to be the ‘church with others’ – to journey with the

⁴⁷⁸ Women, children, the elderly and the disabled are particularly vulnerable to external structural factors in this community, as they are often the weakest.

marginalised, oppressed and suffering (cf. Chap. 2:56-58). Such an incarnational and empowering approach demands more human resource commitment than financial commitment. This is interesting in the light of the non-involvement of some congregations stemming from the perception that they cannot provide the finances needed for development. As a result, they do not involve themselves more fully in social action.⁴⁷⁹ Prophetic speaking and acting must be done on the basis that these are part of communicating the message of the Gospel and are not an additional task. The local church's credibility is at stake – a fact that is evidenced by role player's comments in Section 6.2. This is essential if one considers that certain congregations continue to view evangelism as a primary task (cf. Section 6.4.1). In a community where the scourge of gangsterism and its related challenges often render members of this community powerless, this category of interpretation may infuse hope. Such a framework could possibly help to shift the belief that evangelism is the primary task.

6.4.2.2 A unique goal for development

The goal of transformation is to seek to “repel the evil structures that exist in the present cosmos and to institute through the mission of the church the values of the Kingdom over and against the values of the principalities and powers of this world” (Bragg 1987:39; cf. Chap. 2:49-52). The fact that we were created to live in *shalom* – that is peace, wholeness, prosperity, justice, harmony and general well being, calls the church to address the contextual challenges it faces. As ministers of the Gospel, the local church in Lavender Hill is called to act as ministers of reconciliation between humanity and God, with others, nature and themselves. The local church, then, is called to minister to the spiritual, social, environmental and psychological needs of the communities within which it resides.

The congregations in Lavender Hill currently concentrate more on the spiritual and psychological dimensions by focusing on counselling and Educare facilities (cf. Section 6.2, 6.3). Their relief efforts begin to address the social needs of the community, but fail to acknowledge the political and economic aspects thereof. Such efforts often serve to deny the true demonic influence of structural aspects of sin. The social disorder left by apartheid and sustained through the gangs continues to trap the

⁴⁷⁹ Such beliefs may also stem from congregation's observations of the local FBO, which is seen to be 'doing development' and has extensive programmes which are funded by international donors.

community and prevent it from realising its true potential.⁴⁸⁰ In recognising that being ministers of reconciliation involves participating in addressing the various needs of their community, congregations, for example, may begin to see the need to involve themselves in community initiatives. The Lavender Hill Development Forum and other civic associations, which deal with the socio-political and environmental challenges of this area, are examples of such community initiatives.

The twin goals of transformation focus on the personal and structural dimensions, namely changed people and changed relationships. The one goal focuses on people becoming what they were intended to be by addressing the effects of the fall on identity. Transformation is seen as addressing the issue of character, self esteem and identity, and focuses on the reorientation and restoration of the person back into the image of God – this is regarded as a vital dimension of empowerment (cf. Chap. 2:51; Chap. 3:86-89). This goal is particularly significant for Lavender Hill whose inhabitants feel powerless and are therefore vulnerable to feelings of despondency and hopelessness. This, in turn, may lead to exploitation, marginalisation and even self destructive behaviours.⁴⁸¹ The vulnerable and marginalised in communities such as these are often the women and children who due to a lack of self esteem and identity are vulnerable to domestic abuse, drug abuse and involvement in gangsterism (cf. Chap. 5:166-170). The Gospel brings a message of hope and healing to these vulnerable members. A *development as transformation* framework emphasises that true transformation can only take place through an encounter with Christ. Through this encounter the “total reorientation of individual and relationships, and reconstitution of his/her identity and the gift of looking at the world in an entirely new way” can take place (Samuel 2002:244; cf. Myers 2000:65). In light of this, the vulnerable person’s dignity and identity are affirmed and they may be empowered to cope with and even withstand the stresses and pressures of their socio-economic environment (cf. Chap. 3:87-89). Furthermore, they recognise that they could be productive stewards of the gifts given to them by God. High levels of unemployment

⁴⁸⁰ Individual believers, in their own capacities, have indeed begun to address the environmental needs of this community through the ‘greening’ of Lavender Hill. This is an essential need in this community as the current state of the built environment is cause for concern. Not only are many of the buildings decaying, but this has led to the exacerbation of health problems.

⁴⁸¹ Cf. Sections 6.2, 6.3, 6.4.1. Such as the aforementioned abuse, substance abuse and exploitation by gangs. The key change that was identified as needing to take place, by Wilson and Ramphele (1989:267) in Chapter 3, “was to transform the low self image and sense of hopelessness that poor people often have of themselves and their situation” (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:267).

and low wages often render members of such communities vulnerable to collusion with gangsters for financial gain or result in the opening of shebeens to make extra money (cf. Chap. 5:164). Such acts only serve to perpetuate the control of the powers and principalities over Lavender Hill. In realising their God-given potential and worth, persons realise that they have been given the power to make choices for the good or for the bad. This knowledge may break the hold these powers have on their community's life. The sharing of the Good News in word, by proclaiming Christ as the reconciler of one to God and self, is recognised as equally important to *shalom* as the deed of social action. This too is holistic and assists those members of the local church who regard the Gospel as purely personal and spiritual, to recognise that holistic transformation neither elevates nor discards evangelism, but views it as part of the same process.

One of the key roles of the transformative church is that of being an agent for community, providing space and place for the voiceless and powerless.⁴⁸² Findings from the previous sections have already illustrated that congregations in Lavender Hill are places of acceptance and love where this reorientation can take place. The local church can provide a safe space for people who were once powerless to become subjects of their own reality, supported by a loving, caring community. This framework, therefore, affirms the role that congregations are already playing.⁴⁸³ As servant of community, the local church can journey with such people on their path to healing and wholeness. Pastoral counselling and care is surely one such method, which congregations in particular are already viewed as exercising in this community (cf. Chap. 2:56-58; cf. Section 6.2.1, 6.2.2).

The second goal of transformational development is the discovery of just and peaceful relationships with others and the community. The fact that *shalom* is equivalent in the New Testament to the concept of the Kingdom of God indicates that this framework addresses the issue of eschatology identified in the previous section as a hindrance (6.4.1) to holistic action, and to the church addressing the issue of just and peaceful relationships with fellow humanity. This framework stresses that the new order of the Kingdom has already broken through – Christ came to disarm the principalities and

⁴⁸² The church can in particular take care of the identified vulnerable in this community, such as single parents, children susceptible to the influences of the surrounding culture, the disabled and the elderly.

⁴⁸³ It is interesting that the Pentecostal group, despite its adherence to the supremacy of evangelism, shows high levels of bonding and feelings of family (cf. Appendix F).

powers and heralded a kind of cosmic salvation⁴⁸⁴ (cf. Chap. 2:50-51). Transformational development alerts the church to the fact that in and through the power of the Cross, victory has already begun, a fact which imbues hope and points not just to the hereafter, but to action. In a community often dominated by fear and uncertainty, this knowledge may serve to empower the church. This framework views the Kingdom of Satan as representing “everything that oppresses, dehumanizes and enslaves” humanity and as opposed to the Kingdom of God, which is breaking forth and stands for what “humanizes, liberates and enriches man” (cf. Chap. 3:85). In acknowledging the corrupting influences of power and powerlessness on their community, the local church is further challenged to engage this power both spiritually and materially. This emphasises the urgency of socio-political action and challenges the premillennial view, which views the Kingdom as future and heavenly and results in apathy or passivity on the churches part with regard to socio-political action. It furthermore clarifies that, while the church is indeed an agent of the Kingdom, it is not the Kingdom – a doctrinal position that has been identified as effectively limiting the action of congregations beyond themselves to evangelism (cf. Section 6.4.1; cf. Chap. 2:54-56).

One of the key manifestations of broken and unjust relationships in Lavender Hill is the level of crime and violence within this community. While a culture of violence stems from both a history of our apartheid past and growing uncertainty regarding our nation’s future, its roots lie in broken and unjust relationships (cf. Chap. 3:93). The need for a value system to gird the development of the country has been identified by the *Carnegie II* “Framework for Thinking” (cf. Chap. 3:89-93). The local church, according to a transformational framework, will proclaim the values of the Kingdom such as equity, life sustenance, justice, dignity and self worth, freedom for all, cultural fit, ecological soundness, people’s participation, spiritual transformation and hope over and against the values of this *kosmos*⁴⁸⁵ (cf. Chap. 2:52-54). These values in particular challenge the practice of the local FBOs, which can evaluate whether they are truly presenting a Christian ethos (cf. Section 6.2.2.2, 6.3.2). Such values are not just for the church, but should be proclaimed by the church as agent of the Kingdom

⁴⁸⁴ While the Kingdom is still to break through in its entirety, the cross has already begun the victory over the “corrupt, unjust structures of human society” (Sider & Parker 1985:99, cf. Chap. 2 :48).

⁴⁸⁵ While many of these values are indeed promoted by secular development thinking, the idea of transformation is not an alternate development strategy, but rather a Christian framework “for looking at human and social change” (Bragg 1987:40).

and worked towards by all members of a community. Where the Kingdom values of life sustenance, equity, freedom and justice are taken seriously, all people should be the beneficiaries. All people are God's and God has a special concern for the poor, oppressed, marginalised and needy. In expounding Kingdom ethics, such a framework places what may be regarded by more fundamentalist groups as a secular-humanistic human rights discourse within an understanding of the Kingdom. It challenges the local church of Lavender Hill to partner with all members of their community who wish to promote such values. Community role players indeed feel that the church needs to be used as a vehicle of peace, hope and love to a community filled with extreme fear and hopelessness (cf. Section 6.2). It is felt that the church is one of the few institutions that could promote such a message. One of the aims of the HOLI is indeed to do this, and the protest march conducted during a time of gang violence surely spread hope and sent a message to the powers. The local church in such communities can and should play a role in fostering an ethics of non-violence and reconciliation – even perhaps between rival gangs (cf. Chap. 3:91-93-90). One of the ways that congregations, in particular, are identified as being able to foster ethics is through value formation beginning with the family or through Christian education (cf. Section 6.2.2). A goal of restored relationships within this framework indeed affirms the work of FBOs, but it calls the New World Foundation to reconsider the basis of its ethos. Having moved beyond the Liberation Theology paradigm they once espoused, such a framework, which indeed draws on Liberation Theology, might breathe fresh life into their praxis. Such values may even serve as a way to measure whether the operational objectives of local FBOs which claim to have a Christian ethos indeed manifest the transformative values of the Kingdom.

Congregations of Lavender Hill are being called on to make these ethics available to all in the community – they are for the healing and restoration of all, not merely a select few who form part of the church. The church is called to be an agent of community, called forth to be agents of *shalom* as the church is both called 'from' and 'to' community (cf. Chap. 2:58-61). The equipping and releasing of holistic disciples are two of these tasks and it is significant that much of the unseen community involvement takes place through the laity.⁴⁸⁶ Transformational development therefore

⁴⁸⁶ The value of ecological soundness is illustrated by laity's involvement with the greening of Lavender Hill.

challenges the fact that the leaders of congregations do not fully support this as it proclaims it a key task of the church (cf. Section 6.2.1). The local church as an agent of transformation is called to restore true community. As an agent for the restoration of community, the current lack of partnership between congregations and religious organisations beyond the Christian faith are also, therefore, challenged by this framework (cf. Section 6.3.5). Such Kingdom values may serve to challenge the local church to consider their own lack of unity in taking a stand against the 'powers'. Such a framework challenges the church itself. Furthermore, the church is challenged to play a meaningful part in transformation through participation with fellow workers and with God as stewards of this community's resources. It is also challenged to open itself up to reciprocal learning from their fellow workers (cf. Chap. 2:57-58). How can the local church truly manifest the Kingdom value of hope if it is divided?

The fact that the framework emphasises the role of the Holy Spirit in empowering the church as an agent of the Kingdom to fulfil the call to social action is significant. That transformation is understood, in its final analysis as 'God's work', but work in which he engages us and empowers us, affirms that the role the church should play is distinctive and that the church is not alone (cf. Chap. 1:23-26). In communities such as Lavender Hill, where the local church serves within circumstances of seeming hopelessness, as described in Chapter 5, such knowledge breathes hope. It affirms that God is already active in the community and may address concerns by the more fundamentalist evangelical congregations regarding social action as a purely secular enterprise.

6.4.3 Conclusion

This section has illustrated that doctrinal positions regarding anthropology, soteriology and eschatology do play a role in determining the character of praxis. The need for a holistic theological framework as motivation for Christian development initiatives is therefore imperative. Such a framework, while not replacing any development theory, brings a unique motivation for development stemming from a cosmological understanding of redemption and a unique goal of development stemming from a Kingdom theology. A transformational development framework, in so doing, both reaffirms the redemptive work of the church in the *Missio Dei* and challenges the church to action in its local context.

6.5 CONCLUDING RECOMMENDATIONS

This final section puts forward recommendations for the local church in areas experiencing the kind of socio-economic challenges faced by communities such as Lavender Hill. While the local church has been found to be responding to certain needs in this particular community, its capacity as a change agent has been limited by certain factors. The lack of a theological motivation, which outlines the missional and ecclesial character of the church, has indeed been found to be central to this limited capacity to act. And, while partnership initiatives do exist, it has not been fully explored. These recommendations flow from the findings and analysis outlined in this chapter's sections 6.2 to 6.4. It seeks to identify problem areas and put forward possible strategies for action in response to the problem statement, which could be used by the local church in addressing the socio-economic challenges faced by such communities. Some of the recommendations are particular to Lavender Hill. However, many could be generalised to other similar contexts as they indeed relate to some of the challenges identified in Chapter 4.

A theological framework, as discussed in Chapter 2, is clearly necessary to address the theological barriers to holistic development that exist in such communities. Both Chapter 3 (3.3) and 6 (6.4.2) illustrated that a *development as transformation* framework can be utilised as a widely applicable conceptual framework that critically engages and supports various development theories and approaches. Such a framework addresses the theological roots of socio-economic ills and therefore presents a motivation and goal for the church's involvement, which relates to its calling and identity. A *development as transformation* framework may therefore address the concerns of more evangelical groups with regard to beliefs that 'development' is a secular enterprise (cf. Chap 1; 2). This, it has been suggested, may motivate the church to more holistic and sustainable action in addressing the scourge of poverty as proposed by the hypothesis.

Such a framework should be conveyed both through informal and formal theological education. Chapter 3 (3.2.3.1 & 3.2.3.2) highlighted the fact that both Carnegie inquiries recommended the need for practical theological training regarding social issues. Chapter 4 (4.4.1) and Chapter 6 noted that there is currently a vacuum with regard to a theological mode of discourse which moves beyond the liberation paradigm or the current pragmatic debates in South Africa. This was ascribed as

largely due to the late onset in South Africa of formal training on ‘theology and development’. It is recommended that all theological training institutions introduce such studies for prospective clergy. On grassroots, training workshops or conferences could be run with clergy and laity, which explore a biblical basis for development. Possible texts pertaining to God’s justice and concern for the poor, oppressed and marginalised could be consulted, with the view to promote their usage in church liturgy, sermons and bible studies. Such training could help clergy and laity to think theologically regarding the socio-economic challenges they face, thereby imbuing hope and possibly revitalising praxis. Informal training workshops conducted for clergy and laity in a particular area could also form a rallying point for greater partnership between various sectors of the local church.

Capacity building of laity and clergy through training could also encompass training regarding the social challenges in such an area. Chapter 6 (6.2) has shown that one congregation studied has indeed embarked on such a training programme for lay counsellors in Lavender Hill in order to address the challenges of domestic, sexual, drug and alcohol abuse in this area. Similar initiatives could be started in other areas and need not only focus on counselling. Training with regard to advocacy and lobbying, starting a support group or simply writing funding proposals for an identified programme could be conducted. Such training will promote greater self-reliance as the laity as members of the community are empowered to minister to their fellow community members. The local FBO and other NGOs or organisations could be requested to facilitate such workshops.

The development of new partnership initiatives and strengthening of existing ones should clearly be a starting point for greater co-operation in addressing the socio-economic issues of a community. The formation of a ministers’ fraternal or forum could serve to unite the local church and serve as the prophetic voice on community forums such as the Lavender Hill Development Forum. No ministers’ fraternal currently exists in the area of Lavender Hill and the inter-faith initiative (HOLI) is currently not adequately supported by all clergy in the area as some congregations are not comfortable with interfaith co-operation (cf. 6.2.2.3, 6.3.5.4). While a *development as transformation* framework may address some of their misgivings, a focus on a united Christian witness may be a more acceptable starting point to a broader group of congregations. This forum could continue to have representation on

and co-operate closely with the interfaith initiative and LHDF. In this way, congregations feel that they have their own voice, rather than being spoken for by the local FBO on various forums. It could also form the basis for *inter-congregational* and *servant-partnership* models of co-operation as identified by point 6.3.5.2. The Kingdom values identified by the *development as transformation* framework could even be adopted as the values, which such a forum seeks to promote.

One of the most practical forms of co-operation is the pooling of resources by local congregations in order to address needs in this community more strategically and sustainably. The issue of the church responding to poverty in a dominant relief/welfare paradigm has arisen as a historical (Chapter 3), national (Chapter 4) and grassroots (Chapter 6) issue. The fact that congregations are often overwhelmed by the challenges in their communities and have scant financial resources means that they may feel powerless to address them. Charity is, therefore, often the most familiar and simplest to co-ordinate. The pooling of financial and human resources, as suggested by the *inter-congregational model* (cf. 4.4.5.2 and 6.3.5.2) may lead to more creative initiatives, which address the cause rather than the symptoms of the problem. The sharing of ideas and ‘best practice’ models currently operational in the community may, with the help of the Holy Spirit, lead to more creative and sustainable initiatives.

Chapter 4 identified partnership between the church and other role players in a community with overwhelming socio-economic challenges such as Lavender Hill (cf. Chapter 5) as clearly important. Role players in this community believe that the local church has a contribution to make and already partner with congregations and individual believers in addressing some of the challenges, as illustrated by Chapter 6 (6.2.2, 6.2.3). However, there appears to be some tension between congregations and role players. A joint community and church analysis could, therefore be conducted. A joint ‘listening session’ involving ministers and role players where the issues and challenges faced by their community are openly discussed and analysed might begin the process. Such an initiative could thereby foster transparency and root out issues of mistrust, which hinder united and effective action. Such a gathering could be a ‘once off’ or an annual or bi-annual event. Assumptions and misconceptions regarding the work done in the community from either sector could be clarified. Thereafter the local church could identify further areas for service and initiatives could be identified for

future co-operation. In this way, *cross-sector partnerships*, as identified in point 6.3.5.4, could be continually fostered. Another way of fostering better relationships and co-operation between Faith Based Organisations in such areas is for these organisations to invite clergy from a broad sector of the church community to serve on its board or serve as supporters in prayer or financially. This will promote transparency and may serve to reduce the perceived 'gap' between such organisations, which (as in the case of Lavender Hill) are often not perceived as part of the church (cf. 6.3.5 4).

Finally, there is the opportunity for partnership between congregations in areas such as Lavender Hill and the broader Body of Christ beyond Lavender Hill. Such partnerships may not only facilitate greater pooling of resources, but may also result in a stronger more united public witness with regard to social justice issues that affect such marginalised communities (cf. Chapter 1.7).. Chapter 4 (4.4.5.2) has noted the necessity for such a model in South Africa, a fact that is supported by the discussion regarding the levels of South African inequality in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 (6.3.6.2) has warned, however, of the kind of dangers a partnership, which focuses on compassionate action could succumb to in the form of paternalism. Such partnerships could most successfully be pursued through denominations, ministers' fraternals and broader ecumenical networks and social justice movements.

Chapters 3 (3.3.3), 4 (4.2) and 6 (6.2.2) emphasise that one of the key findings of the study are that the church is regarded as a 'centre' of moral formation. *Moral formation should, therefore be fostered by the church through Christian Education of families within the congregations and the support of life skills education within the broader the community.* Certain ministers are already called upon to do preventative education regarding moral issues such as sexuality or drug abuse, however the scope could be increased through various other initiatives. Greater support of the HOLIs initiatives by the local church is a possible way of promoting the values of the Kingdom and adopting a school or supporting the Youth For Christ worker may be another way of doing this. Local congregations have been identified in Chapter 1(1.7) as helping to form the moral fabric of the local environment through the concientisation of their members. The congregational setting can therefore serve to strengthen their members through Christian education initiatives. Sunday school, the

youth ministry and women's/men's fellowships are all opportunities for holistic life skills education.

Chapter 4 noted that the government is calling the church to action (cf. Chapter 4.2) based on "its numerous informal and volunteer services". Furthermore, two of the key public configurations of the church in a context of poverty and inequality as identified in Chapter 1(1.7) is the "church as believers in their involvement with voluntary organisations" and "church as individual believers in their daily lives". The current lack of support of individual believers involved in community work by their ministers in Lavender Hill indicates, however, that while believers are indeed involving themselves in these capacities they are not well supported by their local congregations. Such laity should be supported as they serve as change agents in their community, acting as salt and light in often dark and depressing corners of such communities (cf. Chapter 2.5.3). The fact that there are few church buildings in the area means that congregations have little to offer in terms of building infrastructure. Individual believers should therefore be supported and encouraged by their local congregations to volunteer by offering their services. Volunteering could include counselling (i.e. a police trauma room, clinic and schools), visitation of the elderly or sick in the community, or beautifying spaces and repairing certain community structures as a local congregation, as part of already operating initiatives. *The local church should therefore lend greater support to laity as they assist the local church in becoming a servant of its community in more sustainable ways.*

The local church in areas such as Lavender Hill, surely faces many challenges in a post-Carnegie II context as they seek to understand their role in the *Missio Dei*. It is clear, however, that the local church indeed has a central role to play in acting as an agent of change. Nevertheless, the study's findings indicate that much of the churches' effectivity will be determined by its ability and willingness to partner on various levels. Such partnership, it has been proposed, must be pursued in order to activate hope in context as a bearer of the message of God's *shalom*. Furthermore, differing theological perspectives have been suggested as hindering the church in understanding its missional and ecclesial role. A theological framework of development as transformation has therefore been proposed as a holistic framework, which addresses this challenge. The church is a called out community, which needs to take seriously the effects of the Fall on both individuals and social structures as it

journeys with the oppressed, marginalised and poor and assists in building communities of change. It is hoped that the recommendations identified may assist the church in providing guidelines for equipping its members for community involvement that will prove both holistic and sustainable.

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APPENDIX A:

GUIDELINE QUESTIONS FOR COMMUNITY ROLEPLAYERS

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 1: Hunger and Sickness

1. Do you believe that there is a relationship between health and poverty?
2. If yes, could you tell me about this relationship?
3. What are the most common reasons for people coming to the clinic?
Could you indicate some of the most common health problems in this community?
4. What is the most common/prevalent disease in this community?
5. Why do you think it is the most common disease? What are the causes for it?
6. In your opinion do you think that the overcrowded housing has anything to do with the spread of diseases in an area such as Lavender Hill?
7. TB is consistently identified as being one of the most common diseases in the Western Cape – do you get many cases at the clinic?
8. On the other hand, HIV/AIDS has become a country wide pandemic – in your opinion, has it hit Lavender Hill yet? To what extent?
9. Have you noted any relationship between TB and HIV/AIDS in this community?
10. To what extent is malnutrition a problem in the community of Lavender Hill?
11. Are you aware of any relationship between malnutrition and the child mortality rate in this community?
12. What is the most common childhood illness in Lavender Hill that you treat and why do you think that it is the most common?
13. In your opinion is this comparable to the rest of the Western Cape or country? Is it higher or lower?
14. What role do you think the community organisations, government etc. have played and should play in health problems?
15. To your knowledge, has the church or any faith based organizations addressed any of the issues discussed?
16. If yes, which issues did they address and have they been effective in addressing any of the issues?
17. What role, if any, do you think the church should/could in partnership with the clinic be playing in addressing some of these issues?

APPENDIX B:
GUIDELINE QUESTIONS FOR CLERGY

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: Clergy

A. Understanding of the social context

Aim: congruency

1. Could you name the five key challenges/problems faced by the community of Lavender Hill for me?
2. What one social-economic feature in this community has the greatest impact on a majority of the residents?
3. Does this have an impact on your congregation? If so, how?

B. Theological foundations

Aim: to determine ecclesiology and basic relevant theological constructs

1. Which do you consider the five most important tasks for the church (i.e. worship, social justice, evangelism etc)?
2. What do you consider to be the mission/most important task of the church?
3. Describe your understanding of the gospel.
4. Describe your understanding of the Kingdom of God.
5. Do you consider evangelism more important than social outreach/action? Why or why not?
6. Describe your understanding of evil/sin.
7. Do you believe that sin is manifested in the lives of individuals alone or also in societal structures?
8. Do you believe that it is part of the church's commission to address poverty and other socio-economic challenges?
9. What do you believe is the church's role in addressing poverty?

C. Congregational Involvement

Aim: to determine congregational identity and involvement with regard to social issues

1. Is your congregation involved in addressing some of the key challenges faced by this community?

2. Which challenges is your congregation involved with addressing?
3. How are these challenges addressed (soup kitchens, counselling, advocacy etc)?
4. Does your church partner with other community role-players, government or congregations in the area (i.e. NGO's, schools, police, clinic, community organisations) in addressing the social challenges in Lavender Hill?
5. Why or why not does your church partner with other congregations and role-players in the community?

APPENDIX C:
SAMPLE TRANSCRIPTIONS OF INTERVIEWS

INTERVIEW WITH MR MANIE, LAVENDER HILL HIGH SCHOOL

25 May 2004

Interviewer: Do you think that there is a link between poverty and education?

Respondent: [...] hopefully they get a formal qualification, hopefully Matric as well, although the drop out rate at this particular school is alarmingly high. I think probably seventy percent of them from grade 8, which is what we used to call standard 6, to finally grade 12 don't make it. So the next result is that they don't have the skills to enter the world of work and as a result of that they don't have jobs, they don't have access to the employment sector of our economy as a result of lack of skills they don't get jobs so on. So obviously my view is that there is a link between the two.

Interviewer: I wanted to ask you questions about the drop out rate. What do you think are some of the reasons for the high drop out rate in the community?

Respondent: Well I think largely social, economic and I suppose historical and other reasons, obviously pertaining to the previous political system. There are a range of reasons but it starts off... You referred to poverty earlier on, right? I have, a kid who stayed absent yesterday because he had nothing to eat, so instead he stayed absent. Although we feed them something to eat on a Monday, we have a feeding scheme, three times a week we feed them bread and sometimes soup when the weather's a bit colder. So it's linked to issues such as poverty. The learner has to go and work and earn however little for the family, so there's that particular issue. There's a lack of parental support, whereas you and I when we are lazy for school or not interested to go school our parents, our families, they push us and attempt to point out the folly of staying home. Instead, very often a learner here would be the first one to have managed Matric possibly, or even high school for that matter. So the parents don't perhaps realise the importance of an education. And look, quite frankly some estimates put the unemployment rate in the country between 31% even as high as 40%, now even with a Matric certificate many of them are still unemployed. We did an informal survey last year: we had 42 who passed Matric, of whom only ten had a job or went to tech or university. Now we speaking ten out of fifteen, if my arithmetic is right? So about 80% who have not entered the formal job market of course, earn some money in a casual job and so on, but those are just some of the issues or the reasons why many of our learners don't have jobs or see the need to continue their education.

Interviewer: When you spoke about the whole thing of the past, I was going to ask you a question on that. In what ways is apartheid still affecting a school like Lavender Hill High?

Respondent: In an absolutely enormous way, you know. Many conservative... excuse the racial term... but many whites – they like to pretend that one has to forget about the past: "why harp on the past?" These

are our major historical reasons, our legacies which inform the happenings of the moment. Many of these parents or the grandparents used to live in areas such as District Six and so on. They came here [and you can go] to Lavender Hill for example or maybe Bonteheuwel and Heideveld and Hanover Park and Manenberg. In Lavender Hill there's no hill and there's also no lavender, so you going to look for a while to find that. Look, if you think of overcrowding as an example, there are an average of eight to nine, ten in a household. One of my best learners in 2001, stayed in a shack in the yard of a council flat and the shack was shared with his mother, his stepfather and his stepsister. The parents, I suppose, are at times physically intimate and that kind of thing, and the toilets are inside the house or in the yard. And this boy has to write the same exam as students for example at Westerford High or Bergvliet or Bishops and so on. So we can't really make comparisons and while I'm horrified by the high drop out rate at the school and the fact that our results are not on par with the likes of Bishops and Westerford and so on there are reasons for that. Historical, financial and otherwise, you know? So one can't pretend that there wasn't something called apartheid, it affected everything from the housing to access to the formal job market to people's limited income. I mean our school fees, for example, are R325 per year. The vast majority of the learners cannot afford those meagre fees and if you compare it to down the road, a school like Swaanswyk, just 3km from here, have fees of R8000. For a public school, it can be anything from R5000 upwards. And then you have Bishops which is R42000. My son is there in grade 8 on a scholarship, so I happen to know that, you know. And also ... a digital divide. You know, schools like Bishops use laptops now - their resources aren't just text books. Although they use some text books, but also their version of the internet or the intranet. So can you imagine the differences, the quality of education which they are able to offer their learners say compared to ours? We get R400 000 from the WCED, which is the Western Cape Education Department and I must say the new government is trying to affirm schools such as ours, in terms of better funding. We get higher percentages in terms of the funding, but we already start on a low base. So when you talk about: "we got an increase of say 30%", it's 30% of a small amount. Just to extend the analogy of Bishops: they've got about a thousand learners and R42000 per learner, so they have a budget of R42 million. Ours is more or less half a million if I add R100 000 school fees...now compare R42 million to half a million. And we write the same exams, I need to repeat that particular point, at the end of the year. So, yes, in a massive way the previous system disadvantaged our learners. And something which I mention repeatedly, you know? After ten years of democracy, only 4% of companies on the stock exchange are black owned and so we have a problem with economic transformation. How much more so in the socio political, economic etc, in aspects of our lives, you know? You think of the school and its facilities compared to down the road or on the other side of the line: the green lawn, view of the mountain... I have a view of the council flats, ("jou ma se die...") and that kind of thing and vandalism and a tremendous deprivation which is quite moving. You know [for me to come here] it actually becomes to a certain extent, maybe it sounds a bit melodramatic, but it's almost an emotional experience you know? I get exposed to the harsh realities of the school and I

drop my son in the morning at Bishops and then come here. It's like two different worlds.

Interviewer: Tell me, you are talking about some of the concerns. What are the concerns of teachers, what are the struggles that they face? The struggles you face?

Respondent: Look, there are several, but the key ones first and foremost is access to resources – human, financial and otherwise. Just in terms of the fact that we have got a staff of 29 and 1051 learners, you know?

Interviewer: What's the ratio?

Respondent: Its still 1:35, but it's a bit skewed in a sense, because of splits from Grades 10-12. Especially in Grade 12, you could have a small class of a group of 5 learners, home Economics of 18, Needlework 22. But then at the bottom in Grade 8 and 9 where you have no splits, you could have a class of as high as 57, you know? And in grade 8 some of them have to teach seven subjects, you know? And with 52 in a class, 57 in a class and so on, people have a massive burden. There's been an attempt to restructure and to transform education and so on. So it is a question of: they are overburdened, overloaded and the school is definitely understaffed. This of course impacts on morale, you know? Teaching is not very popular now; very few people want to become teachers. They are definitely underpaid, you know? Given the fact that most of them have Matric plus four years and then you compare that to, say, people who studied engineering, who also studied for four years. I, for example, do not want to blow my own trumpet, but I have a Masters Cum Laude. It is my own choice to stay here, but I would earn less than an engineer after two years of work. Now I'm the headmaster with three degrees plus a teachers diploma, studied for seven to eight years and a 24 year old earns more than what I earn! So obviously that would affect the morale of teachers, not that one became a teacher just for the money. I really feel that policeman, social workers, teachers among others are underpaid. Of course the health sector as well. The other thing is the school itself, right? The type of learner we have here. Lavender Hill High, in the educational school chain, ranks very, very low indeed. There are five high schools in a radius of about five kilometres, perhaps six if we include Grassy Park High. Many of our students migrate. There are four primary schools in the area, each having about 800 kids, but very few of them would come to this school because of the image. The image of gangsterism, the image of the school, the chaos which certainly is not but, the perception is Lavender Hill is "kill me quick town" and for a parent to want his son to achieve, the idea is to go to Heathfield - I don't know if you are familiar with the area? So it's Heathfield. But if not Heathfield, it's Steenberg. If they can't get Steenberg, they rather go to... [...] So you see the type of learner who comes here is the one who may not have the option to go to a so called "better school". So, I'll give you an example. We did a survey last year and this year and 39 of our learners are functionally illiterate.

Interviewer: 39 from primary school?

Respondent: From primary school. In grade 8, we've got 380 [...], in fact they are not even weak, they can't really read. There's a girl who would write from the board. She doesn't understand the letters. Like if you read maybe Greek or Arabic you are drawing something, but you don't comprehend it. Yet, she's able to speak, able to understand and communicate. But, she can't read and she can't ... she writes her name but it's more of out of practice: one up one down, another one up and a kind of a circle and so on. She was a victim of, I suspect, foetal alcohol syndrome (FAS) as a youngster, and there are a few others as well with a similar condition. You can see the stunted growth and they are usually intellectually challenged. So can you imagine that kind of situation? You are in class with 54; there is a lack of support from the department. I'm a big fan of the new government in many ways, although I'm very critical of them also in many other aspects. One of the criticisms I have is they believe in inclusive education, or in other words mainstreaming learners. I'm not sure if you are aware of that even a blind child, a physically handicapped child, must go to a mainstream school? They don't believe in separate schools. Now that may be very progressive and liberal, but my view as someone who is in the trenches as it were, is not working practically, you know? Take a school such as ours. How on earth can you affirm a learner maybe who is blind when we don't even have the normal resources to cope under the best of circumstances? We just don't, or rather we are not in a position to assist these learners, so that adds to teachers' stress. And the question of gangsterism, you know that is a reality at this school. It's not maybe as bad as it is in the newspapers, but it is still quite bad. We've got a husband and wife team. The lady opens the gate for us and the husband is some kind of bouncer almost. He gets the kids into the classes for which we have to pay them something. It's not a governing body post - that sounds to sexy almost! We pay them and in fact the lady gets thirty rand a day. It's very little actually, almost like slave wages. I'm very guilty about it, but we give her an income. I mean to be realistic; they are willing to be paid that. It is better than being at home and unemployed. The husband we pay slightly more and he also works at night... He works till about twelve, comes eight till about four, goes home and falls in at about six o'clock. It clearly leaves an impact on our school. The fact that the crime can be very violent affects everybody. A good 15-20% of 1051 learners, you can think Nadine, we talking quite a few learners! We're talking a 100 plus who are really naughty. That's putting it very mildly and optimistically, the others are just plain damn lazy and very weak academically. They are maybe not intellectually challenged or what would have been called retarded a few years ago, but very, very weak. You know [like] our top learner in last year grade 12 had 68%. Now 68% at the likes of Westerford would be mentally challenged. I was making a point - I was at a meeting last night where I made a small speech. I told the audience and they couldn't believe it, that at the likes of Westerford and Bishops, 43% of those in Matric obtain an A aggregate. The point I'm trying to make is that the kind of learning that they get is horrifying. Now it does impact on your motivation, your morale as a teacher. But in short, the lack of resources and facilities at a school such as ours, you know, does impact on people's state of mind and their motivation to want to come to school. And also the kinds of problems that we have impacts on this. I can tell you stuff like this: I hear that the mother is HIV positive, you know, and there's nothing happening, no

support, complete ignorance. A learner in grade 10 has leukaemia, she's in hospital for 2 days and the parent comes to us and explains she has been told she has leukaemia, and says: "nou wanneer gaan u vir haar besoek? Ek het nie geld nie vir Victoria Hospital". You know, those kind of things stir you, you know, emotionally, psychologically? Or as I mentioned to you earlier about the learner who stayed absent because "hy het die aand voor dit niks geëet nie", and also yesterday morning you know? And the teacher sends him to me as if I have to have some magical wand to solve the problem. Why couldn't she speak to him? In fact they are writing [edited for anonymity] as we speak now, for a final mark. A learner was just sent by a teacher who said: "gaan na die kantoor toe na Mnr Manie toe". When I asked the learner what her problem was, she told me and then I kind of chastised the teacher: "but how can you not show the kind of empathy which we should?" The same kind of parent whose daughter is at a 'Model C' school, wants the best for her daughter, but she doesn't want the best for learners at Lavender Hill.

Interviewer: So tell something about the Safer Schools Cluster. Is that still going? I heard about it, but I don't know much about it.

Respondent: There are 80 high risk schools, okay? All of them in similar kinds of areas to ours like: Hanover Park, Heideveld, Ocean View, Manenberg, Lavender Hill, the Mitchells Plain schools and so on. Now to make it easier, we divided up into clusters like the high schools and the primary schools and we meet once a month. It's a way to kind of clear the air, share concerns and problems and so on. And when there is violence or shooting in one of, or at a particular school, then we stay in contact. More than once we had to send the learners home early, but then we try and synchronise the sending home early at the same time we get the police to patrol, just from the practical aspects. But then we got extra funding from the WCED, and that is to secure the school. Now in the past they had armed security guards at school, but then they spent an enormous amount of money to make somebody else rich, so they decided to turn it around by trying to secure the schools. Now it looks horrible, but unfortunately it is necessary. The inner fence, parameter fence with barbed wire is not on yet. And the gate with access control, although that is broken it's supposed to be automatic. We've got barbed wire, we've got wire meshing and on the windows and so on and we've got armed response, which we have to pay ourselves and we have an alarm. So the school is definitely more secure, from what it used to be, but there are still cases of vandalism. The safe schools in project is one of the success stories of the WCED, I just wish though, it doesn't just remain the physical aspects, in terms of the security. I would like a social worker per school, you know? Instead of just having 29 teachers and admin staff of 3 or 4, how about a social worker? I think is rather short sighted to not have on, because of the kinds of problems which we have here. I mean Herschel has a social worker and more, a nurse and actually a doctor and so on. What I would have liked ideally is a social worker, but paid for from the funds of Safe Schools you know. I have spoken about it, numerous times. They are aware of it, but no success.

Interviewer: The questions that I want to ask now have to do with partnership. We spoke about government playing a role. How do you see other civil society organisations playing a role in education here - like an NGO?

Respondent: We are fortunate that we have a good relationship with the NGO's. One is New World Foundation - the trauma centre - we often make referrals to them: more extreme cases, the dagga smokers, people who are abused and so on. The more extreme cases where (a) I don't have the time or (b) to be quite frank with you, very honest, I sometimes lack the skills to deal with those issues and I'm honest enough. Likewise with CAFDA [Cape Flats Development Association], although CAFDA we don't seem as [...] as we seem maybe to New World Foundation. And then we've got an NGO called Youth for Christ. They've got a field worker at our school for the past ... since October 2000. We have a very good relationship with him. In fact to the extent where the field worker is now being termed a teacher, but he hasn't as many classes as the rest of the staff. He teaches them life orientation. He is not a qualified teacher, but he has gone to many workshops. He's being trained by Youth for Christ, where he is able to teach life orientation to grades 8's and 9's. He is a very wonderful person and we pay him a stipend and he gets something from YFC. He does the job or plays the role of a fulltime teacher, so I feel also quite bad that we don't pay him more. And also what YFC have done for us over a period of many years is to train student leaders. They've gone on leadership camps and so on and motivational camps for the matriculants. We organize two per annum and then we have it at a place called Schoonstadt in Constantia, and we take the learners away for the day, a better environment, greener and so on. And the workshop is organized by YFC, a motivational workshop. You could ask: why do matriculants have to be motivated? We do try to work with NGO's and are quite successful, especially our relationship with YFC actually can't be better.

Interviewer: Because I was going to ask you, do they give any assistance in any way?

Respondent: Yah, look I allow ... this is now the third church the use of classrooms. We've got a mini hall. Sounds very sexy, but actually it's two classrooms that serve as one venue. They have been using the hall since the 5 June or the first Sunday in June: on a Sunday and then on a Wednesday. There are two other churches at school here already and there's a fourth one that also now asked to use this school. Sorry, I forgot the question now?

Interviewer: Are they playing any role?

Respondent: Yes, then there's another church called Cornerstone Ministries - smallish - they donate bread once a week and have been doing this, maybe for a third year. It stems from a little girl who was found murdered at our school in August 2000. And that's where YFC, reading about this incident, came to the school. I became the acting principal at the time, it was the start our relationship and I am so glad we could... they also read about the article about the girl. I don't if you heard about it? Anyway, the girl was murdered and

the body was dumped in a room that wasn't used at the time. So, yah, they bring bread to the school and then there's another church called Eagles Ministries, whatever. The person worked from his house, he had a Wendy house, but now he's outgrown it and I used the pastor a few weeks ago. I couldn't handle this one girl; I couldn't get through to her. He came to make arrangements for Sunday and I asked: "Pastor won't you please help me out here?" He helped me a lot, he visited the house and the mother and daughter now get along better. I want to use him in a bigger way and he also makes tracksuits (just by the way) and he's making it for me at cost, he made tracksuits for the teachers. The CEO of Flip File has been giving us some stationery items for about R15 000 and there's about I would like to thank and then he's going to make it for me at cost and then I give them a school tracksuit and a letter of appreciation so I'm going to use him for that. Whenever I want to give something back to one of our donors or business persons, then I'm going to make use of him. In terms of other faith based organizations there's a little mosque, the Steenberg mosque. They also give bread on a Monday. There are some that have the view our school must remain tidy, appealing. I don't hold that view, I am of the view that if our learners can be more ... I'm not saying we must impose these views on learners. But, what I am saying is that I would allow Scripture Union or the Muslims Students Association or whoever else, as long as people can buy into that kind of conduct, the code of conduct of religious people. I would like to think that they lead a better life. It can impact on school pregnancies, it can impact on the dagga smokers, on the boys who just beat their girlfriends and people who steal cell phones. Then, although they caught - "Mnr, ek het dit nie gesteel nie, Mnr"- or lying like that, it has an impact on your life or lifestyle, you know? So that is my view. And it is a view that has currency with most of the staff members and they have pondered on it. But, at the end of the day as headmaster of the school I can make that judgement call. Like, put my own stamp on the school, although I don't impose my views on others, people are free to lead the life that you want. Since I've become principal of this school we take off on Ascension Day but also for Eid, for the Muslim students and teachers. In fact, we are allowed by state for religious purposes to do so. We just need to write a note to the department and they give us the right to close the school, although other schools don't do it, but they have their own reasons for doing it. So in terms of the religious life of the school there are some things happening, although sometimes I feel its not maybe the kind of impact on the learner that ... but one must be realistic. One must look at the home situation, which must actually reinforce what is taught at school. That isn't really happening, because of dysfunctional families, you know? Single parent situations all sorts of other issues. So it's not easy.

Interviewer: How can the churches or religious organizations play a better role? What other roles do you see them playing or do you think you will just expand on what's already happening?

Respondent: I think the latter part. You see, if one or more churches, or the local mosque or whoever else, would like to use the school as a facility, I like to see the school as a community school, it belongs to the community. I don't own it, the kids don't own it and the learners can form part of the congregation

of that particular church and the ... of that would hopefully be that the learners would be better human beings. I mean in 2001 we had a Satanic cell at school, they wrote signs and I wasn't really aware of it and what it meant. Then I called in, I had a very good relationship with the pastor of the Anglican church and he advised me... also persons from YFC. They came to the school and we had a cleansing ceremony kind of thing at assembly. We had people who went into fits almost, I don't know if it is because of the Satanists at the school, but it has been weeded out and they are kind of advising me what to do. That was a big help. Talking of that ... the day after Ascension Day, there was scribbling on the walls. I don't know if it is the re-emergence of this: "Satanist style" and "bad boy Jesus" and my name on it and the deputy's name on it and also some swear words on it. Almost like a joke, some tell me I mustn't take it seriously, but I'll be on the look out for it. But I had it painted over. I have that policy at the moment, if there's graffiti I try to paint over it immediately. I hold the view if you cure the small things, the big things will cure itself or in practice it happens that way or that is what I attempt to do. It was horrible. It was done in a kind of corridor like almost the size of this office scribbled all over, it looked quite messy and terrible, we painted over it and felt better.

[interruption]

Interviewer: Thank you, Mr Manie.

INTERVIEW WITH REV. C, EVANGELICAL CHURCH – LAVENDER HILL

1 September 2004

Interviewer: Could you name me five challenges or key problems that you see happening in Lavender Hill? Socio-economic challenges.

Respondent: Broken homes, dysfunctional homes, child abuse, alcohol abuse, gangsterism and crime. Maybe even ... to clarify crime, one thing I noticed specifically is intimidation. It seems to be a big thing. There's a lot of guys in our church who are really frightened to go out. They so scared they are going to get mugged or robbed or raped or worse.

Interviewer: What one single socio-economic factor, if you could choose out of these perhaps or another additional one, stands out for you as the most distinctive socio-economic contingency that has the greatest impact on the majority of people?

Respondent: I suppose I might be wrong, but I didn't actually put it down originally and that is poverty, I think. That's actually a big thing, because it's very ... it takes away opportunities from people to better themselves and actually make something of their lives. It's a sad thing. A lot of the teenagers, for instance we have who are in Matric now, they disappear in terms of the world itself. They might still be in church, but they are not employed, they are not studying further, so they are just lounging around at home doing absolutely nothing. So I think I would go for poverty. I suppose unemployment is related to that, I think poverty is probably the key factor because they just don't have the opportunities.

Interviewer: Does it have an impact on your congregation, if so how?

Respondent: Yes, I think it does have an impact because, again coming back to the unemployment that is a big thing, we've got a lot of people who are unemployed in our congregation. We've also got quite a few people who are in the textile industry, the clothing industry and they ... a lot of them have been retrenched. There's a big thing happening with a lot of clothes being imported from overseas and the local market is now suffering. A lot of the folk in our church are in that industry, so they have been retrenched and so it's a very sad situation for them to be in. It's dehumanising, I think, to a certain extent not having employment and I think also just the poverty side. I have been to visit folk where the living conditions are just not that great. It affects people I believe. We've got somebody in our church whose living with eleven other people in a flat probably just a little bigger than this hall and that for me is probably the hardest thing to see. I suppose listening is not actually being able to help the person, but it's besides the point.

Interviewer: That's a very relevant one, that's one that I discovered in my investigation - the whole housing problem.

Respondent: Housing is a big problem and even going inside, I mean the thing is ... things are falling apart. They don't work properly and that for me is also not quite a [...] I'm just trying to think how else it might affect our congregation. I suppose it might just be a small thing but it affects you. Sometimes the literacy level is also not that great and I say it affects me because, you know, practically I do my bible studies where I like to get people to read passages of scripture and I have actually got to be very careful where I don't place somebody on the spot who can't read. Because they don't want to say: "look I can't read" and they might be poor readers as well, which to me is something which I find is crippling as well.

Interviewer: Okay, onto the theological foundations. What do you consider the five most important tasks of the church?

Respondent: I suppose, first and foremost worshipping God; equipping your congregation. I suppose teaching them in other words – evangelising, outreach etcetera. Social involvement, I would say, is also quite important. Probably that's neglected often. That's four, hey?

Interviewer: No it's five.

Respondent: Is it five, really? Ja! Did I slip a fifth one in somewhere without even knowing?

Interviewer: You've got here: worshipping God, equipping and teaching, evangelism, oh ja, no it's four. But that's fine.

Respondent: I would like to give five, but it seems I'm not able to get five. Our denomination has the five E's, one of them is also edifying, but I would put them down with worshipping God.

Interviewer: What do you consider to be the most important task of the church? If you could choose one of these; what would be the most important to you, sort of a central, a core thing you cannot do without.

Respondent: I think the essential one for our church is worshipping God. If you are not doing that then what's the point of being at church? That's what distinguishes us from every other institution or organisation or denomination even, is the fact that we are worshipping God. Biblically worshipping God, that's vital.

Interviewer: I don't have it here, but define how you would explain worship. How do you understand worship?

Respondent: Worshipping God in the sense of honouring God, praising God, song, prayer, teaching the congregation about God as well. That's really worshipping God. Lifting up His name, making sure that he is the most important person within the life of the church, within the life of the individual, within the community. Making sure that our lives reflect our relationship with

him as well. I suppose it actually ties in well with teaching as well, because you have got to teach people. You can't just expect them to know to do that.

Interviewer: Describe your understanding of the gospel? How do you understand the gospel, if I was to ask you to explain the gospel to me?

Respondent: We live in a world which is a fallen world, a sinful world because of the fact that Adam and Eve had disobeyed God in sin. Because of that fact, sin came into the world and the whole world as we know today is influenced, marred by sin. It is a big problem, it separates us from God, because of our sins God's wrath is upon us and we will face judgement because of our sins and the judgement for our sins is of course eternal condemnation and hell. We are unable to do anything to change our situation. We are completely ineffective, weak and powerless to change and remedy that situation and we are in need of help beyond ourselves, beyond the human race to save or change our situation. God had a plan, he sent His Son, Jesus into the world to die on the cross for us, He died as our substitute in our place so that we wouldn't have to face the judgement of God. In other words He took God's judgement upon Himself on the cross as he took all our sins upon himself and because of the cross, because of Jesus' death as our substitute, we are now declared righteous before God and that is how we are saved. So essentially we are saved by the death of Christ alone and nothing else, we are not saved by any works that we can ever do. We cannot make ourselves worthy of salvation and we cannot contribute towards our salvation in anyway and we cannot complete our salvation. Jesus has done it all on the cross for us. I don't know if I should have touched any theological values but sometimes I just feel that it is the simplest thing just to say it, you know in simple language. Do you need like scripture references or something?

Interviewer: No, no, no it's not necessary. Describe your understanding of the Kingdom of God. How do you understand the Kingdom of God?

Respondent: Simple: God's people, in God's place, under God's rule. Should I explain that?

Interviewer: Yes, you should.

Respondent: It's just the simplest way to put it. Explaining the simplest way is not always the simplest thing to do though. I believe that God's Kingdom is something which is revealed in the Bible itself ... progressively revealed from Genesis through to Revelation and it will take for ever for me to explain my thinking how you get from point A to point Z. So if you don't mind I will just start with point A, as far as I think relevant, and jump right to point Z. I believe that the pattern of the Kingdom was revealed first and foremost within Genesis. Before the fall we had God's people Adam and Eve, who were in relationship with him. They were His people who He related to. God's people were Adam and Eve; God's place was the place of blessing, where they could enjoy that relationship with God, sort of a locality; that would have also been the Garden of Eden. God's rule was the obedience to His will, His foundation to the relationship as well. His relationship is they are in obedience and

subjection to His law and the relationship is damaged if they are not in obedience to His will. So that's God's people, God's place, Eden under God's rule. And I suppose the rule can be demonstrated for instance by the prohibition, that "you can eat from any tree in the garden except this tree". So, listen or don't listen, do it or don't do it, it's your choice, whatever it is. With the Fall, that pattern was disrupted. Suddenly God's people found themselves out of God's presence, out of God's place, out of blessing, out of relationship with Him as well. So before the Fall God walks in the good of the day and relates to Adam and Eve almost it seemed, you know, face to face. After the fall they are no longer in His presence and so the relationship has been affected. Now the Kingdom has been disrupted, and right up until the New Testament there are evidences of the Kingdom pattern being [established], or is tried to be established again or re-established I should rather say. Say for example you can say with the monarchy, you've got again God's people the nation of Israel, God's place the land of Palestine and Canaan, under God's rule, you know His rule, seen through the Old Testament. The Pentateuch, the prophets, the kings etcetera, you name it. But ultimately it takes its form in the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, where you have God's people – those who are in Christ, as the New Testament puts it. That is God's people those who are in Christ. The place of blessing is again also in Christ, you know? In Christ are all the riches, I think it's in Ephesians where Paul says that. God's rule is again seen in the person of Christ because all authority in heaven and earth has been given to Him. So there, everything about the Kingdom revolves around Jesus Christ and so there is no, you can't say the Kingdom is Israel now, you can't say the Kingdom is South Africa, there's no specific place, geographical place. The Kingdom consists of I suppose in broad terms the church. The church is the Kingdom. But ultimately of course the Kingdom will become a place when Jesus Christ returns and takes his people. So the Kingdom is God's people, God's place under God's rule and from our point in history and time that is all focused and concentrated around the person of Jesus. You know, you are part of the Kingdom if you are in Christ. You are enjoying the Kingdom if you are in Christ and you are obedient within the Kingdom if you are obedient to Christ. I don't know if that is clear enough.

Interviewer: Ja, no it is quite clear.

Respondent: Now I know there is a lot of debate about what the Kingdom is. It's a lot of thinking, a lot of living ... that's my thinking of the Kingdom.

Interviewer: Do you consider evangelism as important for social outreach or social action or do you see it as second best?

Respondent: I don't think you can actually separate it. I think to separate it is actually detrimental to either one of them. I think they have to go hand in hand. I do think if you want to speak of it as a partnership, then I think evangelism is the senior partner if I can put it that way. But they have got to go together. It's no good you seeing a brother is starving and you say let me pray for you and go well on your way. You are not doing anything to help your brother. I think the two has got to go ... well together ... and I think especially in terms of the fact that we live in a community, where not everyone knows the

Lord Jesus ... any community would be like that anyway. We've got to first and foremost be prepared to share the gospel with that person, but then you know the thing is we should be free and willing to help that person in whatever way they might need help. Be it social upliftment, it's social upliftment. If it's some poor destitute person, you know we can give them food, we can give them clothing, we should help them in whatever way we can. I mean that is being other person centred, that's putting their needs before our own. It's very difficult to do, because sometimes we so easily and so readily want to put our needs first and you know we don't like being inconvenienced, but it's something we have got to do. So I would say it's like a partnership, but I will stress though that evangelism is the senior partner. It's no good clothing your brother, but he's still going to go to hell one day. I mean if he willingly rejects the gospel, I don't have a problem still helping the person. But, I believe it's no good coming up to a non-Christian and not sharing the gospel with them and just trying to clothe him and help him and think you've done something great for his person because you haven't really, you haven't shared the gospel with them.

Interviewer: Describe your understanding of sin.

Respondent: I suppose Genesis sort of puts it on the map, disobedience to God, disobedience to God's will, disobedience to God's commands. It's an attitude of me first, it's an attitude of I don't care what the consequences are I want what I want, I want my way and if it hurts you that's fine, it doesn't really make a difference. But ultimately David makes it clear to us in the Psalms that it's God alone ... and our sins that first and foremost is disobeying God in some way.

Interviewer: Relating to this question, do you think that sin is manifested in the lives of individuals alone or also in social structures? Explain this to me: Do you see sin as an individual thing or is it a structural and individual thing? You can be honest. I mean, however, you understand it to be.

Respondent: Let me answer the first part of the question about whether it is individual. Sin is individual, it's something that we all are accountable and responsible for. Now I can't pin my sins on you and say you are the one who did it or you made me do it or anything of that sort. Or the "devil made me do it", like Hansie Cronje! I have to accept accountability and responsibility for my own sins. I do it myself. I guess nobody gets up one day and decides "hey I'm going to have an affair". It starts in the mind, a mind that is in disobedience to God's will because God's will and God's word makes it clear that our minds are to be focused on him and not on earthly things, not on fleshly things. So, if we dwelling on fleshly things, it would make sense that those sorts of things could happen. So I would say sin is an individual thing most definitely. But I need to ask you what exactly you mean by structural?

Interviewer: Do you understand sin as existing in social structures. Such as in any organization, in the government, an institution.

Respondent: For instance, could I say the Catholic Church is the anti-Christ or Islam or something like that?

Interviewer: Not necessarily a religious one, but yes. Could it exist, does it have, can it get a personality of its own, become evil for example?

Respondent: I would say "yes" it probably can to a certain extent, but again not taking away individual responsibility though. Say for instance the State can legislate sinful behaviour and say that prostitution is fine, pornography is fine, abortion is fine and yet biblically these things are not fine, they are not right. You know you can have organizations like 'Lovelife', which you know on the one hand, you can understand that they try and control the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. But you know you've got to ask yourself "well is our condom approach, saying right, you can have sex, but use a condom". Is that right you know? Mass media, the sorts of things that they are condoning, they seem to almost promote violence, sexuality, sensuality and an attitude of permissiveness. An attitude of rebellion against organized religion, that structure is promoting sin, but does that mean therefore that that structure alone is accountable and responsible for that, no. Take mass media, we watch TV, we are the ones who actually sit down in front of our TV and watch it and allow ourselves to be influenced and so the thing is again, I will say "yes" there are structures which do promote sin, but that doesn't mean that the accountability remains upon that structure alone.

Interviewer: Do you believe that it's part of the church's commission to address poverty and other socio economic changes? Explain that to me.

Respondent: Yes, I would say it is, because you know that passage from James "what good is it to pray for your poor brother and send him on his way and not try and help him"? I think we have got to be prepared to assist people as much as we can, but don't think it's the church's responsibility to solve every single social problem. I think it also depends on the definition of the church. You get para-church organizations and they might commit themselves to combating poverty, another para-church organization might commit themselves to combating social evils, like pornography, prostitution, gambling and all those sorts of things. And so there you've got a church, in inverted commas, which is dealing with those issues, but they are not like the local church, if I can put it that way? But they are part of the Kingdom; they are part of God's community. So I would say that they, the church proper again in inverted commas, if I can say that ... it's like we've got our responsibility to do the five or four things mentioned early on, with the social involvement. Yes, and to do as much as we can. But sometimes we've also got to refer people to the para-church structures, you know for assistance. For example, if I'm counselling somebody who is an alcoholic, or has an alcohol dependency problem, I'll do what I can for that person to help them. But you know, it might get to that point where I have to send them to Christians Victorious, or ... Alcoholics Victorious. I might have to send them there. Maybe I'm not that qualified or skilled to help them, but I mean that's just an example. I think that the church as a whole, including the para-church organisations should and can ... can and should do all that they can to alleviate social problems.

Interviewer: What do you believe is the church's role in the community?

Respondent: Again, I suppose, is to do all that you can. But the thing is, it is very difficult to solve a problem as big as poverty. You know, you can take one person and you can give them money, you can give them clothing, you can bring food to them, you can do all those sorts of things. What if we've got a hundred people in the church, in the same or worse position, you know? Can we go and do that for every single person? No we can't. Not that we don't want to, just that we are not by the financial means of doing so. More often than not we find a church in a poor community, anyway I'm not gonna be financially strong, that's certainly our case, financially we are not a well-off church at all. And so the thing is doing what we can might not actually amount to much, but the thing is what we can do, we should do. Rather, put it that way, what we can do to help alleviate poverty, we should do, and I'm speaking now financially. But I think more than that there are other things we can do as well in terms of encouragement, counselling people, you know? Referring them towards other structures, as well, for assistance. For poverty related situations. Say for example, if you get a person coming to you saying: "look I want to go and study further, I've just matriculated, I don't have money to study further" ... as a church we can say: "well we will give you what we can, it's not going to be enough to cover your tuition, maybe we can recommend you to another organisation that gives sponsorships or bursaries". We also need to give guidance, I suppose, to folk who can't do otherwise. Pray for them, prayer is a big one, I should mention prayer, prayer is a very big one.

Interviewer: The third section concerns your congregational involvement. Is your congregation involved in addressing some of the socio-economic challenges in any way?

Respondent: I must be honest and say to you that, I can't really see our congregation being involved in anything at the moment, at present, to deal with any social issues at all. And it is something which I feel really bad about, because it's not an ideal situation to be in. At the moment we're very focused internally which I think is why we are not focussing outwardly. I suppose that does make sense. But, I think if I can justify it though that we have reason to be focusing inwardly at the moment, because we have got a lot of internal problems, which need to be sorted out. Just by way of explanation our church [omitted for confidential purposes] has had a bit of a rough ... you know, previous few years with things amuck with some of the ministers we had here. Some of the congregation members as well and myself and our rector are in a position where we are having to patch up things right now. And I am also relatively new to the church. I've only been here since January and, you know, put it this way also and I assume that this definitely confidential. Ok. [tape recorder switched off].

Interviewer: All right, I'm going to skip the other two questions. Which of the aforementioned challenges are your congregation involved with and the next one was, how are these challenges being addressed. But, you do perform counselling?

Respondent: Yes, we do offer counselling, so that at least I can say we are doing something. Maybe I shouldn't say we are not doing anything. Just to say, in terms of counselling and prayer we are very pro-active in that sense, you know? We deal with people who have issues and if someone comes to us and we can't help them we're more than willing to send them to qualified, trained professionals to help with assistance.

Interviewer: And here's the question: does your church partner with other community role players, government or congregations in addressing the social challenges in the area?

Respondent: Again, I have to ask you to qualify that. Our church, as in [name of local congregation omitted] specifically or is that our denomination.

Interviewer: Yes, [name of local congregation omitted] specifically, if you want to mention the denomination, one can.

Respondent: As I mentioned to you, for [name of local congregation], it's not something that we are actively pursuing. I can't really say, you know, that we are involved with any other organisations, working together to do things. As a denomination, I'd say that we are quite willing to work alongside other denominations and other organisations and even other religions, when it comes to dealing with social issues, but I would also say though that theologically there is disagreement, we would not align ourselves with a partnership, with any denomination, religion or organisation who are belying essential aspects of the Christian faith. Say for example, I wouldn't have any qualms with partnering with a Baptist Church, where maybe just the main point in difference is, whether you're dunked or sprinkled with the sign of the cross. I wouldn't have any problems there. I think theologically, aside from maybe influence over certain Baptist churches which I am aware of, I think theologically you could find there is probably a lot of agreement between us. You know there's minor differences that's not a big thing and you can overcome those differences and you can join a forum or a partnership or whatever, you know, get that guy to preach in your church, preach in his church and so forth. But where there are essential aspects of the Christian faith, which are being denied, you know, like the Lordship of Jesus or salvation by faith in Christ alone ... you know those sort of issues, like the Bible isn't God's word, then I'm sorry, we'd have to say: "no, that we are not willing to partner with them". But that doesn't mean that we are not willing to work alongside them to combat or to deal with some sort of social situation. So as an example again, if we had to be involved with a demonstration against abortion we'd stand side by side with Catholics, Muslims, Baptists, Pentecostals, you name it, it makes no difference. Would we form a partnership with a Muslim, no we wouldn't, because theologically we don't agree. Would we form a partnership with a Baptist, yes, we would because theologically we are in agreement on essentials, likewise with Pentecostals, I wouldn't have a problem with that.

Interviewer: Okay, a final question. I think you explained why or why not does your church partner or not with other congregations?

Respondent: Again, the denominations policy is to encourage that sort of thing, that we do partner with organisations and denominations who we are in agreement with us theologically. That we assist and be involved with organisations, religions, denominations who are maybe not theologically agreement with you, they don't partner with them. But we do get involved with them, but that is up to each individual church through ... it's up to the rector of each church to pursue that. So if a rector of a church feels, well, he's not really interested in that sort of thing, then that is the way that the church would go. If the rector thinks "wow, this is a great thing, lets do things together", then that is what they'll do. So it really depends on the inside.

Interviewer: Thank you so much. That's it, all the questions.

APPENDIX D:

CENSUS 2001 – STATISTICAL REPORT FOR LAVENDER HILL

REPORT ON THE DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF LAVENDER HILL

A comparative analysis giving you insight into the demographics of your area!



This report is compiled by:

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1. GENERAL DESCRIPTION ON REPORT CONTENTS

What is the report about?

The main content of the report is to provide you with comparative information about your area in relation to a comparative area (CA) or town / city or province for more insight into it's demographic profile.

What information are being looked at?

- A. Personal variables:
 - Gender
 - Population groups
 - Age groups
 - First language
 - Marital status
 - Religious groups
 - Educational qualifications

- B. Economic variables:
 - Employment status
 - Occupation
 - Industry
 - Income per household

- C. Household variables:
 - Number of rooms per dwelling
 - Type of dwelling
 - Access to water supply
 - Access to fuel for lighting
 - Gender of head of household
 - Age of head of household
 - Relationship to head of household

What are being compared?

The comparisons are between:

- the way your area changed from 1996 to 2001 according to the 1996 and 2001 census data;
- the way your area differs from your CA or town/city according to the 2001 census data

2. DESCRIPTION OF INDEX-DIAGRAMS:

What is an index-diagram?

An index-diagram is a graphic representation of the comparison of one group to another, the groups being your area compared to the CA.

How do I interpret an index-diagram? (refer to figure 1)

- A diagram consists of axes:
 - * each axis represents a different characteristic
(in figure 1, each axis represents the marital status of people)
- Two values are plotted on each axis, these are index values:
 - * the red line is what the index value of your area would be if there is no difference between it and the CA
 - * the blue line is the actual index value of your area
- The comparative indices are calculated in the following way:
 - * an index value of 100 of your area (blue line) indicates that it does not differ from the CA. An index value of 150 indicates that your area is 1.5 times the CA average. A value of 50 indicates that your area is estimated to be only one-half of the CA average
 - * the actual index value of your area (blue line) is calculated by taking for example the percentage of people who are married in your area and dividing it by the percentage of people who are married in the whole of the CA and multiplying it by 100, $(25\% / 10\%) * 100 = 250$. Therefore 2.5 times the national average
 - * as has been said earlier; if there is no difference between the your area's average and that of the CA, $(25\% / 25\%) * 100 = 100$, the index value will always be 100. Therefore, the red line always runs through the axis where the value is 100.

When looking at the diagram and the way the blue line deviates from the red one, one gets a good idea of the differences there are between your area and the CA with the index value on each axis showing the degree of deviation.

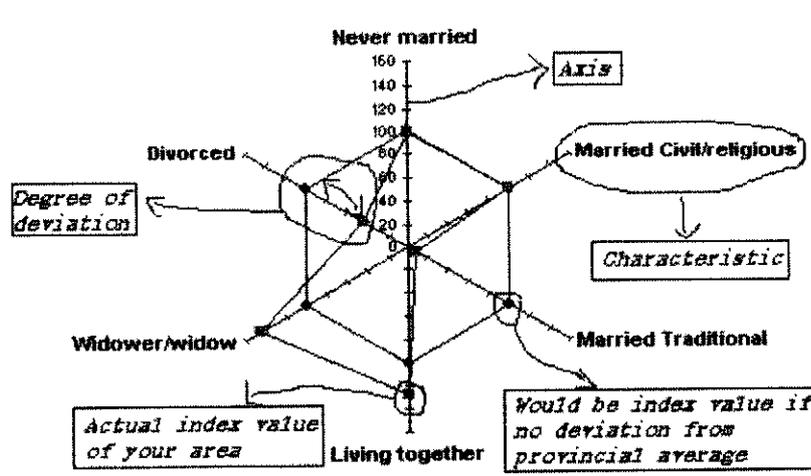


Figure 1: Outset of an index-diagram

3. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

TOTAL POPULATION	1996:	18,048	2001:	19,821	DIF:	1,773
HOUSEHOLDS	1996:	3,716	2001:	3,758	DIF:	42

A. Personal Variables

Gender	1996	2001	'96 to '01	CA '01
Male	47.89%	47.15%	-0.74%	48.49%
Female	52.11%	52.85%	0.74%	51.51%

Population group	1996	2001	'96 to '01	CA '01
African/Black	1.05%	1.62%	0.57%	26.68%
Coloured	97.97%	97.99%	0.02%	53.79%
Indian/Asian	0.91%	0.33%	-0.58%	1.00%
White	0.07%	0.06%	0.00%	18.52%

Age group	1996	2001	'96 to '01	CA '01
00 - 09 yrs	23.82%	20.39%	-3.43%	18.00%
10 - 19 yrs	22.74%	25.11%	2.37%	19.20%
20 - 34 yrs	26.73%	22.39%	-4.34%	27.60%
35 - 49 yrs	16.70%	20.49%	3.79%	20.04%
50 yrs +	10.00%	11.61%	1.61%	15.16%

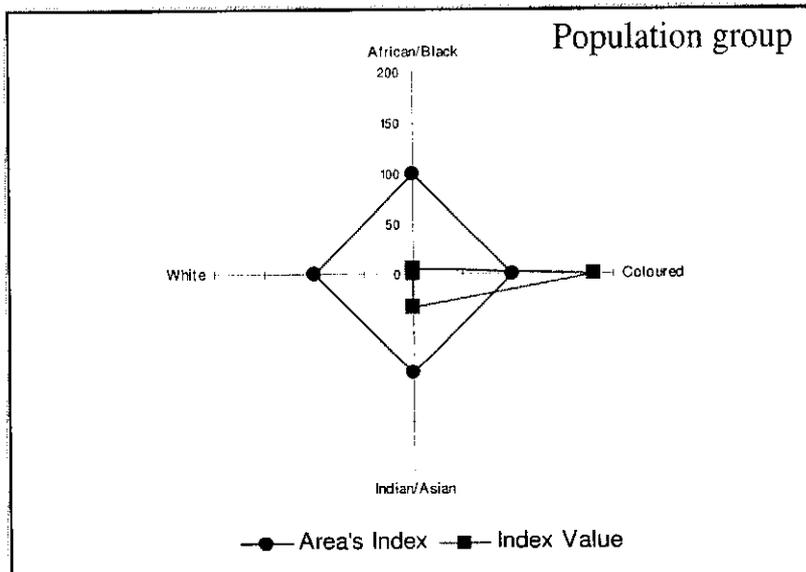
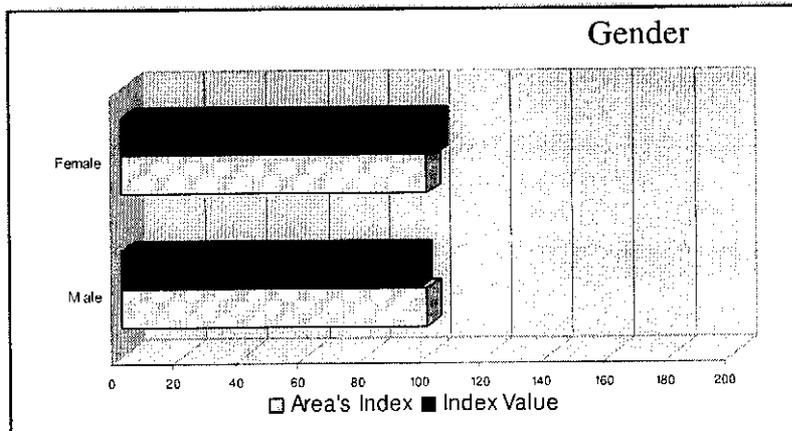
First language	1996	2001	'96 to '01	CA '01
IsiNdebele	0.05%	0.06%	0.01%	0.05%
IsiXhosa	0.18%	0.12%	-0.06%	23.68%
IsiZulu	0.02%	0.02%	0.00%	0.22%
Sepedi	0.01%	0.00%	-0.01%	0.05%
Sesotho	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.71%
Setswana	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.13%
Siswati	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.04%
Tshivenda	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.03%
Xitsonga	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.05%
Afrikaans	88.09%	85.02%	-3.07%	55.26%
English	11.63%	14.77%	3.14%	19.34%
Language other	0.03%	0.02%	-0.01%	0.44%

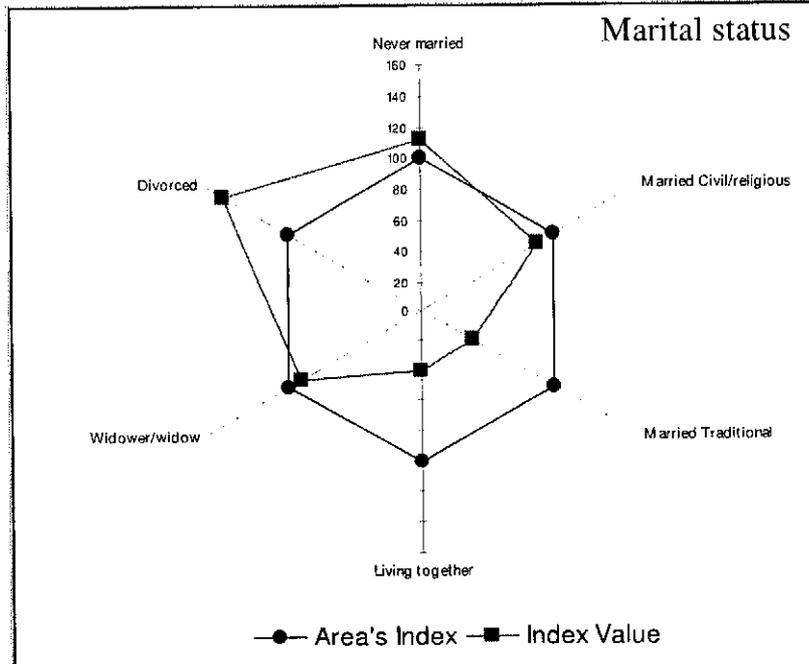
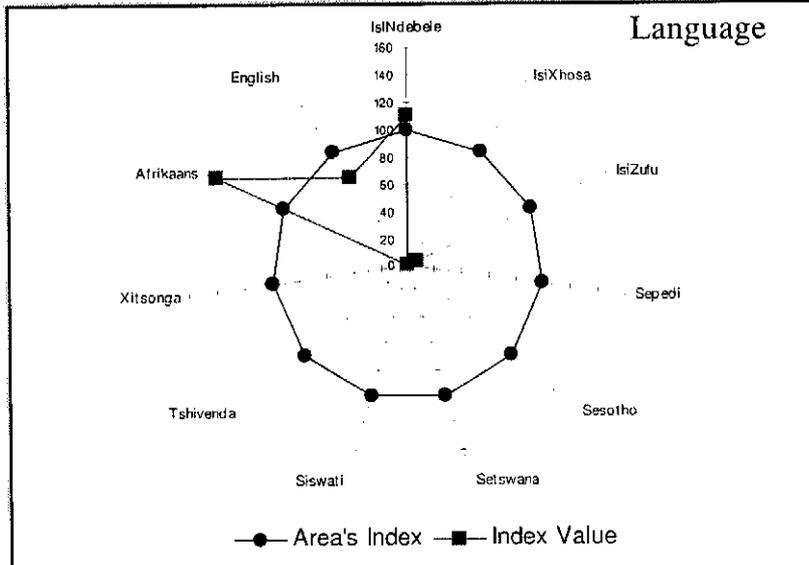
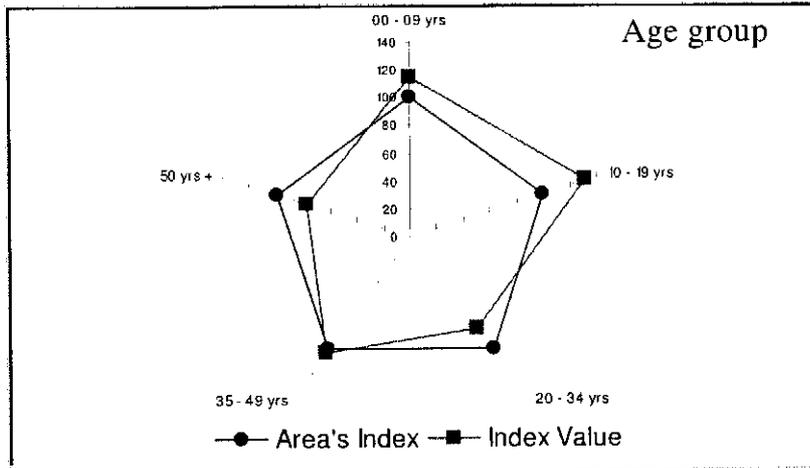
Marital status	1996	2001	'96 to '01	CA '01
Never married	17.77%	65.16%	47.39%	58.28%
Married civil/Religious	62.13%	24.21%	-37.92%	27.43%
Married traditional	2.95%	1.07%	-1.88%	2.79%
Living together	2.79%	1.93%	-0.86%	4.89%
Widower/widow	7.29%	3.40%	-3.89%	3.75%
Divorced	7.08%	4.20%	-2.88%	2.83%

Religious groups	1996	2001	'96 to '01	CA '01
Zion Christian churches	0.40%	0.87%	0.47%	2.47%
Dutch Reformed churches	5.63%	2.57%	-3.06%	15.33%
Catholic churches	10.36%	8.21%	-2.15%	5.55%
Methodist churches	2.27%	2.13%	-0.14%	6.86%
Pentecostal/Charismatic churches	13.32%	19.55%	6.23%	9.23%
Anglican churches	9.99%	8.09%	-1.90%	8.57%
Apostolic Faith Mission	2.61%	0.39%	-2.22%	0.63%
Lutheran churches	0.93%	0.78%	-0.16%	1.84%
Presbyterian churches	0.11%	0.23%	0.12%	1.38%
Bandla Lama Nazaretha	0.14%	0.54%	0.40%	0.16%
Baptist churches	1.98%	2.55%	0.57%	1.28%
Congregational churches	0.34%	0.55%	0.21%	1.49%
Orthodox churches	0.00%	0.02%	0.02%	0.07%
Other Apostolic churches	18.73%	12.60%	-6.13%	13.03%
Other Zionist churches	0.70%	1.38%	0.68%	2.55%
Ethiopian type churches	1.55%	0.41%	-1.15%	1.40%
Other Reformed churches	0.09%	0.08%	-0.01%	0.23%
Other African Independent churches	0.05%	1.08%	1.02%	1.02%
Other Christian churches	5.96%	12.63%	6.67%	10.21%
Islam	19.78%	19.28%	-0.50%	6.56%
Hinduism	0.00%	0.02%	0.02%	0.16%
Judaism	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.37%
African traditional belief	0.01%	0.02%	0.01%	0.02%
Other non-christian churches	0.51%	0.15%	-0.35%	0.52%
No religion	4.68%	6.44%	1.76%	9.21%

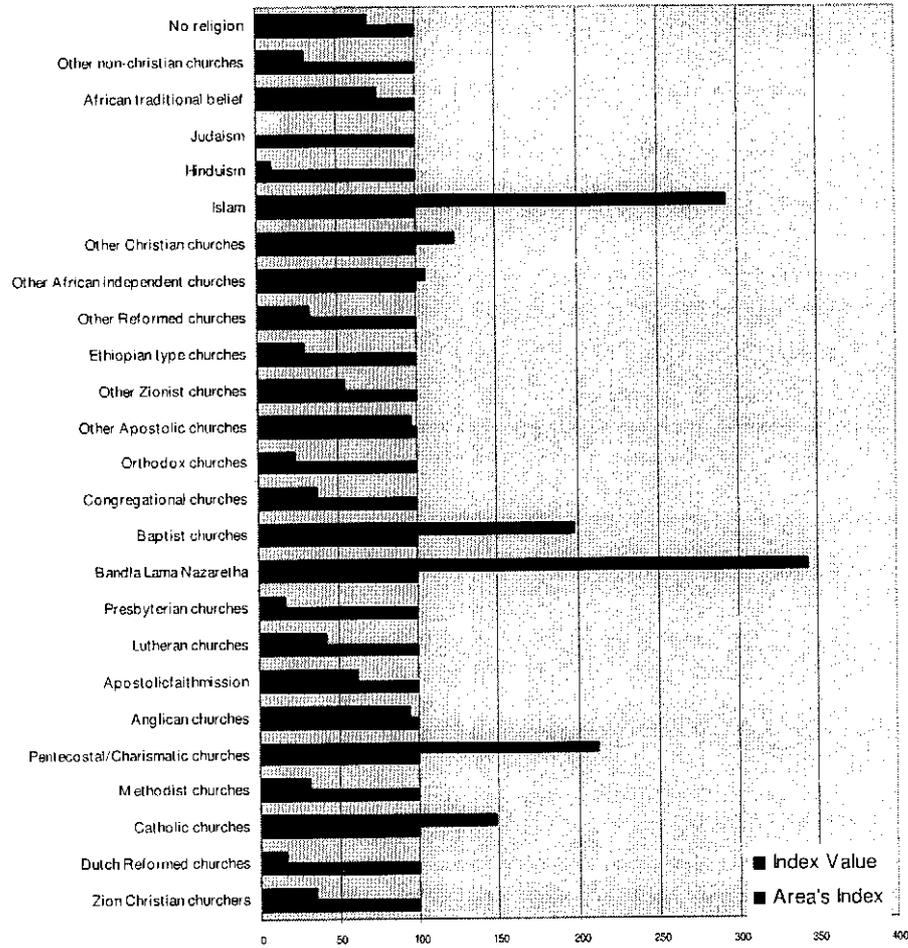
Educational qualifications	1996	2001	'96 to '01	CA '01
No Schooling	6.58%	4.45%	-2.12%	5.80%
Grade 0 - 7	39.08%	38.40%	-0.68%	23.20%
Grade 8 - 11	46.69%	43.16%	-3.53%	36.09%
Matric only	6.37%	12.53%	6.16%	23.58%
Post school qualification	1.29%	1.46%	0.17%	11.33%

A.1. Index-digrams on personal variables

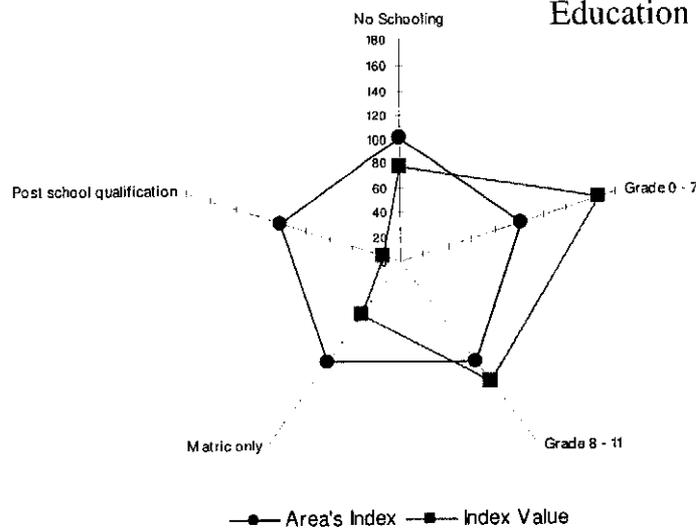




Religion



Education



2. Economic Variables

Employment status	1996	2001	'96 to '01	CA '01
Employed	46.30%	38.74%	-7.56%	48.44%
Unemployed	15.23%	19.32%	4.10%	17.15%
Not economically active	38.47%	41.93%	3.46%	34.40%

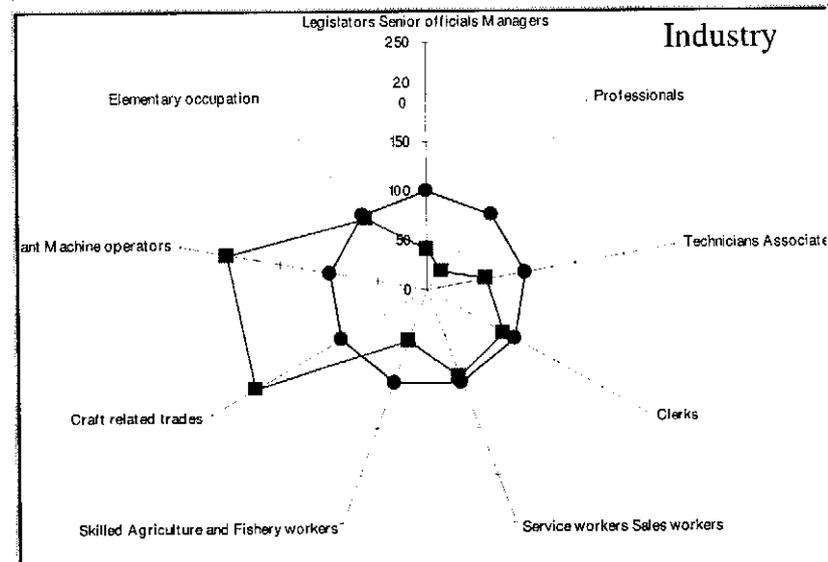
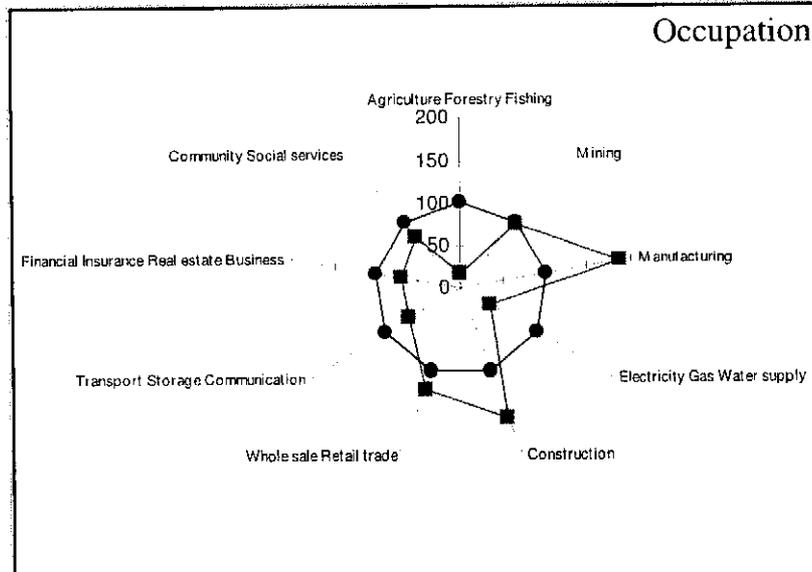
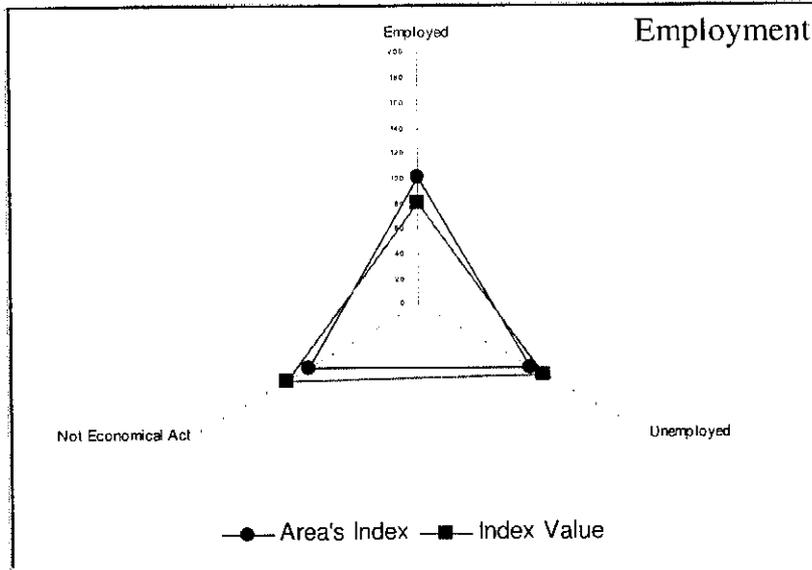
Occupation	1996	2001	'96 to '01	CA '01
Legislators/Senior officials/Managers	1.81%	2.58%	0.77%	6.45%
Professionals	2.77%	1.89%	-0.87%	7.77%
Technicians/Associate professionals	4.69%	5.93%	1.24%	9.65%
Clerks	7.67%	10.81%	3.14%	12.39%
Service workers/Sales workers	8.37%	10.20%	1.83%	10.97%
Skilled agriculture and fishery workers	2.64%	1.51%	-1.13%	2.73%
Craft related trades	20.73%	22.65%	1.92%	11.39%
Plant/Machine operator	17.33%	15.24%	-2.09%	7.49%
Elementary occupation	34.00%	29.20%	-4.80%	31.17%

Industry	1996	2001	'96 to '01	CA '01
Agriculture/Forestry/Fishing	2.60%	2.55%	-0.05%	15.30%
Mining	0.17%	0.36%	0.19%	0.37%
Manufacturing	32.58%	28.64%	-3.94%	15.39%
Electricity/Gas/Water supply	0.48%	0.22%	-0.26%	0.56%
Construction	11.81%	11.89%	0.07%	7.62%
Whole sale/Retail trade	16.42%	21.93%	5.51%	18.03%
Transport/Storage/Communication	4.19%	3.33%	-0.86%	4.82%
Financial/Insurance/Real estate/Business	8.50%	8.07%	-0.42%	11.62%
Community/Social services	15.20%	15.15%	-0.05%	19.30%
Private households	8.04%	7.85%	-0.18%	6.99%

Average income per household for one year

1996	2001	'96 to '01	CA '01
R 23,639.52	R 32,476.90	R 8,837.38	R 75,932.31

B.1. Index-digrams on economic variables



3. Household Variables

Number of rooms per dwelling	1996	2001	'96 to '01	CA '01
1- 2	17.41%	18.67%	1.26%	27.47%
3 - 5	80.82%	76.85%	-3.97%	53.30%
6 and more	1.77%	4.48%	2.71%	19.23%
Type of dwelling	1996	2001	'96 to '01	CA '01
House on separate stand	14.94%	37.59%	22.65%	65.06%
Traditional dwelling	0.55%	3.17%	2.62%	2.27%
Flat in block of flats	58.13%	40.41%	-17.72%	7.59%
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	14.91%	8.48%	-6.43%	5.68%
House/flat/room in backyard	2.14%	2.20%	0.06%	2.17%
Informal dwelling/shack in backyard	3.62%	4.70%	1.07%	4.00%
Informal dwelling/shack elsewhere	1.18%	2.66%	1.48%	12.14%
Room/flatlet on shared property	4.48%	0.40%	-4.07%	0.74%
Caravan/tent	0.03%	0.40%	0.38%	0.31%
Other	0.03%	0.00%	-0.03%	0.03%
Watersupply access for household	1996	2001	'96 to '01	CA '01
Piped water in dwelling	97.00%	87.26%	-9.74%	68.31%
Piped water on site	1.74%	5.13%	3.39%	18.85%
Public tap	1.06%	6.64%	5.59%	11.36%
Borehole / rainwater tank / well	0.02%	0.03%	0.01%	0.25%
Dam / river / stream / spring	0.00%	0.00%	0.03%	0.32%
Other	0.18%	0.00%	-0.18%	0.91%
Access to fuel for lighting	1996	2001	'96 to '01	CA '01
Electricity direct from authority	98.10%	99.19%	1.09%	90.30%
Electricity from other source	0.26%	0.13%	-0.13%	0.11%
Gas	0.12%	0.09%	-0.04%	0.27%
Paraffin	0.36%	0.14%	-0.22%	5.32%
Candles	1.15%	0.44%	-0.71%	3.89%

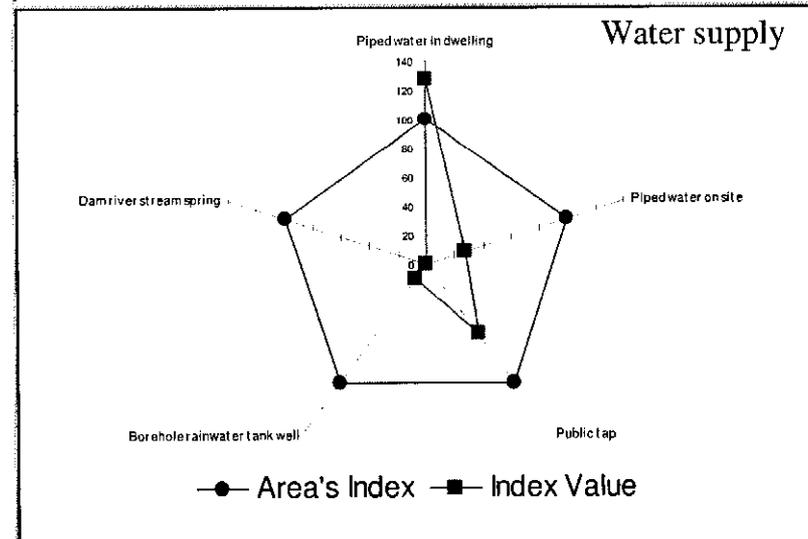
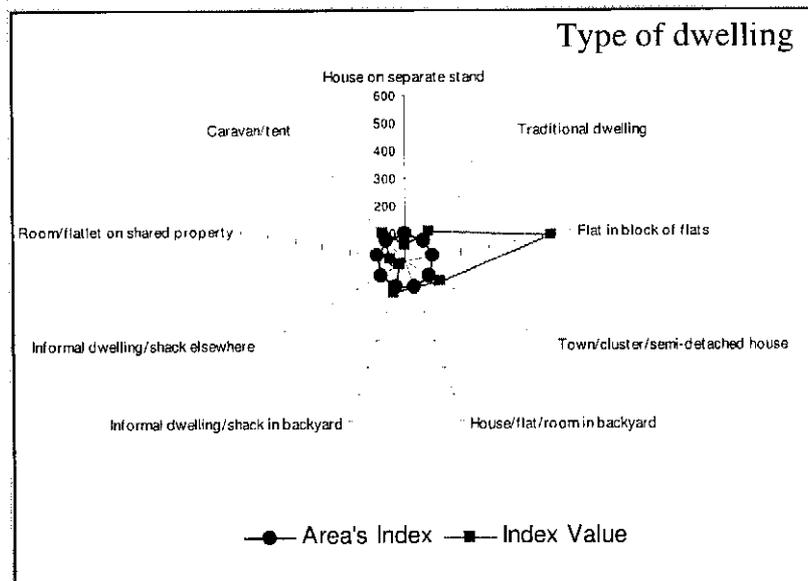
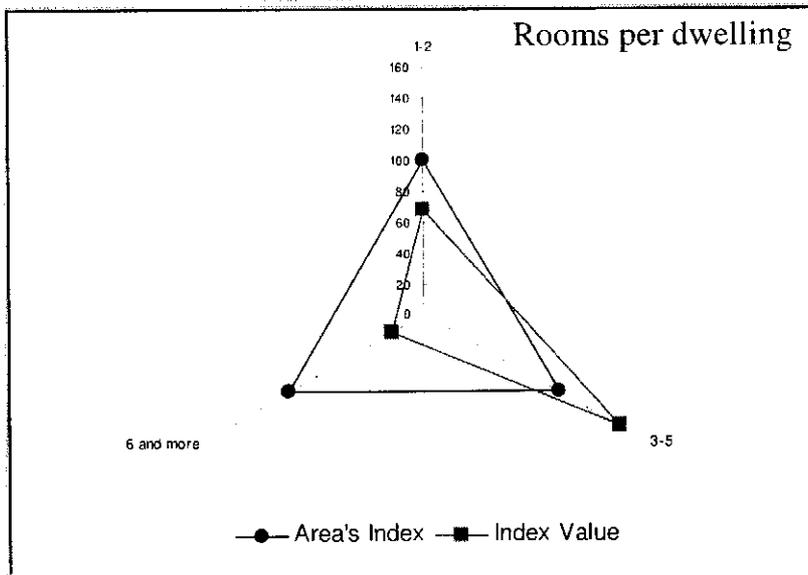
Gender of head of household	1996	2001	'96 to '01	CA '01
Male	57.03%	52.19%	-4.84%	66.37%
Female	43.45%	48.28%	4.83%	34.64%

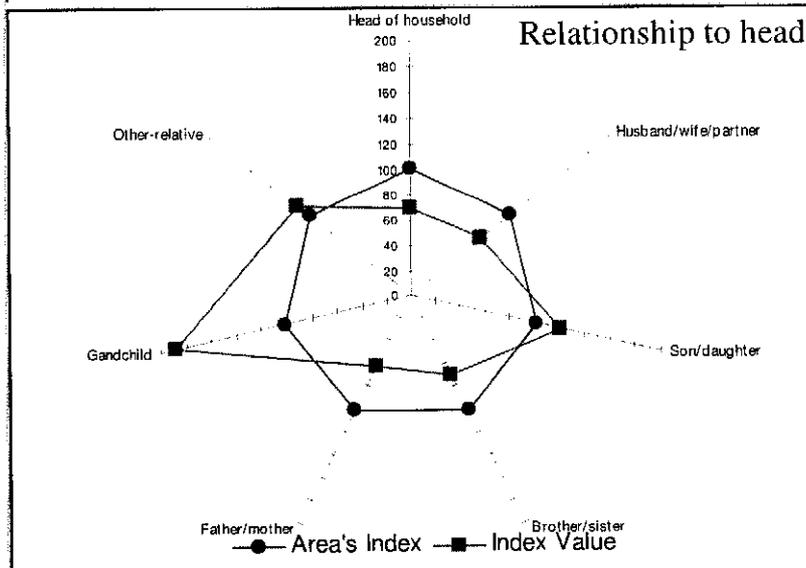
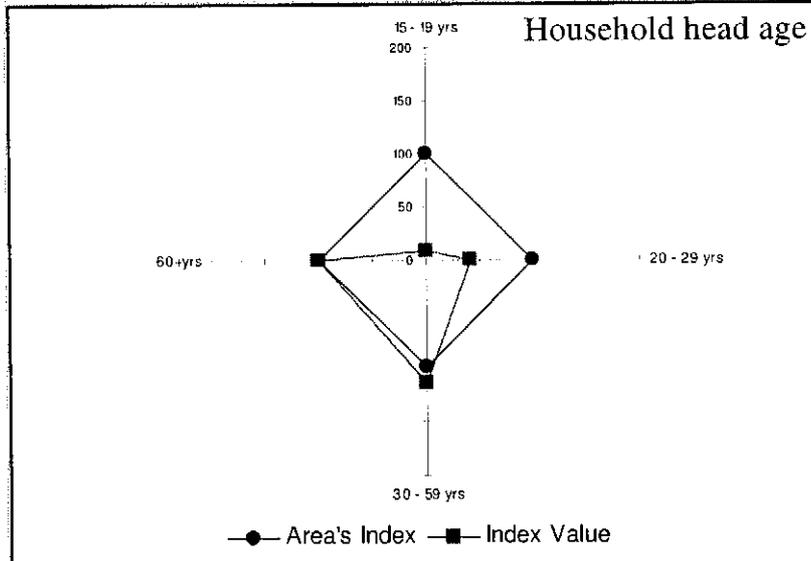
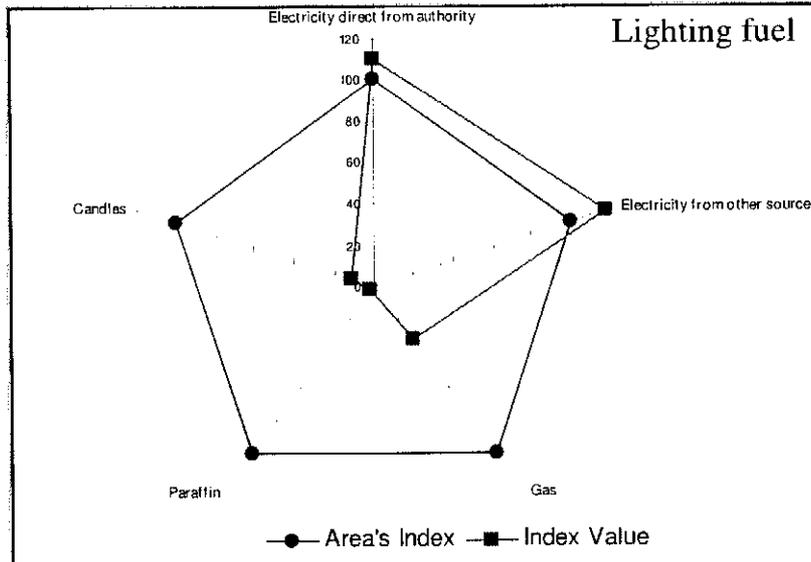
Age of head of household	1996	2001	'96 to '01	CA '01
15 - 19 yrs	0.54%	0.08%	-0.46%	0.89%
20 - 29 yrs	14.61%	6.47%	-8.15%	15.34%
30 - 59 yrs	70.32%	75.60%	5.28%	65.88%
60 + yrs	14.53%	17.86%	3.32%	17.89%

Relationship to head of household	1996	2001	'96 to '01	CA '01
Head of household	22.04%	19.26%	-2.78%	27.69%
Husband/wife/partner	12.78%	11.23%	-1.55%	16.03%
Son/daughter	49.24%	45.58%	-3.67%	38.00%
Brother/sister	1.77%	2.29%	0.52%	3.22%
Father/mother	0.39%	0.77%	0.38%	1.26%
Grandchild	9.64%	13.64%	4.00%	7.31%
Other-relative	4.14%	7.24%	3.09%	6.48%

Year moved to town	Your Area	CA '01
earlier than '96	92.20%	82.21%
1996	0.16%	0.65%
1997	0.19%	2.28%
1998	0.44%	3.00%
1999	1.20%	3.80%
2000	3.68%	4.02%
2001	2.28%	4.69%

C.1. Index-digrams on household variables





APPENDIX E:
CHURCH AND COMMUNITY QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE:
LAVENDER HILL LEADERSHIP

This questionnaire is purely for the purposes of a doctoral study in theology (Community Development) at the University of Stellenbosch. The goal of this questionnaire is to gain a broader picture of certain characteristics of congregations in Lavender Hill, especially with reference to their relationship with regard to the broader community.

Please note that there exist no "right" answers and that all questionnaires are confidential. Thank you for your co-operation, it is greatly appreciated.

If you have any queries, please do not hesitate to contact me.

VRAELYS:
LAVENDER HILL KERK LEIERSKAP

Hierdie vraelys is vir die doeleindes van 'n doktrale studie in teologie (Gemeenskapsontwikkeling) aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch. Die doel van hierdie vraelys is om 'n geheelbeeld te kry van sekere karaktertrekke van gemeentes in Lavender Hill, veral met verwysing tot hulle verhouding teenoor die breër gemeenskap.

Let wel dat daar geen "regte" antwoord is nie en dat alle vraelyste vertroulik is. Baie dankie vir u samewerking, dit word opreg waardeer.

Indien u enige navrae het, moenie huiwer om met my in verbinding te tree nie.

Nadine Bowers
(H): 7120512
(C): 072 141 3451
nadineb@absamail.co.za

A. AGTERGROND INFORMASIE OOR JOUSELF

Maak 'n sirkel om die stelling wat op jou toepassing is.

Geslag:

Manlik

Vroulik

Ouderdom:

16-19

20-24

25-34

35-44

45-49

50-54

55-64

65+

B. JOU KERK

Wat is u opinie van die volgende stellings? Maak 'n kruis in die kolom wat u opinie die beste saamvat.

Stelling	Stem sterk saam	Stem saam	Stem nie saam nie	Stem sterk nie saam	Weet nie
1. Lidmate het dieselfde waardes en lewenswyse as die mense wat in die onmiddellike omgewing van die kerk bly.			X		
2. Ons kerk is baie betrokke in die gemeenskap rondom die kerk.		X			
3. Ons kerk se primêr doel is om ons lidmate te dien.	X				
4. Ons gemeente voel soos een groot familie.	X				
5. Ons kerk word gesien as 'n prominente kerk in die area.		X			
6. Ons kerk het 'n lang geskiedenis van opstaan teenoor sosiale kwessies.		X			
7. Die gemeente se benadering teenoor individuele saligmaking beklemtoon bekering en die wedergebore ervaring.		X			

Aan watter denominasie of groepering behoort jou kerk?
Maak 'n sirkel om die stelling wat volgens u die beste pas.

1. Gereformeerd (NGK, VGK, Presbiteriaans, Luthers ens.)
2. Pinkster (PPK, Pentecostal Holiness, AOG, FGC (Volle Evangelie), AGS ens.)
3. Tradisioneel / Histories (Baptiste, Anglikaans, Metodis ens.)
4. Charismaties / Onafhanklik
5. Afrika Onafhanklik
6. Ander (beskryf) _____

C. JOU GEMEENSAP

Omkring die EEN sosio-ekonomiese faktor op die lys hieronder wat die grootse impak op die meerderheid van lidmate in Lavender Hill het.

1. Werkloosheid
2. Misdaad
3. Gesondheid & MIV/VIGS
4. Armoede
5. Behuising & infrastruktuur
6. Ongeletterdheid

Hoe dink u kan hierdie uitdagings aangespreek word?

ALLE KERKE MOET EEN BEKOM OM DIE GEMEENSAP
TE WEN OF TE BEREIK

Tot watter mate is u gemeente op die oomblik betrokke om hierdie uitdagings op te los?
Maak 'n sirkel om die stelling wat volgens u die beste pas.

1. Baie betrokke
2. Gedeeltelik betrokke
3. Bietjie betrokke
4. Glad nie betrokke
5. Weet nie

Bale dankie dat u die tyd geneem het om die hierdie vraelys in te vul.

APPENDIX F:
CHURCH AND COMMUNITY STATISTICAL REPORT

INTRODUCTION TO STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF CHURCH AND COMMUNITY QUESTIONNAIRES

The following report is a statistical analysis of the 'church and community' questionnaires distributed to three congregations. SPSS, an analytical software package, has been used to calculate the tables. The questionnaire (Appendix E) sought to explore the laity's perspective about the socio-economic challenges faced by their community, the congregation's relationship with the community and their perceptions about their own congregational involvement. The questionnaire was divided into three sections: biographical information (section A), information about their congregation's identity (section B) and the socio-economic situation of the community and the perceived involvement of the respondent's congregations (section C). It should be noted that only the data analysis tables (not the cross tabulations that follow) correspond directly to the questionnaire in Appendix E. A cross tabulation table, which indicates the relationship between age, denomination and other variables, have been included in order to gauge the degree of association between them. The last section of this report includes collapsed tables, which combine response categories such as strongly agree and agree into one category.

DATA ANALYSIS

A. BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF RESPONDENTS

Table 1.1 Gender distribution

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1 Male	11	30.6	30.6	30.6
2 Female	25	69.4	69.4	100.0
Total	36	100.0	100.0	

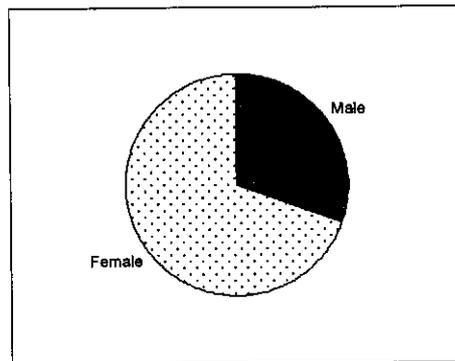


Figure 1.1

Table 1.2 Age distribution

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1 16-19	11	30.6	30.6	30.6
2 20-24	3	8.3	8.3	38.9
3 25-34	7	19.4	19.4	58.3
4 35-44	5	13.9	13.9	72.2
5 45-49	1	2.8	2.8	75.0
6 50-54	1	2.8	2.8	77.8
7 55-64	7	19.4	19.4	97.2
8 65+	1	2.8	2.8	100.0
Total	36	100.0	100.0	

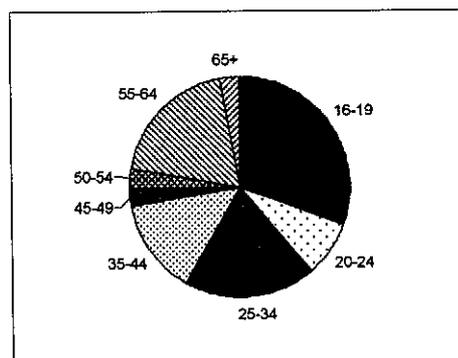


Figure 1.2

B. RESPONDENTS' OPINIONS REGARDING THEIR CONGREGATION'S IDENTITY

Table 2.1 Members' values and lifestyle in relation to community

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
0 Not answered	2	5.6	5.6	5.6
1 Strongly agree	13	36.1	36.1	41.7
2 Agree	7	19.4	19.4	61.1
3 Disagree	8	22.2	22.2	83.3
4 Strongly disagree	2	5.6	5.6	88.9
5 Don't know	4	11.1	11.1	100.0
Total	36	100.0	100.0	

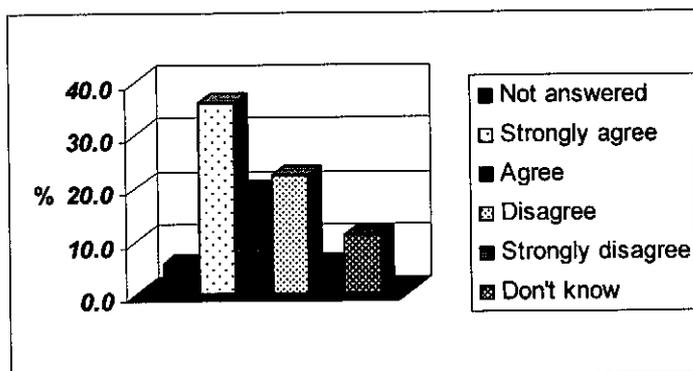


Figure 2.1

Table 2.2 Church involvement in community

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1 Strongly agree	15	41.7	41.7	41.7
2 Agree	19	52.8	52.8	94.4
4 Strongly disagree	1	2.8	2.8	97.2
5 Don't know	1	2.8	2.8	100.0
Total	36	100.0	100.0	

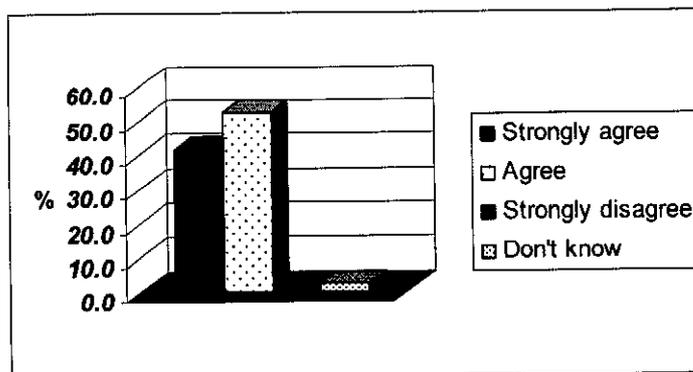


Figure 2.2

Table 2.3 Church membership orientation

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
0 Not answered	4	11.1	11.1	11.1
1 Strongly agree	12	33.3	33.3	44.4
2 Agree	9	25.0	25.0	69.4
3 Disagree	6	16.7	16.7	86.1
4 Strongly disagree	4	11.1	11.1	97.2
5 Don't know	1	2.8	2.8	100.0
Total	36	100.0	100.0	

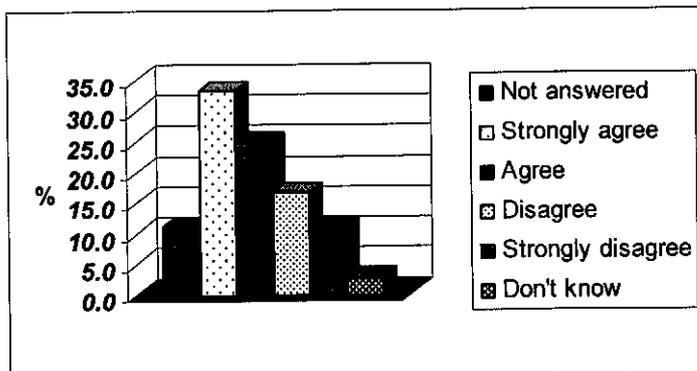


Figure 2.3

Table 2.4 Church bonding

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1 Strongly agree	18	50.0	50.0	50.0
2 Agree	14	38.9	38.9	88.9
3 Disagree	2	5.6	5.6	94.4
4 Strongly disagree	1	2.8	2.8	97.2
5 Don't know	1	2.8	2.8	100.0
Total	36	100.0	100.0	

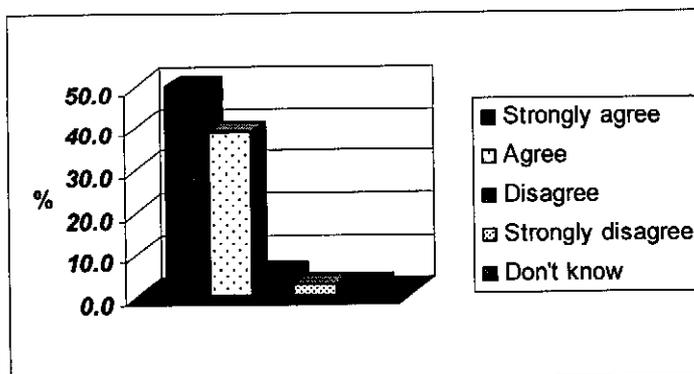


Figure 2.4

Table 2.5 Church's status in area

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1 Strongly agree	11	30.6	30.6	30.6
2 Agree	14	38.9	38.9	69.4
3 Disagree	4	11.1	11.1	80.6
4 Strongly disagree	3	8.3	8.3	88.9
5 Don't know	4	11.1	11.1	100.0
Total	36	100.0	100.0	

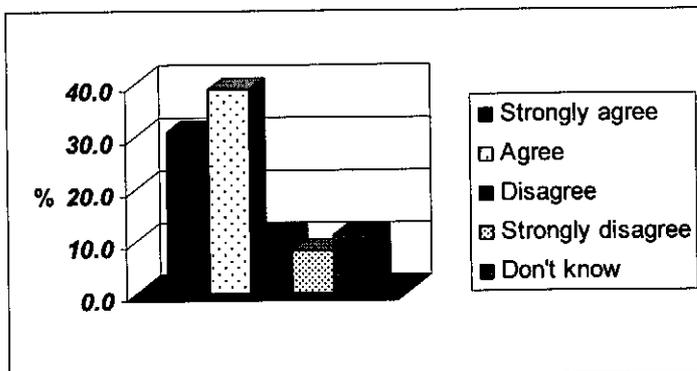


Figure 2.5

Table 2.6 Church and social justice

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
0 Not answered	3	8.3	8.3	8.3
1 Strongly agree	9	25.0	25.0	33.3
2 Agree	14	38.9	38.9	72.2
3 Disagree	2	5.6	5.6	77.8
5 Don't know	8	22.2	22.2	100.0
Total	36	100.0	100.0	

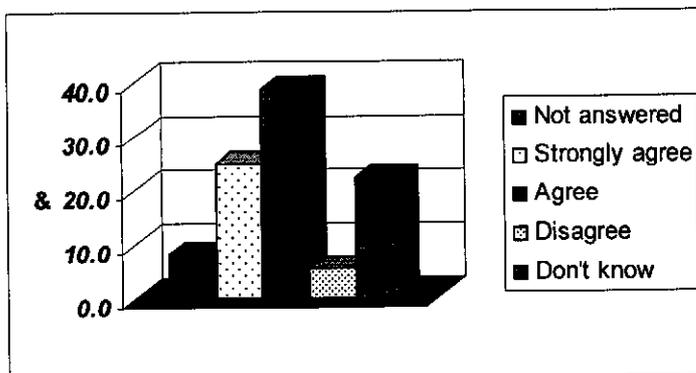


Figure 2.6

Table 2.7 Church and conversion

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
0 Not answered	1	2.8	2.8	2.8
1 Strongly agree	14	38.9	38.9	41.7
2 Agree	8	22.2	22.2	63.9
3 Disagree	6	16.7	16.7	80.6
4 Strongly disagree	4	11.1	11.1	91.7
5 Don't know	3	8.3	8.3	100.0
Total	36	100.0	100.0	

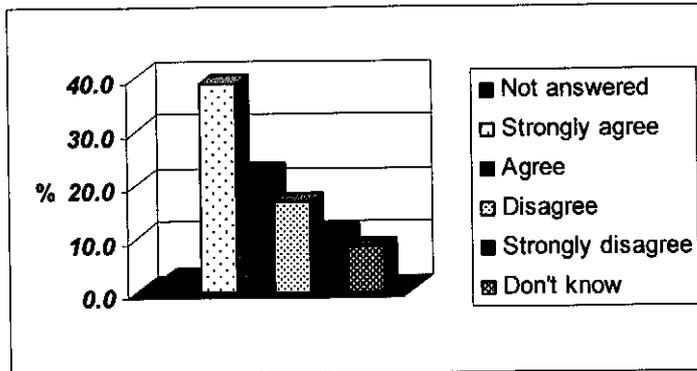


Figure 2.7

Table 2.8 Denominational/Confessional Distribution

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1 Pentecostal	12	33.3	33.3	33.3
2 Traditional	15	41.7	41.7	75.0
3 Other	9	25.0	25.0	100.0
Total	36	100.0	100.0	

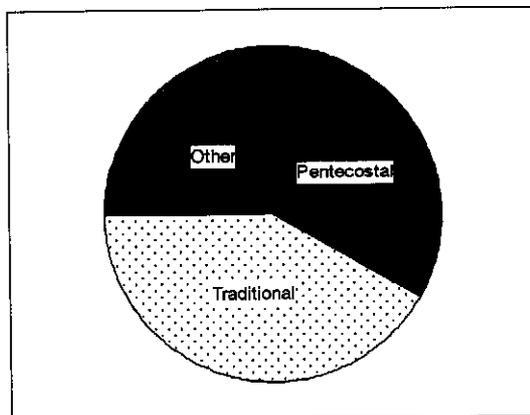


Figure 2.8

C. RESPONDENTS OPINIONS REGARDING COMMUNITY CHALLENGES AND CONGREGATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

Table 3.1 Most prevalent socio-economic factor

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
0 Not answered	2	5.6	5.6	5.6
1 Unemployment	18	50.0	50.0	55.6
2 Crime	9	25.0	25.0	80.6
3 Health/HIV	1	2.8	2.8	83.3
4 Poverty	3	8.3	8.3	91.7
5 Housing/Infrastructure	2	5.6	5.6	97.2
6 Illiteracy	1	2.8	2.8	100.0
Total	36	100.0	100.0	

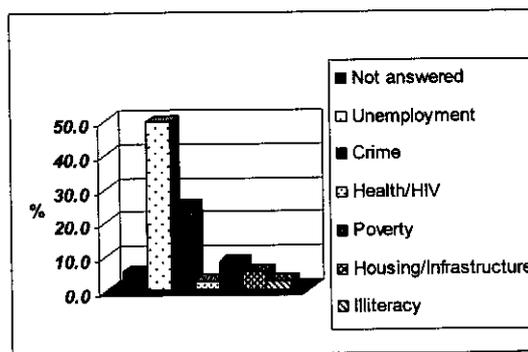


Figure 3.1

Table 3.2 Current involvement in addressing challenges

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1 Very involved	11	30.6	30.6	30.6
2 Somewhat involved	12	33.3	33.3	63.9
3 Not very involved	5	13.9	13.9	77.8
4 Not involved at all	4	11.1	11.1	88.9
5 Don't know	4	11.1	11.1	100.0
Total	36	100.0	100.0	

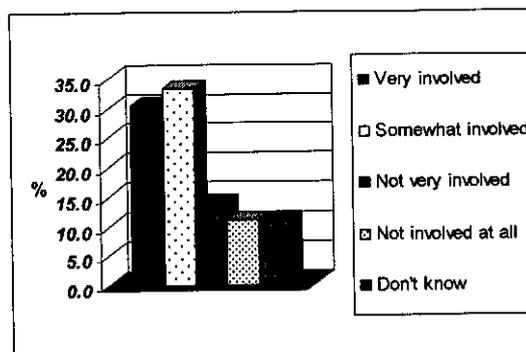


Figure 3.2

Table 3.3 Suggested responses to challenges

	Count	Percent of responses	Percent of Cases
1 Jobs/projects	17	39.5	51.5
2 Prayer/spiritual answer	9	20.9	27.3
3 Crime reduction	5	11.6	15.2
4 More church involvement	4	9.3	12.1
5 Discipline of children	2	4.7	6.1
6 Govt involvement	3	7.0	9.1
7 Encourage people	3	7.0	9.1
Total	43	100.0	130.3

3 missing cases; 33 valid cases

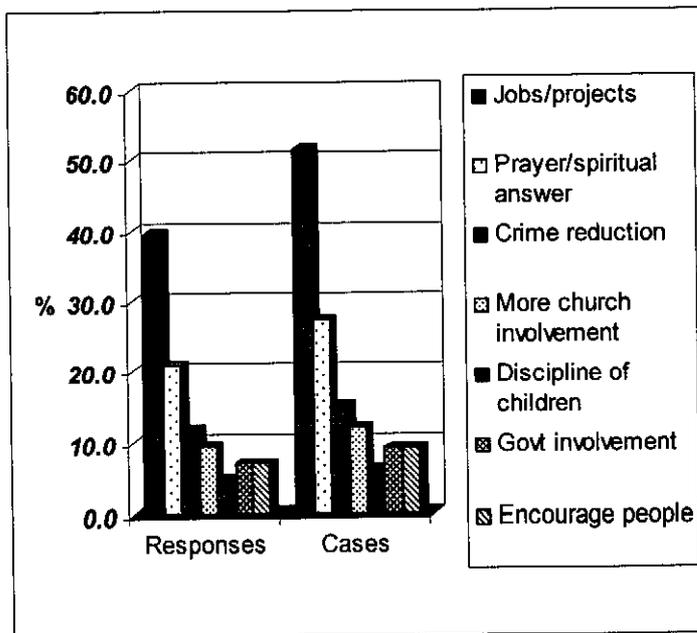


Figure 3.3

CROSSTABULATION

Table 4.1 Denomination/Challenges

	Pentecostal	Traditional	Other	Row Total
	1	2	3	
1 Jobs/projects	4	10	3	17
%	36.4	76.9	33.3	51.5
2 Prayer/spiritual answer	3	2	4	9
%	27.3	15.4	44.4	27.3
3 Crime reduction	2	2	1	5
%	18.2	15.4	11.1	15.2
4 More church involvement	3	1	0	4
%	27.3	7.7	0.0	12.1
5 Discipline of children	0	0	2	2
%	0.0	0.0	22.2	6.1
6 Govt involvement	2	1	0	3
%	18.2	7.7	0.0	9.1
7 Encourage people	0	1	2	3
%	0.0	7.7	22.2	9.1
Column Total	11	13	9	33
	33.3	39.4	27.3	100.0

Percents and totals based on respondents
33 valid cases, 3 missing cases

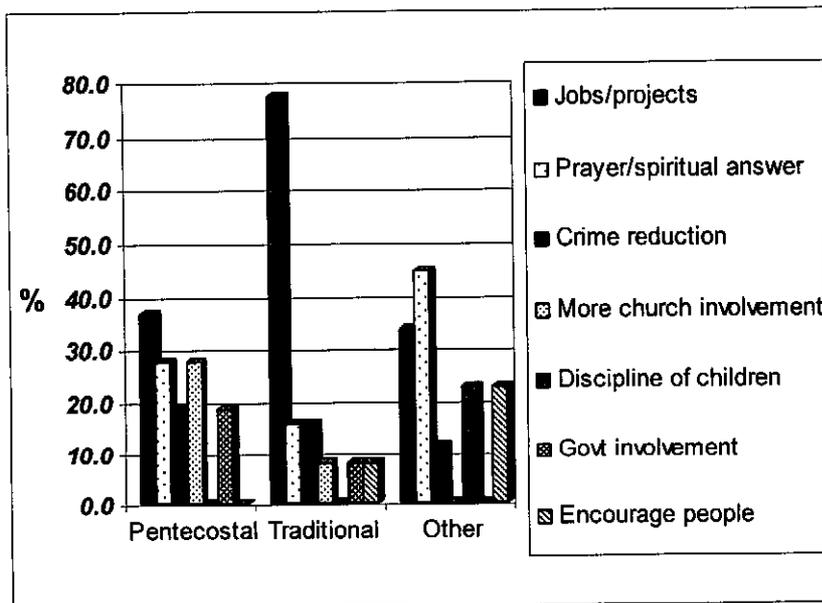


Figure 4.1

Table 4.2 Age/Challenges

	16-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-49	50-54	55-64	65+	Row Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1 Jobs/projects	3	1	2	3	0	1	7	0	17
%	27.3	50.0	33.3	60.0	0.0	100.0	116.7	0.0	51.5
2 Prayer/spiritual answer	4	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	9
%	36.4	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	27.3
3 Crime reduction	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	5
%	9.1	50.0	16.7	40.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.2
4 More church involvement	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	4
%	0.0	50.0	33.3	20.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.1
5 Discipline of children	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
%	18.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.1
6 Govt involvement	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	3
%	0.0	0.0	16.7	0.0	100.0	0.0	16.7	0.0	9.1
7 Encourage people	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
%	27.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1
Column Total	11	2	6	5	1	1	6	1	33
	33.3	6.1	18.2	15.2	3.0	3.0	18.2	3.0	100.0

Percents and totals based on respondents
33 valid cases, 3 missing cases

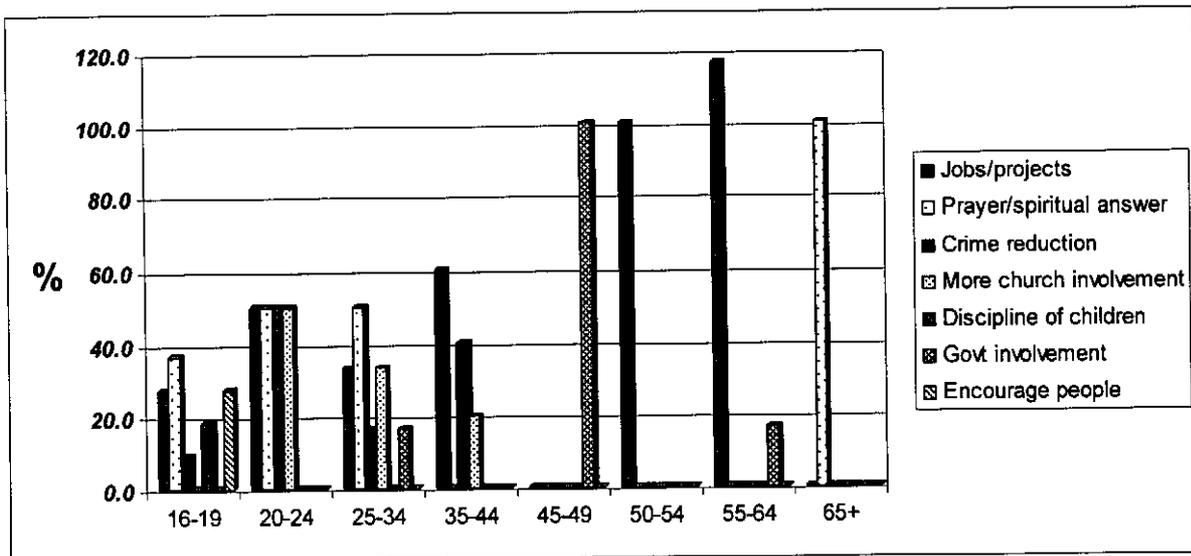


Figure 4.2

Table 4.3 Socio-Economic Factors/Age

	16-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-49	50-54	55-64	65+	Row Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
0 Not answered	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
%	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	5.6
1 Unemployment	2	1	6	3	0	1	5	0	18
%	18.2	33.3	85.7	60.0	0.0	100.0	71.4	0.0	50.0
2 Crime	5	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	9
%	45.5	33.3	14.3	40.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0
3 Health/HIV	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
%	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8
4 Poverty	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
%	18.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.3	0.0	8.3
5 Housing/Infrastructure	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	14.3	0.0	5.6
6 Illiteracy	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
%	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8
Column Total	11	3	7	5	1	1	7	1	36
	30.6	8.3	19.4	13.9	2.8	2.8	19.4	2.8	100.0

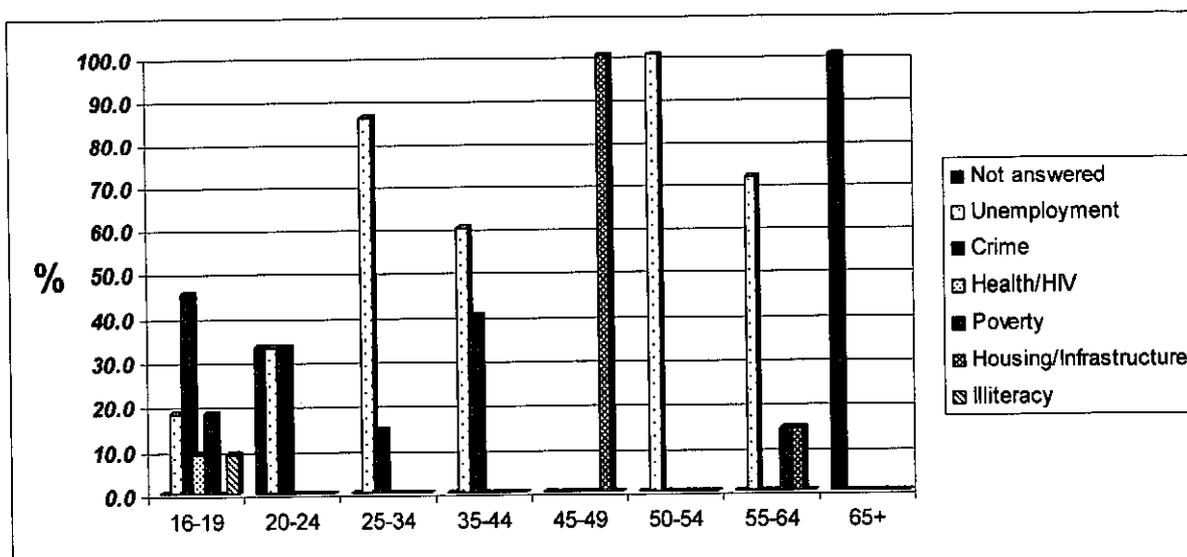


Figure 4.3

Table 4.4 Socio-Economic Factors/Denomination

	Pentecostal	Traditional	Other	Row Total
	1	2	3	
0 Not answered	0	2	0	2
%	0.0	13.3	0.0	5.6
1 Unemployment	8	9	1	18
%	66.7	60.0	11.1	50.0
2 Crime	3	2	4	9
%	25.0	13.3	44.4	25.0
3 Health/HIV	0	0	1	1
%	0.0	0.0	11.1	2.8
4 Poverty	0	1	2	3
%	0.0	6.7	22.2	8.3
5 Housing/Infrastructure	1	1	0	2
%	8.3	6.7	0.0	5.6
6 Illiteracy	0	0	1	1
%	0.0	0.0	11.1	2.8
Column Total	12	15	9	36
	33.3	41.7	25.0	100.0

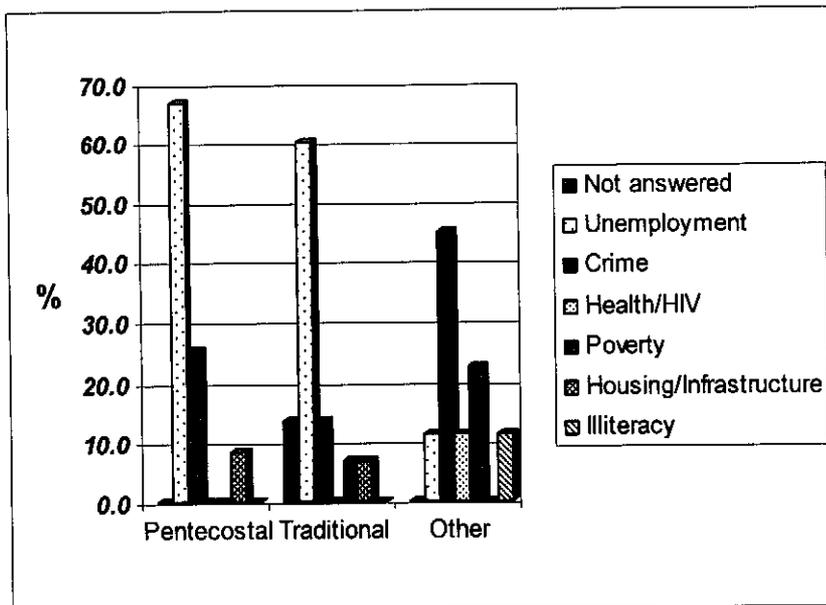


Figure 4.4

Table 4.5 Congregation Involvement/Denomination Recode

	Pentecostal	Traditional	Other	Row Total
	1	2	3	
1 Very involved	1	6	4	11
%	8.3	40.0	44.4	30.6
2 Somewhat involved	4	5	3	12
%	33.3	33.3	33.3	33.3
3 Not very involved	3	0	2	5
%	25.0	0.0	22.2	13.9
4 Not involved at all	2	2	0	4
%	16.7	13.3	0.0	11.1
5 Don't know	2	2	0	4
%	16.7	13.3	0.0	11.1
Column Total	12	15	9	36
	33.3	41.7	25.0	100.0

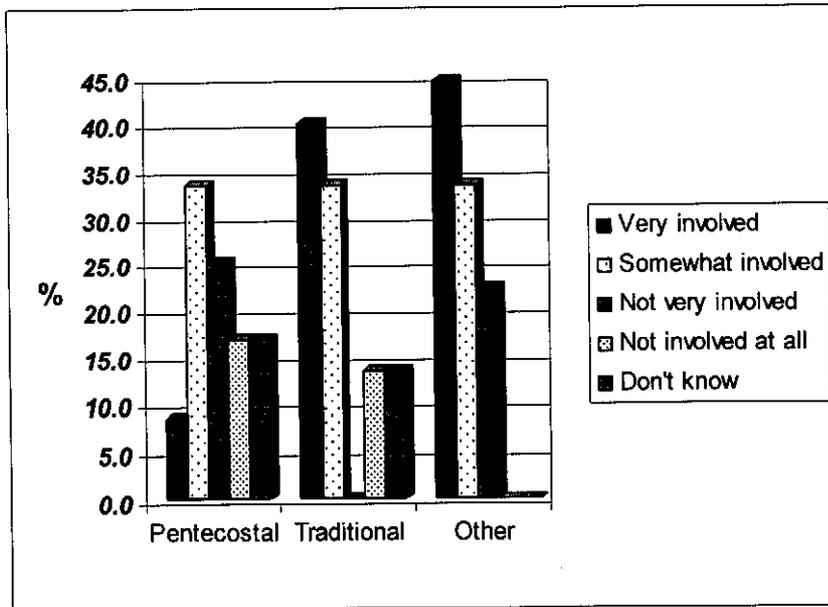


Figure 4.5

Table 4.6 Members' values & Lifestyles/Denomination Recode

	Pentecostal	Traditional	Other	Row Total
	1	2	3	
0 Not answered	1	1	0	2
%	8.3	6.7	0.0	5.6
1 Strongly agree	8	4	1	13
%	66.7	26.7	11.1	36.1
2 Agree	1	6	0	7
%	8.3	40.0	0.0	19.4
3 Disagree	2	1	5	8
%	16.7	6.7	55.6	22.2
4 Strongly disagree	0	2	0	2
%	0.0	13.3	0.0	5.6
5 Don't know	0	1	3	4
%	0.0	6.7	33.3	11.1
Column Total	12	15	9	36
	33.3	41.7	25.0	100.0

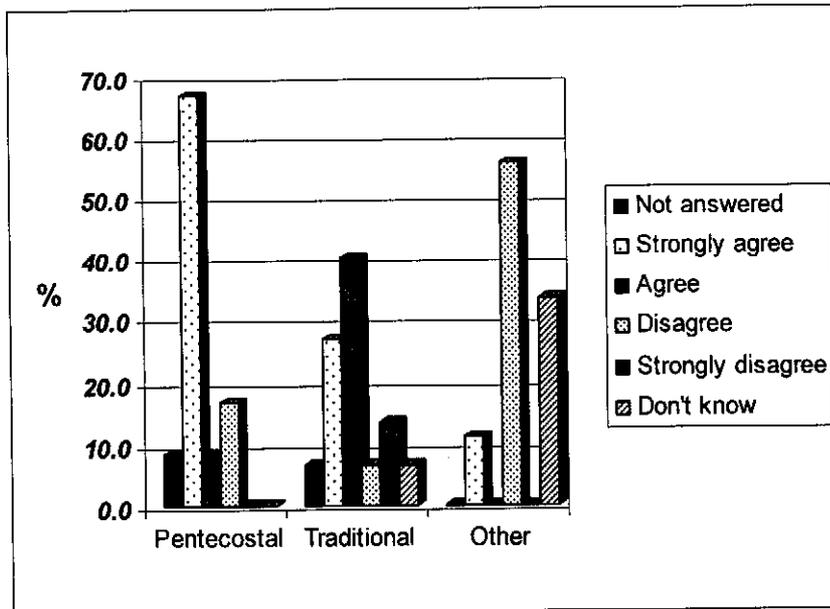


Figure 4.6

Table 4.7 Church is involved/Denomination

	Pentecostal	Traditional	Other	Row Total
	1	2	3	
1 Strongly agree	2	10	3	15
%	16.7	66.7	33.3	41.7
2 Agree	10	4	5	19
%	83.3	26.7	55.6	52.8
4 Strongly disagree	0	1	0	1
%	0.0	6.7	0.0	2.8
5 Don't know	0	0	1	1
%	0.0	0.0	11.1	2.8
Column Total	12	15	9	36
	33.3	41.7	25.0	100.0

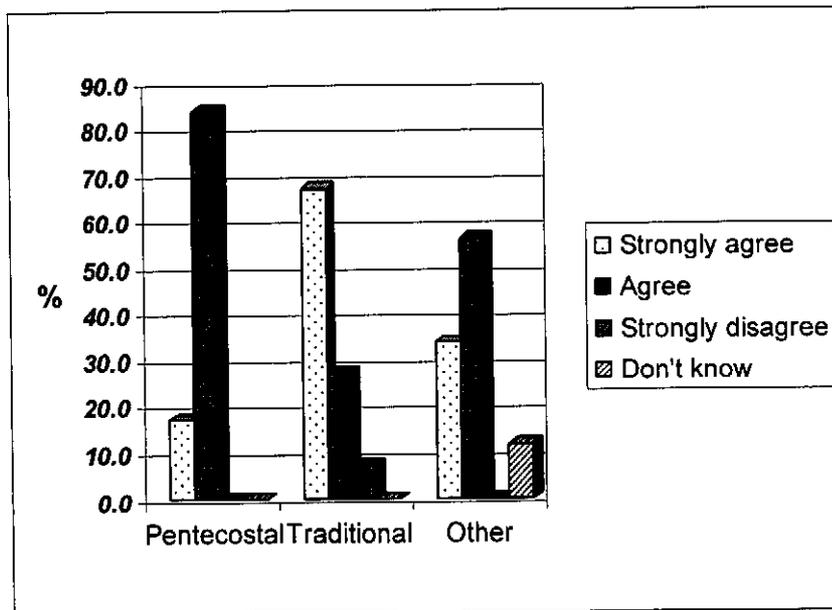


Figure 4.7

Table 4.8 Member oriented/Denomination

	Pentecostal	Traditional	Other	Row Total
	1	2	3	
0 Not answered	0	2	2	4
%	0.0	13.3	22.2	11.1
1 Strongly agree	2	6	4	12
%	16.7	40.0	44.4	33.3
2 Agree	6	1	2	9
%	50.0	6.7	22.2	25.0
3 Disagree	4	2	0	6
%	33.3	13.3	0.0	16.7
4 Strongly disagree	0	3	1	4
%	0.0	20.0	11.1	11.1
5 Don't know	0	1	0	1
%	0.0	6.7	0.0	2.8
Column Total	12	15	9	36
	33.3	41.7	25.0	100.0

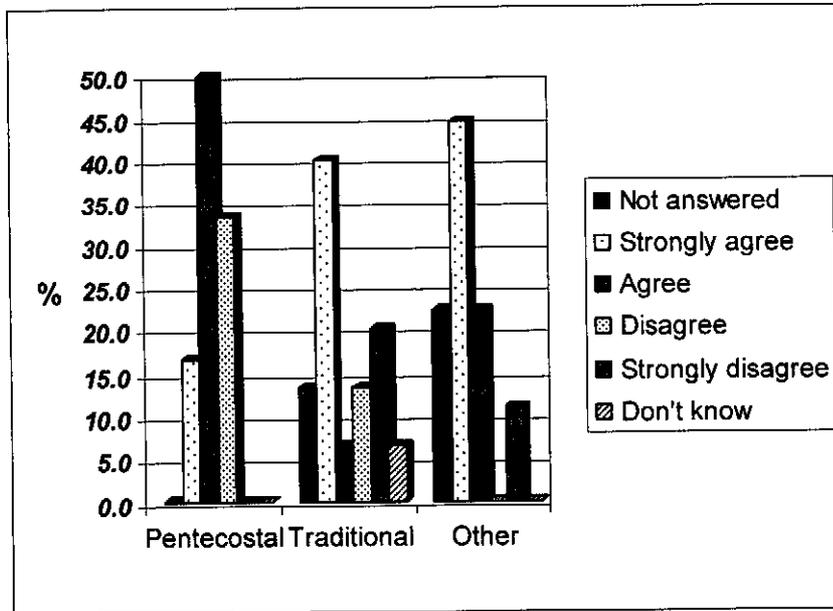


Figure 4.8

Table 4.9 One large family/Denomination

	Pentecostal	Traditional	Other	Row Total
	1	2	3	
1 Strongly agree	4	9	5	18
%	33.3	60.0	55.6	50.0
2 Agree	8	3	3	14
%	66.7	20.0	33.3	38.9
3 Disagree	0	2	0	2
%	0.0	13.3	0.0	5.6
4 Strongly disagree	0	1	0	1
%	0.0	6.7	0.0	2.8
5 Don't know	0	0	1	1
%	0.0	0.0	11.1	2.8
Column Total	12	15	9	36
	33.3	41.7	25.0	100.0

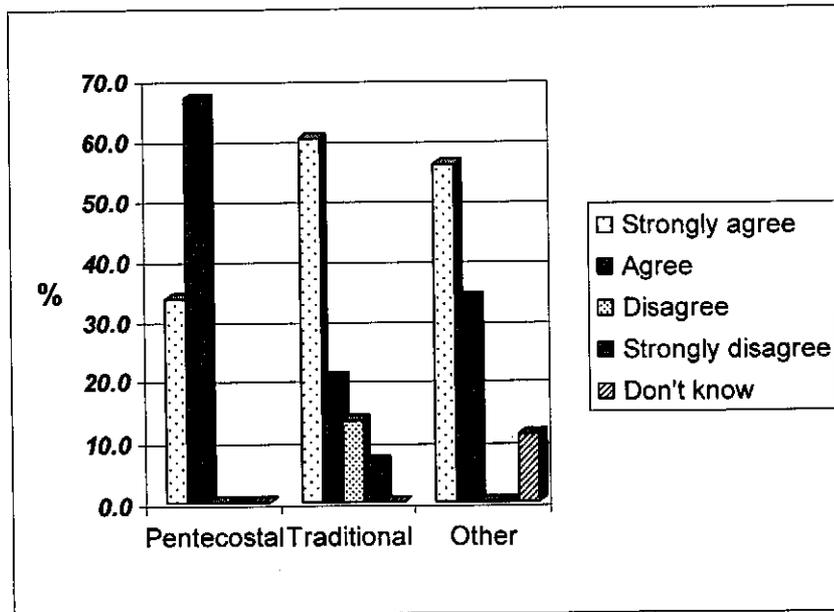


Figure 4.9

Table 4.10 Prestigious Church/Denomination

	Pentecostal	Traditional	Other	Row Total
	1	2	3	
1 Strongly agree	5	4	2	11
%	41.7	26.7	22.2	30.6
2 Agree	4	6	4	14
%	33.3	40.0	44.4	38.9
3 Disagree	2	1	1	4
%	16.7	6.7	11.1	11.1
4 Strongly disagree	0	3	0	3
%	0.0	20.0	0.0	8.3
5 Don't know	1	1	2	4
%	8.3	6.7	22.2	11.1
Column Total	12	15	9	36
	33.3	41.7	25.0	100.0

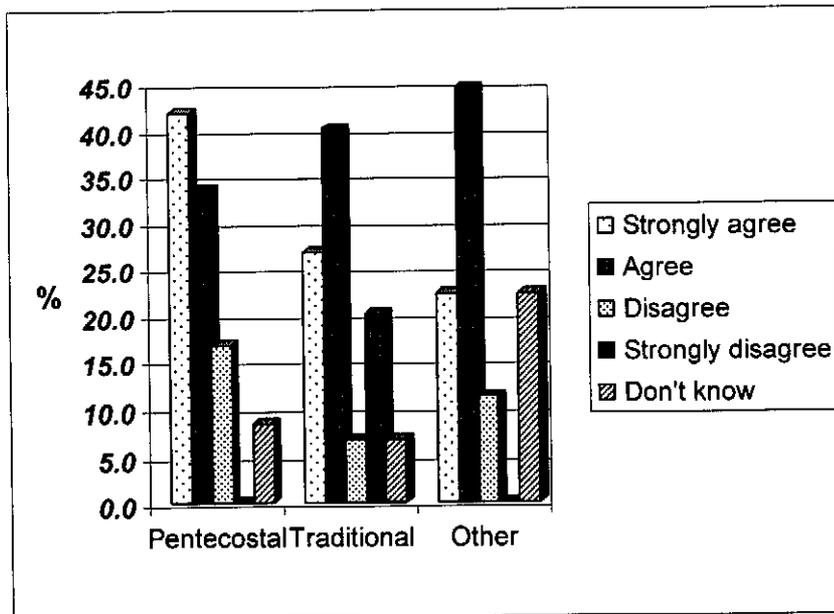


Figure 4.10

Table 4.11 History of Taking Stands/Denomination

	Pentecostal	Traditional	Other	Row Total
	1	2	3	
0 Not answered	0	2	1	3
%	0.0	13.3	11.1	8.3
1 Strongly agree	4	5	0	9
%	33.3	33.3	0.0	25.0
2 Agree	5	8	1	14
%	41.7	53.3	11.1	38.9
3 Disagree	2	0	0	2
%	16.7	0.0	0.0	5.6
5 Don't know	1	0	7	8
%	8.3	0.0	77.8	22.2
Column Total	12	15	9	36
	33.3	41.7	25.0	100.0

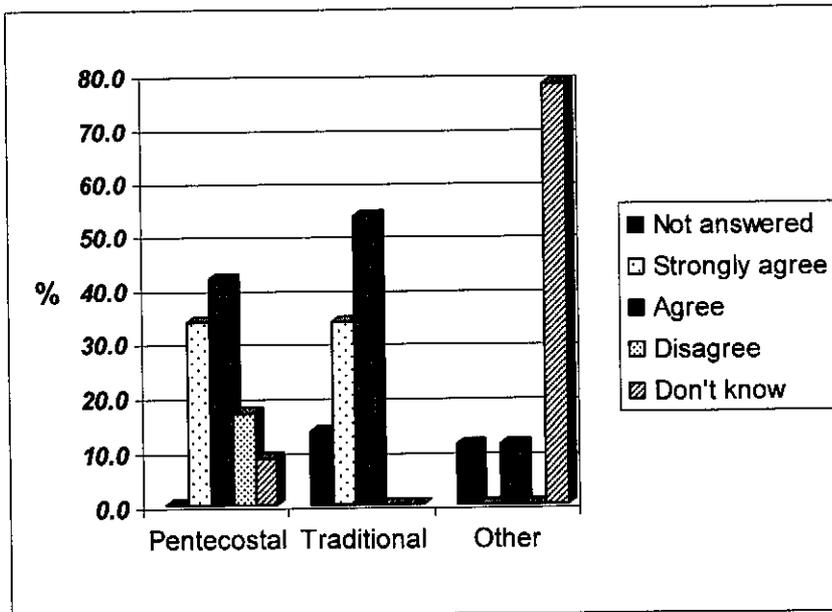


Figure 4.11

Table 4.12 Born Again Experience/Denomination

	Pentecostal	Traditional	Other	Row Total
	1	2	3	
0 Not answered	0	0	1	1
%	0.0	0.0	11.1	2.8
1 Strongly agree	9	2	3	14
%	75.0	13.3	33.3	38.9
2 Agree	3	2	3	8
%	25.0	13.3	33.3	22.2
3 Disagree	0	6	0	6
%	0.0	40.0	0.0	16.7
4 Strongly disagree	0	4	0	4
%	0.0	26.7	0.0	11.1
5 Don't know	0	1	2	3
%	0.0	6.7	22.2	8.3
Column Total	12	15	9	36
	33.3	41.7	25.0	100.0

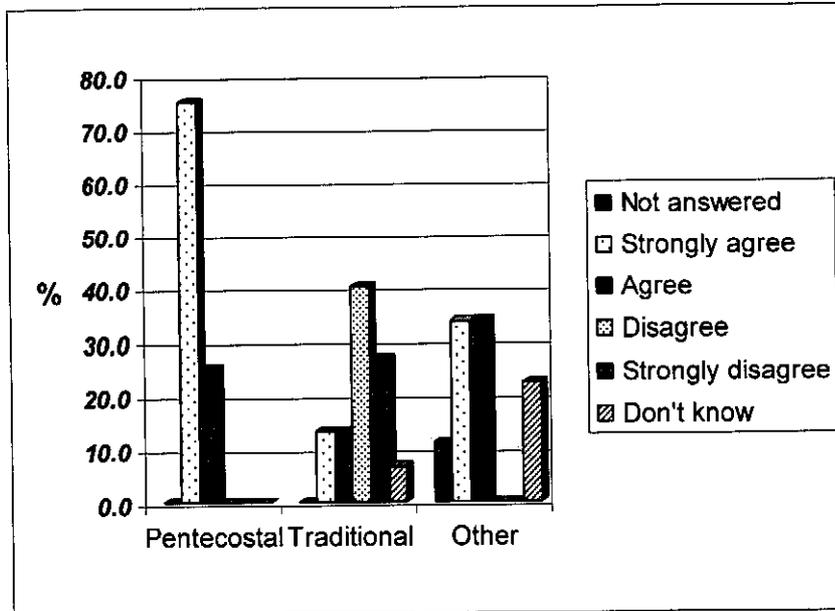


Figure 4.12

CROSSTABULATION COLLAPSED

Table 5.1 Members' values/Denomination

	Pentecostal	Traditional	Other	Row Total
	1	2	3	
1 Agree/Strongly Agree	9	10	1	20
%	75.0	66.7	11.1	55.6
2 Disagree/Strongly Disagree	2	3	5	10
%	16.7	20.0	55.6	27.8
3 Don't know/Did not answer	1	2	3	6
%	8.3	13.3	33.3	16.7
Column Total	12	15	9	36
	33.3	41.7	25.0	100.0

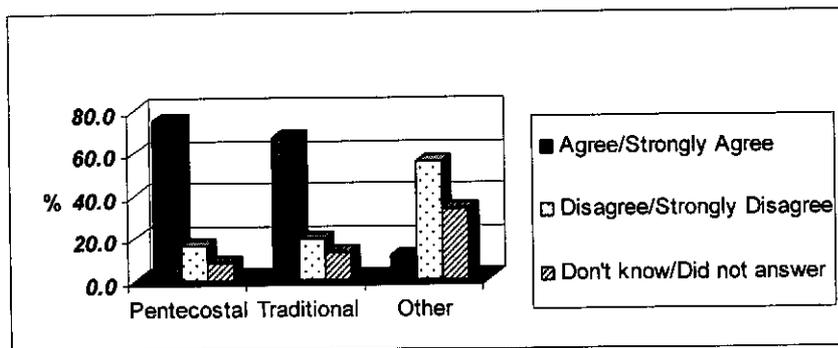


Figure 5.1

Table 5.2 Church is involved/Denomination

	Pentecostal	Traditional	Other	Row Total
	1	2	3	
1 Agree/Strongly Agree	12	14	8	34
%	100.0	93.3	88.9	94.4
2 Disagree/Strongly Disagree	0	1	0	1
%	0.0	6.7	0.0	2.8
3 Don't know/Did not answer	0	0	1	1
%	0.0	0.0	11.1	2.8
Column Total	12	15	9	36
	33.3	41.7	25.0	100.0

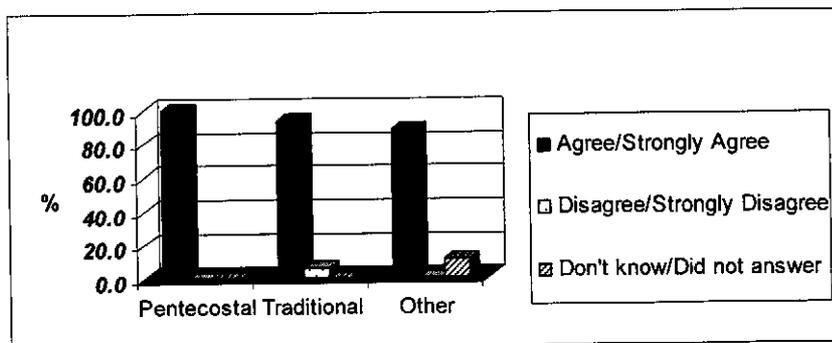


Figure 5.2

Table 5.3 Member oriented/Denomination

	Pentecostal	Traditional	Other	Row Total
	1	2	3	
1 Agree/Strongly Agree	8	7	6	21
%	66.7	46.7	66.7	58.3
2 Disagree/Strongly Disagree	4	5	1	10
%	33.3	33.3	11.1	27.8
3 Don't know/Did not answer	0	3	2	5
%	0.0	20.0	22.2	13.9
Column Total	12	15	9	36
	33.3	41.7	25.0	100.0

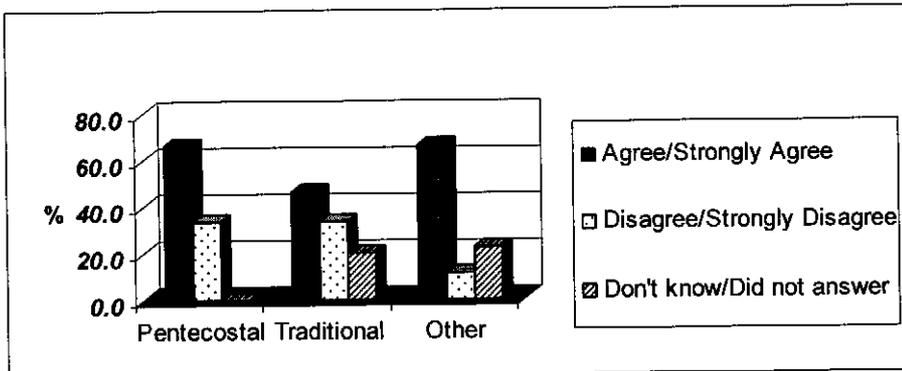


Figure 5.3

Table 5.4 One large family/Denomination

	Pentecostal	Traditional	Other	Row Total
	1	2	3	
1 Agree/Strongly Agree	12	12	8	32
%	100.0	80.0	88.9	88.9
2 Disagree/Strongly Disagree	0	3	0	3
%	0.0	20.0	0.0	8.3
3 Don't know/Did not answer	0	0	1	1
%	0.0	0.0	11.1	2.8
Column Total	12	15	9	36
	33.3	41.7	25.0	100.0

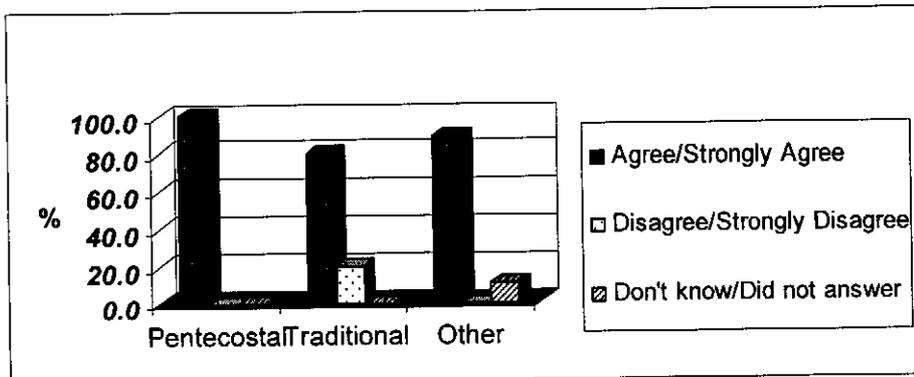


Figure 5.4

Table 5.5 Prestigious/Denomination

	Pentecostal	Traditional	Other	Row Total
	1	2	3	
1 Agree/Strongly Agree	9	10	6	25
%	75.0	66.7	66.7	69.4
2 Disagree/Strongly Disagree	2	4	1	7
%	16.7	26.7	11.1	19.4
3 Don't know/Did not answer	1	1	2	4
%	8.3	6.7	22.2	11.1
Column Total	12	15	9	36
	33.3	41.7	25.0	100.0

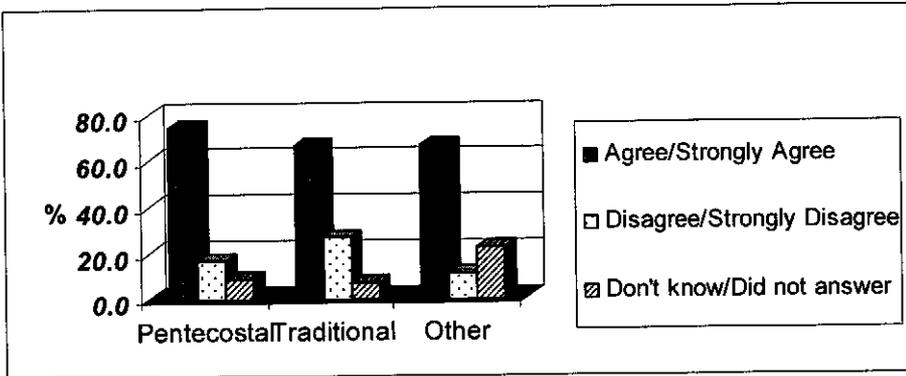


Figure 5.5

Table 5.6 History of Taking Stands/Denomination

	Pentecostal	Traditional	Other	Row Total
	1	2	3	
1 Agree/Strongly Agree	9	13	1	23
%	75.0	86.7	11.1	63.9
2 Disagree/Strongly Disagree	2	0	0	2
%	16.7	0.0	0.0	5.6
3 Don't know/Did not answer	1	2	8	11
%	8.3	13.3	88.9	30.6
Column Total	12	15	9	36
	33.3	41.7	25.0	100.0

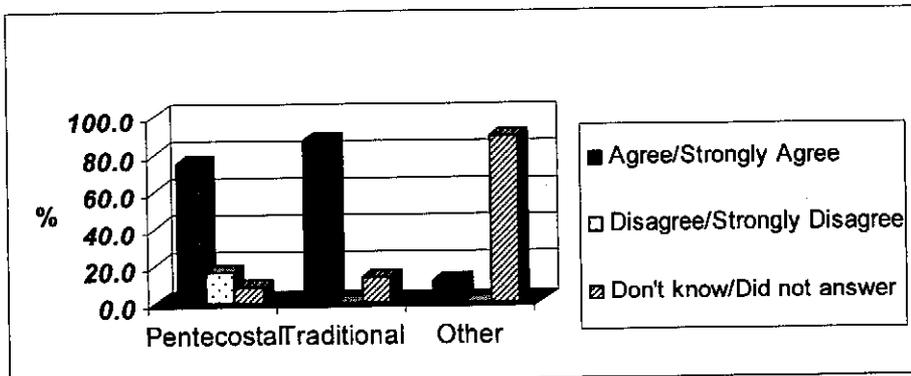


Figure 5.6

Table 5.7 Born Again Experience/Denomination

	Pentecostal	Traditional	Other	Row Total
	1	2	3	
1 Agree/Strongly Agree	12	4	6	22
%	100.0	26.7	66.7	61.1
2 Disagree/Strongly Disagree	0	10	0	10
%	0.0	66.7	0.0	27.8
3 Don't know/Did not answer	0	1	3	4
%	0.0	6.7	33.3	11.1
Column Total	12	15	9	36
	33.3	41.7	25.0	100.0

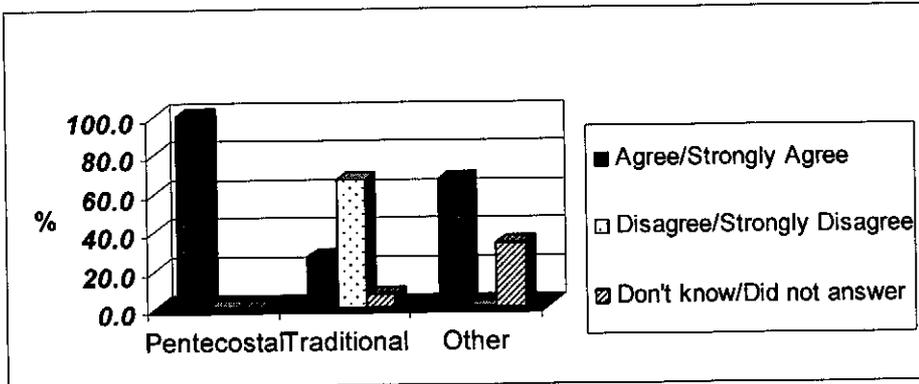


Figure 5.7

APPENDIX G:
ASSORTED HOLI DOCUMENTATION

THE HEAL OUR LAND INITIATIVE

Day One

The minutes of the HOLI planning Workshop held on 11 September 2003 at the Round Table, Main Rd Retreat.

Welcome:

Bro. Willie welcomed all present and opened the Workshop with Psalm 140. A word of thanks to Mark, Naema and Nadine was done by Sis. Anthea.

Apologies

Bro. John Erasmus and delegates from New Apostolic Church are working.

Bro. Hadley Du Plessis – Funeral to conduct.

Bro. Wayne (He will arrive later.)

Bro. Ric (For Friday – Attending a Funeral)

Motivational Talk

This was done by Ric Amansure who explained to all present what the HOLI (Heal Our Land Initiative) stands for. This was followed by a scripture reading from Acts 3v5-23. Holi's main object is to focus on:

- (i) Prayer and Fasting
- (ii) Protesting
- (iii) Proclamation

Reflection on Past Year

In October 2002, the HOLI embarked on its first initiative to make an impact on the community. A **March** was held in the Lavender Hill area, where participants carried placards with scripture verses of a positive nature. The March was followed by an **Open Air Event** focussing on the youth of our community – to show that there are other alternatives for our youth in the area.

The **Carols by Candlelight** held in December 2002, was truly a success as the HOLI sent a very clear and brave message to the community just by going ahead with this event amidst the fact that 4 people had been killed over that weekend. This was truly a challenge to say that we will not stand back and allow the gangs in our area to keep us hostage, but that we will take ownership of our area. This event had many spin offs as members of the community approached us to have more of these positive events happening.

The **LOVE CONCERT**, held in February 2003, was also a successful event in that we were supported by COKE with their Events Truck. This allowed local talent in the community to be displayed and gave the opportunity for upcoming youngsters to share their stories - that we can excell amidst the circumstances we find ourselves in and that becoming a gangster is not the only option.

The **Healing and Restoration service** held in June 2003 at the New Apostolic Church, challenged the existence of religious bodies in our community to work together despite our differences. This was a big step in building bridges amongst our churches and showing the community that we can work together and thereby we can bring healing and restoration to a traumatized community. The impact of this service, the atmosphere created and co-operation with religious structures would definitely define this event as being successful.

Many thanks to all who have worked so well in bringing a clear message of hope to a community who have become apathetic to what happens around them. I'm sure that we are all blessed and inspired by the outcomes of these events.

- engage with outside roleplayers and initiatives to ensure meaningful development
- to sensitise the religious community around social issues
- to propogate tolerance , respect and co-operation between religious leaders on common issues that affect the community

Main Events:

2003

The date for the Carols By Candlelight has been finalised for Thursday, 4 December 2003. Planning for this event will be done on Friday, 17 October 2003. Please bring you ideas along.

2004

- 1) HEALING AND RESTORATION SERVICE – 27 June
- 2) International Peace Service - 26 September
- 3) Gala Event – 9 October
- 4) Carols by Candlelight – December

Please consider these dates wether it will fit in with your church calendar.

Youth

The following task team will work on programmes for the youth throughout the year:

Nadine Bowers, Mark Issacs, Lionel Paulse and Naeema Moses (Convener)
Talent Search and Coffee Bar are some of the suggestions to work on.

The HOLI meetings will be held the third Friday of each month February – November. This will include the end of year function for the HOLI – 21 November.

We would like to have a newsletter for the HOLI in the near future. You are most welcome to give any input as your suggestions would be valued.

May God Richly Bless You!

Day 2

Objectives for HOLI

To bring the message of peace and hope to a traumatized community:

- To promote the message of peace and hope to the community
- To bring about healing and restoration of broken relationships
- To encourage the community to be all that they are created to be
- To give spiritual support to families and the community at large
- To show compassion and mercy to all who sincerely seek support
- To encourage people to break the cycle powerlessness (hopelessness, self-pity, despair, abuse) and to take responsibility for themselves and their community
- To promote creativity, talents and skills amongst the peoples of our community

- To create alternatives for the youth of our community:
- To engage youth in meaningful activities that promotes an atmosphere of sharing (resources and ideas) – network amongst youth groups
- Support the schools and church youth
- To provide support for existing youth groups
- To promote the development good leadership through motivation and education
- To promote self-development that leads to an attitude of servanthood
- To educate, sensitize and conscientise the church around the youth about the necessity of accepting the youth as part of the community and its decision making
- To reinforce the identity and value of young people as an integral part of the community

VISION:

Impacting the community from brokenness to wholeness with a holistic approach.

The role of the HOLI in the community:

- providing a platform for religious organisations to impact the community
- networking with religious community organisations and structures
- organising and promoting community events that leads to restoration and healing

THE HEAL OUR LAND INITIATIVE
24-HOUR PRAYER CHAIN FOR LAVENDER HILL



Starting on **WEDNESDAY, 16 October 2002** at 06:00 am and
ending on **THURSDAY 17 October 2002** at 06:00 am

"If My people who are called by My name will humble themselves, and pray and seek My face, and turn from their wicked ways, then I will hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin and heal their land." - 2 Chronicles 7:14

Thank you for participating in this 24 - hour prayer chain. As the **HEAL OUR LAND INITIATIVE (HOLI)** we have recognized the need for God's people to come together in unity like never before and pray for the healing of our communities. We are therefore calling on the people of God to pray against the evil of crime, violence in all it's forms, the selling and distribution of illegal drugs, poverty, unemployment and gangsterism. In the light of God's Word we are looking to God to "hear from heaven" "forgive our sin" and "heal our land."

Please read the following scripture taken from the Bible - The New King James Version

Blessed is the man 1 Who walks not in the counsel of the ungodly, Nor stands in the path of sinners, Nor sits in the seat of the scornful; 2 But his delight is in the law of the LORD, And in His law he meditates day and night. - Psalm 1:1-2

Now meditate on these issues:

15. The joining of gangs by our young people, especially the boys.
16. The leaders of gangs who trap young people into joining gangs through a false concept of belonging and care, money and so-call respect.
17. The activities of gangs such as crime and violence, drugs, alcohol, rape, gang fights, etc
18. The neighbourhoods and its people that are terrorized by gang activity.
19. The police and their efforts to curb gang activity.
20. The parents of children who are involved with gangs.
21. Relatives who have lost love ones through gang related violence.

Pray for:

9. An end to gang activity in our community including the ongoing war between rival gangs.
10. Strength and courage in our young people so that they can resist the temptation to join gangs.
11. For wisdom and strength among the police as they deal with the ongoing gang wars and killing, especially of innocent people.
12. Groups and organizations that are seeking alternative activities for our young people.

If you would like to participate more actively in the **HEAL OUR LAND INITIATIVE (HOLI)**, please do not hesitate in contacting us at the New World Foundation – Ph. (021) 701 1150

THE HEAL OUR LAND INITIATIVE
24-HOUR PRAYER CHAIN FOR LAVENDER HILL

14	Wednesday	07:00 – 08:00 pm
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INTERNATIONAL DAY OF PEACE VIGIL

DATE: SUNDAY, 21 SEPTEMBER 2003

TIME: 15H00 – 16H00

VENUE: BATTLEFIELD / PEACE PARK

PROGRAMME:

Marimbas play 14h30 – 15h00

PROGRAMME DIRECTOR: W. Newhoudt

1. National Anthem: New Apostolic Choir
2. Welcome & Introduction: Rev. John Oliver
3. Opening Prayer: Rev. I. Almanò
4. Choruses: Pastor Basil Leukes
5. Address by Deputy Minister of Defence:
Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge
6. Song by : Elizabeth Petersen
7. Address by United Nations Association: Nomvuyo Dayile
8. Address by Lavender Hill Community: Llewellyn Jordaan
9. Song by New Apostolic Children's Choir
10. Moslem Prayer for Peace: Sedick Moltie
11. Christian Prayer for Peace: John Erasmus
12. Song by New Apostolic Church Choir
13. Tree Planting Ceremony: (1) Nozizwe with all Religious
Leaders present. (2) Nomvuyo with Women's Group
14. Prayer: Hadley Du Plessis
15. Thanks: Anthea Petersen
16. Final Blessing: Rev. John Oliver

Programme is subject to change!

YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED
TO
**THE HEAL OUR LAND INITIATIVE
H O L I**
**HEALING AND
RESTORATION SERVICE**

THEME: *HEAL OUR CHILDREN FROM **TIK**
THE N^o. 1 KILLER IN OUR COMMUNITY*

SUNDAY, 17th JULY 2005

TIME : 15h00 - 17h00

VENUE: The New Apostolic Church
Hilary Close, Lavender Hill

KEYNOTE SPEAKER: Rev. DANNY GEORGE

“If my people who are called by my Name will humble themselves,
and pray and seek My face, and turn from their wicked ways, then
I will hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin and heal their land

11 Chronicles 7:14.

APPENDIX H:
GROUND AND ARIAL PHOTOGRAPHS OF LAVENDER HILL

1. Ground photographs

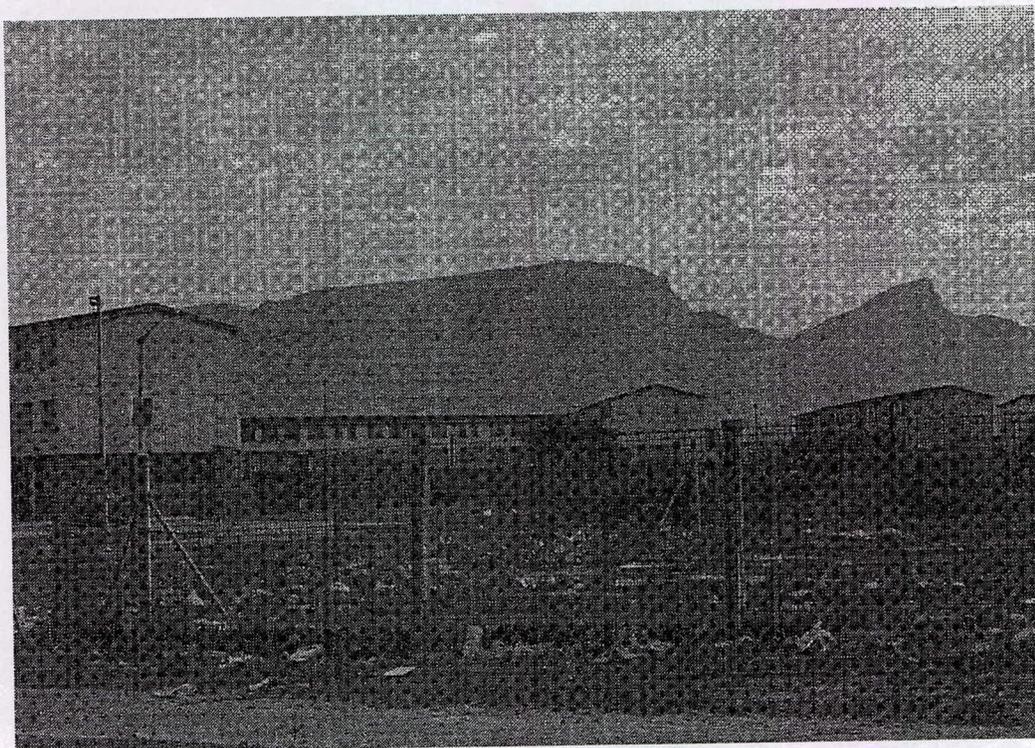


Figure 1.1: View of Lavender Hill
(Lavender Times 2004: 2)

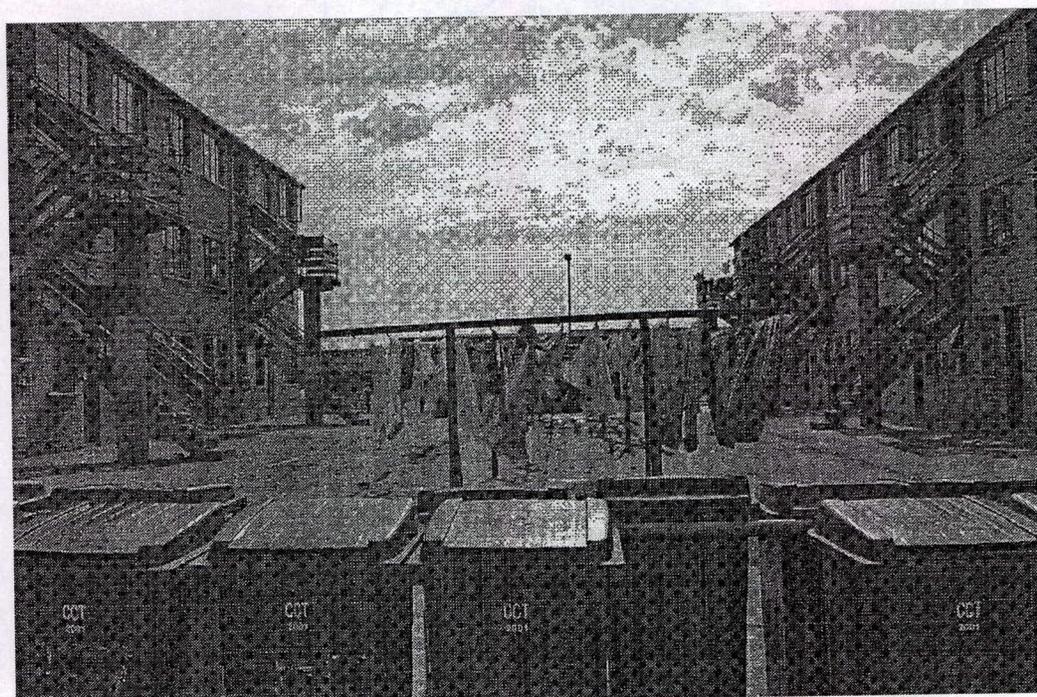


Figure 1.2: Typical scene of the Flats in Lavender Hill
(Lavender Times 2004: 2)

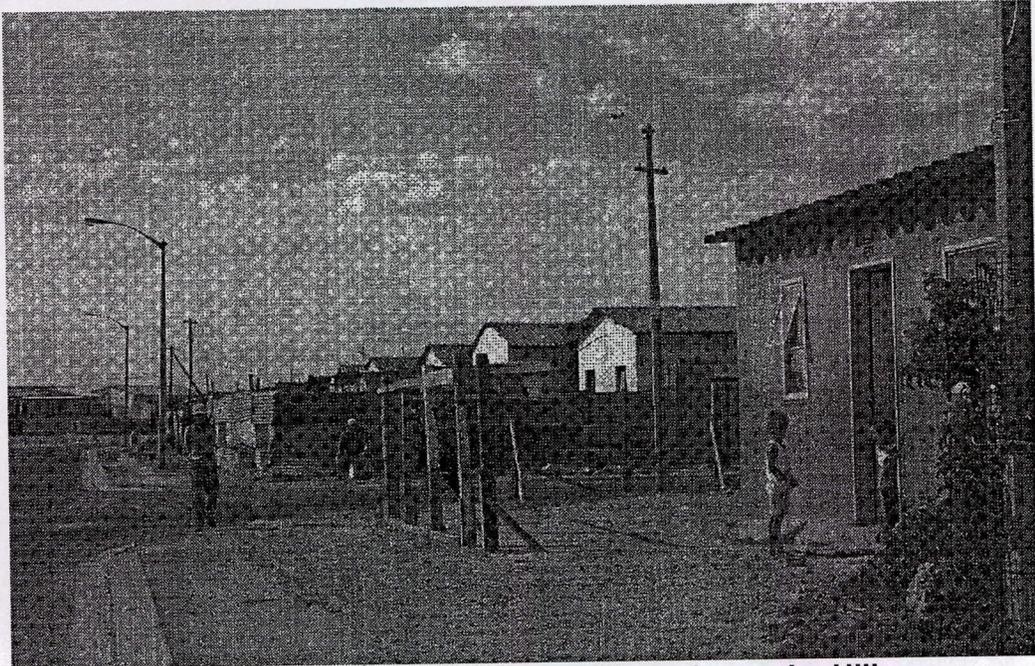


Figure 1.3: View of Montague Village, Lavender Hills
(Lavender Times 2004: 4)

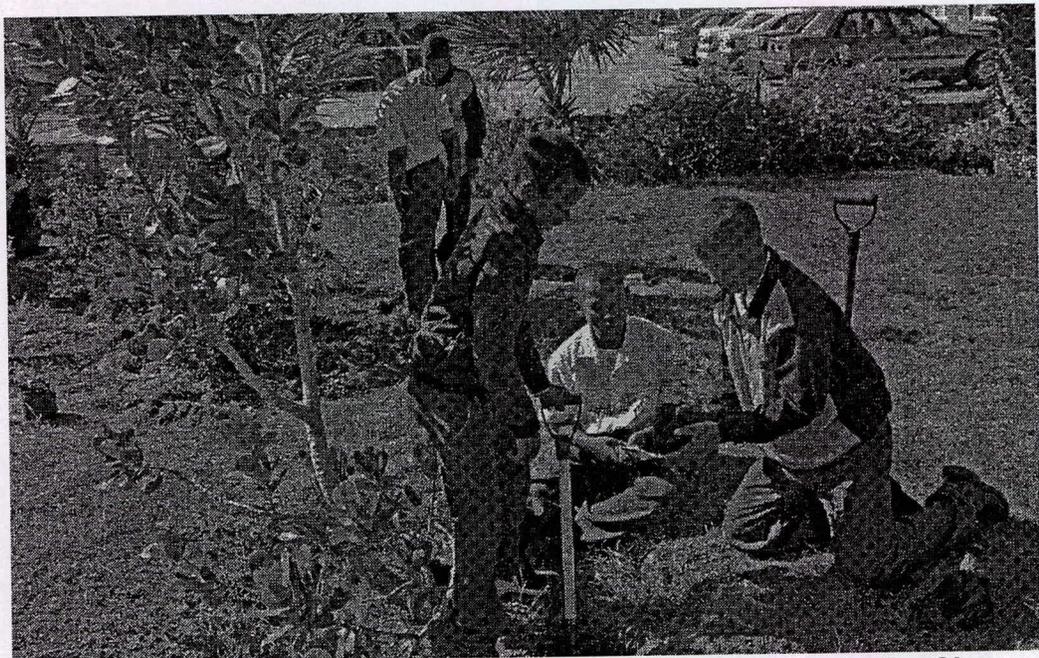


Figure 1.4: Learners at Zurida Park Primary participating in the Clean, Green, Safe Campaign
(Lavender Times 2004: 10)



Figure 1.5: Learners at Zurida Park Primary participating in the Clean, Green, Safe Campaign
(Lavender Times 2004: 10)

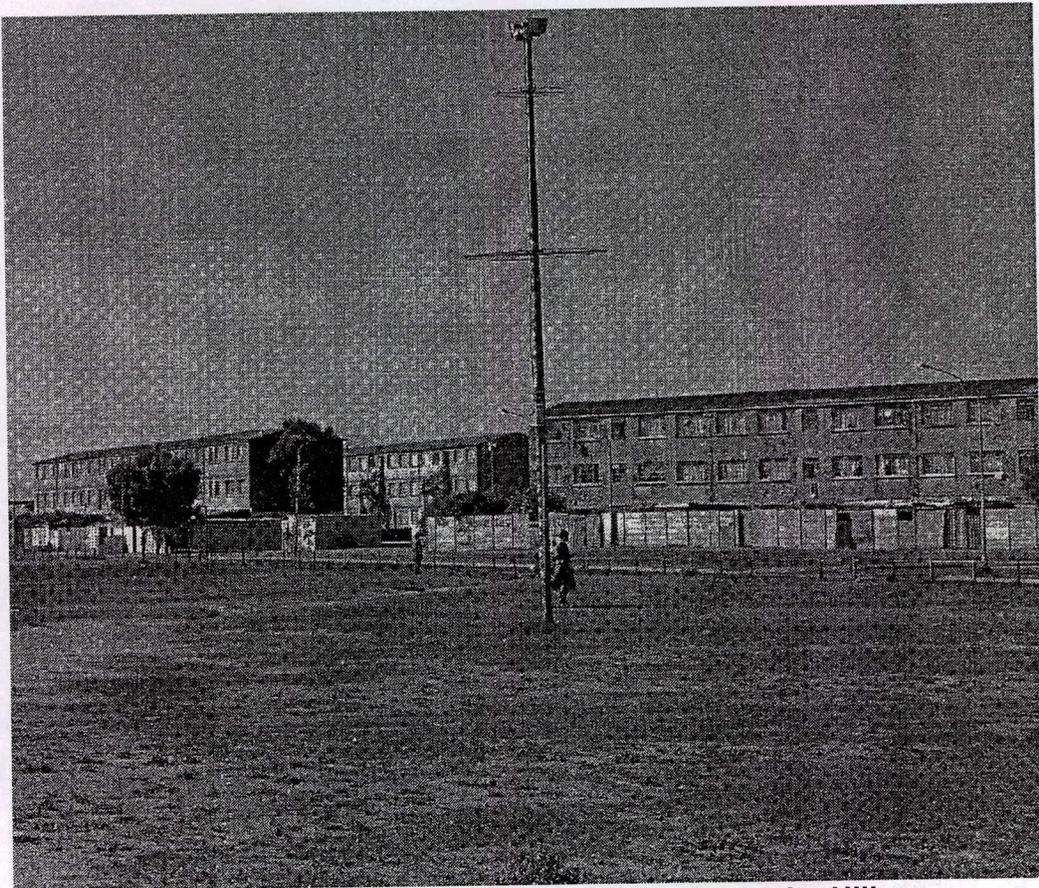


Figure 1.6: Proposed Peace Park in Lavender Hill
(Lavender Times 2004: 11)

2. Aerial photographs



**Figure 2.1: View of Lavender Hill and immediate surrounds
(Google Earth 2005)**



Figure 2.2: Location of Lavender Hill in relation to the greater Cape Town area
(Google Earth 2005)