

**Theological reflections on
the spread of Islam and attitudes in Churches:
A case study on three Black townships
in Cape Town**

by
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The crest of the University of Stellenbosch, featuring a shield with a blue and gold design, flanked by two red lions holding a shield. Below the shield is a banner with the Latin motto "Pictura retinet cultus recti".

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Supervisor: Prof Chris Greyling
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Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis, 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:



Date:



Preface

Acknowledgements

The writing and research of such a thesis is not possible without the help and assistance of others. First of all I like to acknowledge the people who have helped me practically. **Miss Gloria Cube** has assisted me in conducting the empirical research in the townships. She helped with translation from Xhosa into English during conversations where that was necessary. She also gave me insights into the culture of the townships. Finally, she was instrumental in the logistical organizing of the Participatory Action Research (PAR) meeting for which I am most grateful. Furthermore, I am thankful to **Gerbrand Mans** for his patience and help in explaining the GPS system, producing the maps and assisting me with the official census data in spreadsheet format. In addition, I like to acknowledge my indebtedness to my friend and colleague **Dr. Christof Sauer** who was not only an excellent sounding board, but also an encouragement to me to see the project through to the end. Likewise, I am grateful to my wife **Friedrun** for her patience and support which allowed me to work, for what seemed to be hours on end. The same thanks goes to **my four children**. Last, but not least, I especially thank **Prof Chris Greyling**, who was my study leader throughout this whole year, for his encouragement, guidance and motivation even beyond this project, towards a higher degree.

My gratitude to my **Lord and saviour Jesus Christ** shall not be forgotten. He carried me through, protected me and was my constant companion in this endeavour. He shall be praised.

Manfred Jung
January 2005

Citation method

In preparing the text of this thesis I have followed the new handbook for the Harvard method entitled "Form bewahren: Handbuch zur Harvard method" [Sauer 2004]. This handbook is based on the work of Jansie Kilian [Kilian 1993]. Although this work is written in German it was produced primarily for UNISA students who are from a German background and write in the field of theology. The writing of academic documents in English is well considered. Where a question remained I consulted Kilian.

Software used

I would like to acknowledge that this entire thesis was written and formatted with software known as OpenOffice.org. It is perhaps unusual to acknowledge the software but I do it in the spirit of what I learned about empowerment in conjunction with the Participatory Action Research (PAR). OpenOffice is free software. That is 'free' as in freedom and 'free' as in beer. Other fellow students, who are perhaps from less privileged backgrounds than I am, may be encouraged to know that it is no longer necessary to buy an expensive software package. The software is available for free from the Internet at www.Openoffice.org.

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1. Introduction

Islam is a relative newcomer in most¹ Black² townships in South Africa. Traditionally and for historical reasons Islam was predominantly found in the so called “coloured” and Indian parts of the population in South Africa. Islam, as the newcomer in these townships, is progressively and unmistakably making its presence felt. The Muslim-Christian interreligious encounter in Black townships raises new questions and increasingly creates a challenge for pastors and Christian leaders. Although numerous Christian churches exist in these townships the interaction with Islam is a new phenomenon.

This study describes the background, situation and dynamics in Black townships of both the developing Muslim communities and the Christian community. Further, it records the history, numerical and qualitative data for an analysis and study of the context in Black townships. This record and analysis is used in this study for theological reflections towards providing the church with a basis for formulating an adequate response.

For the church doing theology³ in Black townships it is paramount to understand the context, the influence the context has on the church and how the church is influencing and could influence the context. This study focuses on one particular aspect of the complex multi-religious context, namely, the encounter of Christianity with Islam. For this the history and the present situation has to be explored. In an multi-religious context such exploration will need to cover the history and presence of both religious communities.

In doing theology the community of faith needs to be “drawing upon an interpretation of normative sources of Scripture and tradition”[Hendriks 2004 p24]. For this reason a literary survey and study has to be conducted to become aware of what the community of faith has already produced. This can then be followed by a theological reflection resulting possibly in new insights that may serve towards the discerning of God’s will for the situation.

This is exactly the format I have applied in researching, studying and writing of this thesis. This approach has resulted in the following sequence of chapters:

1 In the Western Cape, Guguletu is an exception since Islamic presence can be traced back about 40 years. [Abrahams 1981]

2 The terms “Black”, “Coloured”, “Indian”, “Malay” and “White” are used throughout merely in a technical and descriptive sense for lack of a better or neutral terms and is in no way derogatory.

3 For an in depth discussion and definition on ‘doing theology’ I refer to Hendriks 2004 p 24ff

1.1. Sequence and contents of chapters

To present the concern and scope of this thesis I will set out in chapter two to explain the research design and the methodology employed to obtain and evaluate reliable data.

Included is the delimitation and its rationale for the scope of the research project.

Fundamental definitions of key terminology are also covered in this opening chapter.

As a further step in the third chapter the historical and demographical findings are discussed. Apart from a short historical overview, with a particular concentration on Black Muslims in South Africa, I recorded the development of Islam in the three Black townships of Guguletu, Khayelitsha and Joe Slovo/Phoenix in greater Cape Town.

Towards the end of this chapter a review and discussion of statistical data is included. A reflection on the state of the development of Islam, based on empirical findings of interviews conducted with Muslim leaders in the three townships, concludes the chapter.

The content of the fourth chapter entitled 'Attitudes of Christians in the three townships' presents the empirical findings based on the interviews with Christian leaders. It includes the description of a Participatory Action Research (PAR) meeting with pastors in Khayelitsha. These findings provide an up to date picture of the current situation including a presentation of the attitudes of Christians. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the Christian attitudes in relation to Islam.

With the findings in the earlier chapters in mind, I undertake theological reflections in the fifth chapter. Initially, I investigate and make an attempt to define terminology. Then follows a theological perspective on Christian-Muslim relationships relevant for the situation in the townships. The chapter concludes with a perspective on some important aspects concerning practical ministry to Muslims.

In the conclusion I attempt to summarize the findings in order to crystallize practical advice as a suggestion to the churches doing practical theology in these areas. The appendix from page 77 onward will hold among other things all transcribed interviews, observation notes and all statistical sources including all calculations. A glossary of Islamic terms is included for the convenience of the reader.

1.2. Current state of research

Christians and Muslim researchers in the past have almost exclusively focused on the majority of the Muslims in South Africa, namely, the Malay and Indian Muslims.

Therefore the development of Islam in Black townships was rather neglected. Even

though leadership consultations of Christian Concern for Muslim (CCM-LC)⁴ in the last five years, have repeatedly stated and encouraged that academic research needed to be undertaken, yet nothing has been forthcoming from this national body of Christian workers among Muslims. The larger churches, although in recent times producing statements concerning Islam in general (DRC General Synod Rep 2002), have not addressed the particular developments of Islam in the Black townships.

Nevertheless, a number of articles exist in periodicals written from a sociological perspective about social and religious dynamics in Black townships. Although religion plays a role in some of them, research has not been done from a theological or church perspective. (Lee 2001) Because of a lack of Christian investigations much speculation exists in the Christian community without a proper research basis.

From the Muslim side some articles exist about the development of Islam in Black townships, often from a political or social perspective. Although some articles deal with the expansion of Islam in Black townships in South Africa, the focus has not been the Western Cape.⁵ Most noteworthy and comprehensive is the thesis of Zainulhoess'n Abrahams who focuses on the growth of Islam in the three closely related Black townships of Guguletu, Nyanga and Langa in greater Cape Town. (Abrahams 1981) This extraordinary honours thesis provides probably the oldest scholarly documentation of Islamic development in Black townships, going back to as early as 1960. However, it was written in 1981 and much has happened since then, particularly after 1994, the landmark date of ending Apartheid officially.

From a theological perspective much has been written concerning Islam even more recently from an African perspective. Application of such theological thinking to the Christian – Islamic encounter in Black townships has not happened.

2. Research design and methodology

2.1. Research problem

This study attempts to do three things: Firstly, to describe and understand the background, situation and dynamics of the developing Muslim communities in Black

4 CCM is a forum that brings together many Christian workers among Muslims, interested churches and organisations for the sake of reaching the Muslims with the gospel.

5 The Annual Review of Islam in South Africa (ARISA) touched with a few articles in 2002 on this subject.

townships. Secondly, to investigate the awareness, attitudes and opinions of the Christian community in this context. Finally, to provide an initial evaluation of the situation in the light of contemporary theology dealing with a Christian-Muslim encounter.

2.2. Research design

The present work is essentially a combination of elements of a historical, contextual, identity and literary analysis.

- The information on the historical background of the emerging Muslim communities in Black townships is necessary for the understanding of the current dynamics and motivation for the development of the Muslim community.
- The contextual analysis provides insights into the current situation in which Muslims and Christians find themselves today, as they live within the same situation next to each other in their communities. Elements of the identity analysis provide information for the self-awareness of Muslims and Christians and allow us to match and contrast the opinions of both groups.
- The literary analysis does not only open up the world of already recorded statistics and historical descriptions of Muslim and Christian communities, but also reflections, evaluations, ambitions and opinions coming from these communities and beyond.

2.3. Scope and delimitation of the research

South Africa has many townships in which Muslims feature. These townships have been influenced by distinctly different Muslim Communities like the Indian Muslims, Malay origin Muslims and more recently the African Muslims from East and West Africa.⁶ Although it would be interesting to study all of them for this study only townships in the Western Cape were selected.

To delimit the research to a manageable yet relevant sample I focused on three representative, yet unique townships. These are: Khayelitsha, Joe Slovo/Phoenix and Guguletu. The rationale for selecting these townships is based on age, size, state of development, history, demography and characteristics of Islam.

2.3.1. Guguletu

Guguletu is a well established old township of average size in close proximity to

⁶ For more information on Islam in Soweto see the article of Shahid Mathee, Muslim Identity: Constructions in Soweto [Mathee 2003].

other Muslim areas with coloured people. Islam has a history of up to 40 years of activities in this township.

2.3.2. Khayelitsha

Khayelitsha is an extensive township with a fast growing infrastructure and no Muslim dominated neighbouring townships (in existence since 1983). Islam is a new-comer in this township, yet there are a number of religious buildings belonging to the growing Muslim community.

2.3.3. Joe Slovo and Phoenix

Joe Slovo/Phoenix is a new, yet dense area with people from many different ethnic backgrounds, including many refugees, some bringing African Christianity and some Islam. The suburb has only one Mosque, which attracts an extraordinary large number (800-1200) of Muslims on a Friday for Jum'ah compared to the number of Muslims in the suburb.

The diversity in size, age, neighbourhood and composition of these townships produced a broad spectrum of information which in sum total might well be considered representative of other townships in the Western Cape. Selecting only three townships allowed me to complete the research in the time frame that was available.

A further delimitation due to time and resources was to focus only on Christian Muslim relations and not to include encounters of Christians and Muslims with members of other religions.

Although working with Christians of various different denomination, it should be noted that I deliberately worked with evangelical Christian leaders for the "Participatory Action Research" (PAR) meeting. I have done this because I expected that through the process of PAR an ongoing working relationship would develop, not only to study the situation, but to possibly make a positive contribution towards Ministry among Muslims. Belonging to the same theological persuasion also allowed for a shorter time of building trust relationships which help the PAR process.

2.4. Research methodology

The types of analysis used were 'historical analysis', 'contextual analysis' and 'identity analysis.' To produce data for each of these types of analysis three methods were simultaneously employed.

- For the **quantitative** and demographic description official statistical data of

the South African Government censuses were evaluated and compared with some data from the Markinor's World Values Survey. [Erasmus & Hendriks 2003].

- To understand the dynamics of the developments in the communities and receive **qualitative** data, empirical research in the three townships had to be undertaken. This was conducted by structured and unstructured interviews with key people from both religions. In addition, field notes were taken on personal observations while in the field of study.
- Since research in the community should never be just a means of gaining information but a catalyst to ultimately benefit the community [Lundström 2000 p1-2], **Participatory Action Research (PAR)** [Chambers 2003 p102-129] was undertaken with pastors in Khayelitsha.⁷ As part of the PAR the pastors conducted a time-line exercise [Hendriks 2004 p 81-82] which is included in the appendix [PAR notes p137].

As Earl Babbie and Johan Mouton explain in their classical textbook on social research this multiple approach in the empirical research ensures valid and verifiable data through triangulation⁸ [Babbie & Mouton 2003 p275]. On most of the field trips for interviews, observations and fact finding I was accompanied by others, in particular Gloria Cube, making peer review and data accuracy checking possible [Appendix p77]. All field notes and interviews have been transcribed and are included in the Appendix from page 77 onwards.

For the accurate recording of the Islamic places of worship I am grateful for the use of a Global Positioning System device from the University of Stellenbosch. The data was transferred directly into the software system thus contributing to the Transformation Research Project of the URDR ("Unit for Religion and Development Research") at Stellenbosch University. Working jointly with the URDR also allowed the production of the maps for this thesis.

Literature research was conducted to establish the current state of research and to gather and assess background information. I could access not only the university libraries in the Western Cape, but also places like the Centre for Contemporary Islam

7 No PAR was done in Joe Slovo/Phoenix and in Guguletu. Joe Slovo/Phoenix is a suburb with only few pastors and personal contact yielded enough feedback. In Guguletu it was not possible because of time constraints to develop deeper relationships to make PAR successful.

8 "Triangulation is defined by Denzin accordingly: Triangulation, or the use of multiple methods, is a plan of action that will raise sociologists ... above the personal biases ..." quoted from Babbie & Mouton [Babbie & Mouton 2003 p 275].

hosted at UCT. I also had access to Mission databases and private libraries. Thus a fairly exhaustive literature research was possible on South African Black townships relating to Muslims.

For the theological reflection, emphasis was placed on contributions concerning Muslim-Christian relations in Africa.

2.5. Definition and concepts

For the purpose of clarification definitions and concepts are clearly defined [Hendriks 2004 p 227]

2.5.1. Muslims & Christians

What constitutes a Muslim and a Christian? After significant consideration and discussion with members of both communities in these townships I have decided to go by the people's own self identification, i.e. if someone claimed to be a Muslim although belonging to the Ahmadian⁹ sect, I regarded him as a Muslim in this study. Likewise I made no distinction between the different Christian denominations and groupings.

2.5.2. Conversion

In the questionnaires to Muslim leaders and Christian leaders questions are asked about conversion. The term has been defined in many different ways [Maurer 1999 p29-30]. Ebrahim Fakude goes as far as avoiding the terms "conversion" or "reversion"¹⁰ altogether and suggests instead to speak of "developing Muslims" [Fakude 2002 p 47]. For the purpose of this study it is not necessary to go into a detailed definition of conversion above what the people interviewed themselves understand. Muslims, as well as Christians did not query the terminology and a general understanding prevailed that someone who converts has moved from one religion to another. Since this study does not evaluate the genuineness of individuals' faith, it is not necessary to define conversion beyond the change of allegiance from one religion to another.

2.5.3. Da'wah

Muslims often refer to their missionary activities under the term Da'wah. Thus the Muslim Judicial Council opened a "Department of Da'wah" in 1999 [Dep. of Da'wah (MJC)]. Andreas Maurer in his thesis on the Islamic Missionary Society Johannesburg

9 Ahmadias are not considered Muslims in a number of Muslim countries (i.e. Pakistan).

10 The idea of 'reversion' is based on the claim that all human beings are actually born Muslims and through their upbringing become estranged to Islam. Therefore a conversion to Islam is a reversion (turning back to ones original state) [MSA Evansville].

explains:

In its verbal form this word has its basic meaning “to call”, “to summon”, “to invite”, thus Da’wah becomes “a call” or “invitation”, and in specialised usage “missionary” activity [Maurer 1997 p 6].

Although the term ‘Da’wah’ can be used in other ways it is, in this thesis, used for the propagation of Islam among Muslims and non-Muslims.

3. History of Black Muslims in South Africa

3.1. African Muslims in South Africa

3.1.1. Early arrivals of Muslim

When reading about the History of Islam in South Africa one finds that the focus is on the history of the so called Cape Malay and Indian Muslim communities [Lubbe 1987 p117]. This is understandable as these two communities make up the majority of the Muslims in South Africa until today [Dangor 1991 p 65-67].

What is sometimes overlooked is that there are a number of Muslims from African origin that arrived very early in the history of Muslims in South Africa. Suleman Essop Dangor informs us that although a large number of slaves were from the East Indies islands and their majority from India, there were also slaves from African nations such as Guinea, Dahomey as well as from Madagascar. He claims that these slaves from Africa and Madagascar came from majority Muslim populations [Dangor 1991 p 65-66]. Yusuf da Costa provides support for this by listing Angola, Cape Verde Islands, East Africa, Guinea, Madagascar and Mauritius as places of origin of African slaves who were brought to the Cape Colony between 1652-1818 [Da Costa & Davids 1994 p 2].

3.1.2. Prize Negroes of Cape Town

In addition to these African slaves came the so called Prize Negroes. Robert H C Shell, in an article about Islam in Southern Africa, explains that after the abolishment of slavery, the British navy intercepted ships at sea and freed slaves who originated from different parts of Africa. Instead of taking them back to where they came from, out of fear of a possible re-enslavement, they were brought to Freetown and Cape Town. About five thousand such slaves were brought to Cape Town between 1808 and 1856. They did not become Christians but they became Muslims in great numbers. This is reflected in a steep increase of the Muslim population in the Cape. Interestingly these African Muslims did not form their own Muslim community but they integrated into the Cape Malay culture [Levtzion 2000 p332-334].

3.1.3. Zanzibaris of Natal

Another group of black Muslims are called the "Zanzibaris" although originating from Malawi, Mozambique, Somalia, Zambia and Zanzibar. The British brought these as contract labourers employed in public works in Natal 1873-1880 [Dangor 1991 P67]. Gerhardus C Oosthuizen writes in what is the most extensive record of this people

entitled: “The Muslim Zanzibaris of South Africa”:

Muslim ex-slaves formed their own separate community. They developed closer links with the Indian labourers, which is one reason why they feel nearer to the Indians than the local Africans, to whom they refer as “them” and “they.” This implies that they are also psychologically separate from the indigenous Blacks [Oosthuizen 1982 p11].

In the light of the aforementioned, it is surprising that although there were numerous Muslim Africans who came to South Africa in various ways and at different times, no indigenous Black Muslim community developed. Instead they integrated with the Cape Malay or Indian Muslims. Only the Zanzibaris became a distinct black Muslim community. They did not reach out to other Black South Africans.

In summing up the situation Michael Mumisa states: “While the South African Muslims are mainly immigrants, the black and white Muslims are converts to Islam” [Mumisa 2002 p279]. Even though he claims that “Africans began to accept Islam first in the townships surrounding Durban,” he does not give us an exact date when this happened. Yet it becomes clear from the context of his writing that it must have been mid 1900 [Mumisa 2002 p285].

Shahid Vawda introduces us to Sheik Abbas Phiri. He “stands out as an important figure in the emergence of sustained Da’wah work and the subsequent spread of Islam in Inanda and then in Ntuzuma and KwaMashu.” Having received Islamic training in his homeland Malawi he came to South Africa in the 1940s to work in the coal mines. In the 1970s he started to do Da’wah work full-time. After introducing himself to the local black chiefs he obtained a house in Ntuzuma and turned a section into a Jama’at Khana¹¹ to hold Madrassa and reach the local young people. Vawda explicitly records that Abbas Phiri “claimed, he converted well over a hundred people.” Abbas Phiri even used karate and soccer to attract Muslims and non Muslims, thus it is understandable that especially the youth embraced Islam [Vawda 1994 p537-540].

At about roughly the same time Da’wah efforts started in earnest in the Western Cape where a recent news report of the Masakahane Muslim Community informs: “The presence of an organized body of Muslims in the African Townships can be traced back as far as the sixties.” The article is referring to the 1960’s [Masakhane 2002]. Ebrahim Fakude puts it even later by saying: “Islam in the townships emerged in the late seventies” [Fakude 2002 p47] This then brings us to the time of the first Da’wah efforts

¹¹ Temporary place for prayers. It can be privately owned unlike a Mosque which falls under the laws of Waqf.

in Guguletu, the oldest of the three township under consideration.

In summarizing the historical developments of Black Muslims in South Africa, it can be said that there were a number of Black Muslims who entered South Africa at different times, yet most of them integrated into the so called Malay and Indian Muslim communities. This is certainly true about the early arrivals and the so called Prize Negroes. The only exceptions are the 'Zanzibari' Muslims in KwaZulu-Natal and those few Black Muslims who lived here and there as individuals or families in the townships. Islam started to make inroads into Black townships around 1960 – 1970. This is where the History of Da'wah in Guguletu begins.

3.2. History of Black Muslims in the three townships

3.2.1. History of Da'wah in Guguletu

In regard to the three Townships we find that the Xhosa-speaking Nguni came to settle in the Western Cape beginning 1840 onwards. Mostly employed as road workers a large number eventually settled in Nyanga and Guguletu, the oldest of the three townships considered in this study. Although Nyanga and Guguletu are surrounded by suburbs with a strong Muslim coloured community the people of Nyanga and Guguletu never integrated into the coloured neighbouring community. [Abrahams 1981 p17-18].

Zainulhoess'n Abrahams mentions the internal conflicts of the Muslims at the Cape as one hindrance for the Muslims to reach out to non Muslims. It was only in 1945 when the Muslim Judicial Council was established that these conflicts abated [Abrahams 1981 p22]. However, it took a visitor from outside, namely Maulana 'Abdul 'Aleem Siddiqi of Pakistan, to come and initiate in 1952 the establishment of the "Islamic Publication Bureau" in Athlone. One of the aims of this venture was to publish literature in the vernacular languages particularly in Xhosa [Haron 1992 p4-5]. From this we can glean that there was now a purposeful interest in introducing the people of Black townships to Islam.

Sheik Ismail Ganief of Al Azhar University in Egypt started Da'wah work among the Africans. Imam Abdullah Haron, a pupil of Sheik Ismail Ganief became the Imam of the Segman Road Mosque in Claremont, also called Al Jami'a Mosque, and worked through the above mentioned "Islamic Publication Bureau" in Athlone. He oversaw a translation of short Qur'anic passages into the Xhosa language. He also provided transport for Muslims from Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga (Langunya¹²) to the Al

12 Langunya is a summary label for the three townships "Langa", "Guguletu", "Nyanga."

Jami'a Mosque. These and other efforts proved somewhat fruitful with about fifteen black Muslims in the year 1961 from Langunya. This effort is particularly noteworthy as Imam Abdullah Haron was self supported as a salesman and worked as a volunteer Imam and Da'wah worker. In addition it must not be forgotten that these Da'wah efforts crossed barriers of apartheid [Haron 1988 p368]. Some prominent converts from this time were Imam Lobi of Langa, Shamil Kula in Nyanga, Muhammad 'Ali in Guguletu and Hadjie Idries from Langa [Haron 1992 p5].

The Black people were seen by Imam Haron and his followers as the strongest ally against the apartheid oppression. This was one motivational factor to conduct Da'wah efforts in Black townships. Even a mass rally was held for which Imam Haron did not get permits to enter the Black township. Abrahams states: "1960-1962 saw an increase in proselytisation of Africans in the townships" [Abrahams 1981 p27-29] Imam Abdullah Haron died on September 27, 1969 during an imprisonment in Cape Town as a martyr for his political/religious convictions [Mahida 1995 p79].

This brought these particular Da'wah efforts in Guguletu to an end. In addition internal problems with Ahmadia and Bahai sects of Islam occupied the Muslim Judicial Council and steered the publications of literature in a different direction [Abrahams 1981 p32].

The Al-Jihad International Islamic Movement, founded in 1961 by Ismail Joubert and based today in the Al-Jihad Centre in Guguletu, continued to work tirelessly. Although working in many other places and plagued with many internal and external problems the Al-Jihad organisation recruited a number of young Muslims from Black townships who were almost militarily organized and called "The Young Elephants of Islam" [Abrahams 1981 p36]. Although attracting many from the township youth the motivation for joining was not only of a religious nature. Yusuf Mohammad who joined the Al-Jihad movement in 1976 and is currently the Secretary explained:

The movement was working with black youth on the run and converts. The movement was politically charged. Al-Jihad was for me a religious vehicle to fight social injustice.

He continues later in the same interview:

But we have changed. Da'wah is doing Islam in a public place as a ministry. Da'wah was being a political program in South Africa to establish a Islamic presence in society and to secure the future of Islam.

This changed in the 80's from a spiritual approach to a political approach. In post-Apartheid South Africa we took long but we now have a spiritual emphasis [Yusuf Mohammad p78, question 2 and 10].

It is noteworthy, after a rather turbulent history, the Al-Jihad Movement currently has no members from Guguletu or any other Black Township at present [Yusuf Mohammad p78, question 4].

In 1975 members of the Al-Jami'a Mosque in Claremont tried to renew contacts that Imam Haron had established. There was also an effort to establish an umbrella organisation to coordinate the Da'wah activities, but the fight for leadership and organisational differences made this impossible [Haron 1992 p6].

Muhammad Haron lists the following Da'wah organisations which were founded during the 1980's and worked in the Langunya area:

Date	Organisation
1982	Al-Hidaya Da'wah Movement
1983	SANZAF (South African National Zakah Fund)
1983	Islamic Da'wah Foundation
1984	Qibla Mass Movement
1984	Islamic Da'wah Movement

He continues to explain that Mr Sulayman Bhayat who is a businessman and part of the Al-Hidaya Da'wah Movement “‘adopted’ one of the sons of Ahmed Quamani [sic¹³] so that he may memorize the Qur'an” [Haron 1992 p7-8]. The person in question is today the Imam Ismael Gqamane who has been instrumental in establishing the Islamic Information in Guguletu. I had the pleasure of getting to know him and conducted an interview with him [Interview appendix p82, Notes on Telephone conversation appendix p106].

The abovementioned Da'wah organisations are working in many places today, some even nationwide. They are not actively working in Guguletu apart from perhaps funding some events and individuals. Muhammad Haron mentions that “SANZAF ... furnished the Mosque which was established in Guguletu on Muhammad 'Ali's premises” [Haron 1992 p 8]. This is not correct. Firstly, a Mosque requires legally, according to Islamic law, to be a communal property, thus it cannot be part of an individual's private property. Secondly, Muhammad Haron records in the very same document that it was the Hospital Welfare and Muslim Educational Movement which sponsored an “iron shed for prayer purposes in Guguletu on Muhammad 'Ali's plot” [Haron 1992, p9]. Thirdly, Ismael Gqamane mentioned to me that it was only an additional room that was erected and presently the owner is negotiating with him to turn

13 The spelling of the name is Ahmed Gqamane.

the room over to private use for a shop, although it might also be used for a sewing project as part of the Islamic Information Centre activities [Ismail Gqamane p106]. After personal enquiry I found it to be as Ismail Gqamane said. An additional room the size of a garage was built on to establish a Madrassa. A number of people funded it, but it was all organized through Ibrahim Omar. The Islamic Da'wah Movement contributed the windows and the door [Notes of visit at Muhammad Ali 107]. All this shows how closely knit the relationships are in the development of Islam in these townships.

The Al-Jihad Muslim Movement continues to have their centre there at the corner of NY4¹⁴ and NY8 where they conduct prayer times and the Friday Jum'ah gatherings. The Islamic Information Centre in NY6 under the leadership of Sheik Ismael Gqamane is operational as a Da'wah effort. In addition there is the Zawiya Mosque established in 2002 which follows the Tijania Sufi Tariqa of Alhassan Ali Cisse¹⁵. Like the Islamic information centre the Zawiya Mosque is also a successful Da'wah effort. Although I visited the place and received more than once a friendly reception I was unfortunately not permitted to conduct an interview. Nevertheless the notes of my visits are in the appendix on page 108. These three sites are the only Muslim ones in Guguletu today apart from a private room of Mr Muhammad Ali's property (Street 148/22) that has been used for prayer in the past. The administrative offices that were opened 1999 in Guguletu at NY1 as mentioned in the article entitled "Islam in the African Townships of the Cape" [Masakhane 2002 p51] were only rented and have been closed since the establishment of the Islamic Information Centre at NY6. This concludes the historical overview of the development of Islam in Guguletu. From a historical perspective Khayelitsha is the next of the townships chosen for this study.

3.2.2. History of Da'wah in Khayelitsha

Concerning the development of Islam in Khayelitsha not much information exists in written form. Khayelitsha (meaning 'new home') was started in the mid 1980's by the local Government as a residence for black people, a purpose built and easily controllable township. By 1990 Khayelitsha hosted around 450 000 people with figures rising in the following years [Capeconnected 2004]. As a reaction to the violence in Crossroads, a neighbouring township to Khayelitsha, the Qibla Movement created the Mustadafin Foundation during in 1986 [Haron 1992 p9]. This disaster relief organisation was and is

¹⁴ Street names in Guguletu are made up of numbers of which the major roads have a 'NY' preceding it.

¹⁵ The Tijania Order is one of the mystical brotherhoods which goes back to Ahmad al-Tijani (1737-1815) founded in Fez 1780 [Clarke & Linden 1984 p43].

also involved in Da'wah related work. The foundation lists on its website the following achievements:

* 21 pre-schools
* Da'wah/Madrassa
* Built 2 Jamah Khanna's
* Feed 3500 children daily
* Distributes 3000 food parcels on Eid & Christmas
* HIV/AIDS Awareness
* Disaster relief
* Educational support
* Sponsors orphans during Ramadaan & Eid Days

[Mustadafin History 2003]. A number of these pre-schools and one of the Jamat Khana's are located in Khayelitsha.

Parallel to the efforts of the Mustadafin Foundation were the efforts of Hajji Suleyman Bhayat and Mrs. Faika Kriel, who started study circles and Islamic Schools [Masakhane 2002 p50]. Hajji Suleyman Bhayat, was also instrumental, together with the Ismaic Da'wah Movement, in establishing what is today called the Bilal Mosque in Makhaza in Khayelitsha. His initiative goes back at least to 1986, although the Mosque was built only eleven years later in 1997. [Appendix Notes on Bilal Mosque p 109].

In 1993 a Cape Town umbrella body for the Muslim youth was formed called Ikhwanul-Muslimeen. During the 1990's Sheik Ismail Gqamane and Sheik Jamil Kobus completed their studies in Medina. Upon the return of these two graduates in 1997 the Ikhwanul-Muslimeen changed its name to Masakhane¹⁶ Muslim Community (MMC). The main aim was to "officially represent Township Muslims and convene Islamic activities in the Western Cape." 13 June 1999 marked the date of confirming the MMC as the "sole representative and umbrella organisation for the Townships." The leaders were Cassiem Gqamane (Amir), Faiza Lebaki (vice president), Shaik Jamiel Kobus (General Secretary), Ashraf Zantisi (Treasurer). In addition the executive members chosen were: Ismail Gqamane, Karema Quick, Ahmed Stulweni, Nadia Masinini and Dawood. With Dr Abdullah Hakim Quick as special advisor, the organisation was poised to move the development of Islam in the Townships successfully into the future [Masakhane 2002 p50-51].

The Masakhane Muslim Community has been instrumental in maintaining and

¹⁶ Masakhane means "building one another up."

setting up of new structures. Apart from those mentioned already in Guguletu the MMC is responsible for the Green Point Mosque as well as a prayer shed in Khayelitsha. Links to the Bilal Mosque also exist [Map-3 p]. In my telephone conversation with Ismael Gqamane he updated me on the state of the MMC by saying: “After a very successful beginning the MMC is not very active at present due to the fact that a number of active people have left, such as Igbal Cassim and Karema Quick“ [Telephone conversation with Ismael Gqamane p106].

The picture that emerges from these findings is that, in Khayelitsha, initial endeavours of Muslims have resulted in a small but definite presence of Islam in the township. This presence is not a united coordinated thrust, yet it consists of various different groupings in good contact to other Cape Muslims.

3.2.3. History of Da’wah in Joe Slovo/Phoenix

The settlements of Joe Slovo and Phoenix will be treated as one suburb, because they form one housing community surrounded by industrial and commercial settlements. The history of this suburb is not very long as it was only established in 1996 as one of the new Government’s development schemes to provide housing for those dwelling in illegal settlements. In this particular case the Joe Slovo part was built up with very cheap and small housing units providing places for people from a now dismantled place nearby called Kukutown. The Phoenix part was opened up for development¹⁷ for somewhat more affluent people looking for accommodation nearby the places of work.

I am grateful to Mr Faried Williams, chairman of the Muslim Association of Phoenix, who, through the interview conducted, became my primary source of information [Faried Williams p 101]. I also have personal contact with the Revival Pentecostal Church (Eglise de Pentecôte) in Phoenix. What follows is a short summary of the historical development of Islam in this area.

In 1996 Mr Faried Williams and family moved into the area. About 40 Muslim families were present in the greater area. No Mosque existed at the time. Through the initiative of Mr Williams during Ramadan 1996 prayers were held in a show house. An Egyptian visitor, moved by the dedication, sponsored the building site through a matching grant. Using a container as a place to gather, regular meetings were conducted. In 1998 the first Mosque was erected. Gosain Kriel became the official Imam at the time. The number of Muslims had risen through new arrivals in the area. Due to instabilities in the area, economic changes, hardships and other influences, many people moved out of

17 “Condef” was the development company for building houses in the area

Phoenix. This also affected the Muslim community and the number of worshippers also decreased.

In 2002 the area had stabilised and through a generous gift the present building project was started. 65-70 families belong to the Mosque although attendance on Fridays is around 800 people.¹⁸ This is due to the attendance of Muslims from the neighbouring industrial places such as Montague Gardens, Milnerton and even Century City. Abdul Hirya as student and the caretaker of the Mosque said: “The Mosque was built for Friday Jum’ah especially for the workers from the surrounding industrial places” [Abdul Hirya p103]. Through this the Mosque and local Muslim community receives financial contributions from Muslims not resident in the township.

Another phenomenon of the development of Islam in Joe Slovo/Phoenix is the fact that there is a large group of West and East Africans in the township. My observation in walking the streets and interacting with people has been that these are from as far away as Somalia (shop keepers), Burundi (refugees), DRC, Nigeria to mention the ones I have met. Somali, French, Kirundi and Swahili are some of the languages spoken in this community. The Xhosa people do not easily mix with these although they buy from them. Two years ago there was a violent uprising against these foreigners which resulted in burning of shacks and a number of killings. These problems seem to have subsided and it is a peaceful suburb apart from the ever prevalent crime [Sindile Dyasi p131].

Among these foreigners are also Muslim people. Interestingly they do not go to the Mosque in Phoenix. As far as I could establish they do not have an alternative place to conduct their prayers.

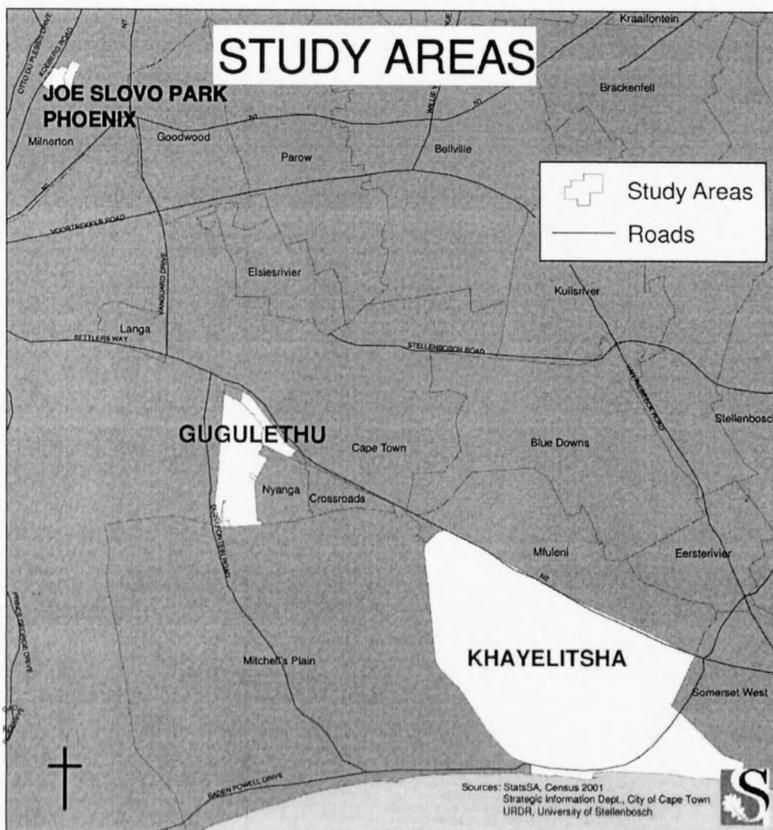
The short history of Joe Slovo/Phoenix presents a young Muslim community small in number and up to now not active in terms of Da’wah. Nevertheless, because of the special dynamic of the large attendance on Fridays for Jum’ah and with that the financial and personal resources position this Muslim community in an ideal stating position to engage locally in serious Da’wah efforts.

3.3. Current situation of Islam in the three townships.

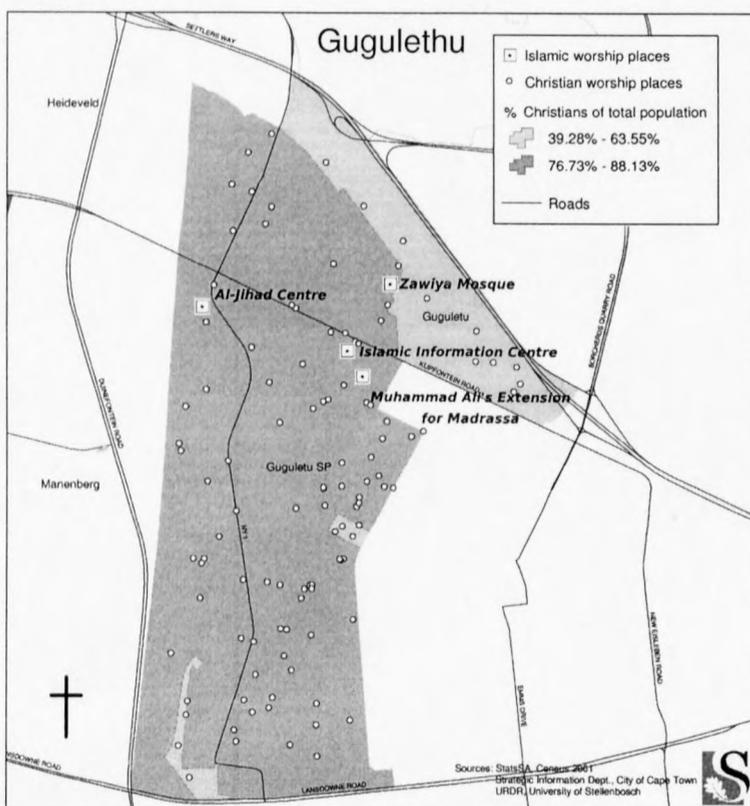
To get a visual representation of the current situation in the townships all Islamic places of worship were recorded with a global position system and incorporated in the three maps (see  symbol). An overview map is provided to depict the position of the three townships in greater Cape Town.

¹⁸ Mr Williams stated a figure of 1700 – 2000. Abdul Hirya the caretaker spoke of 800 which is in line with what I observed myself on a number of occasions.

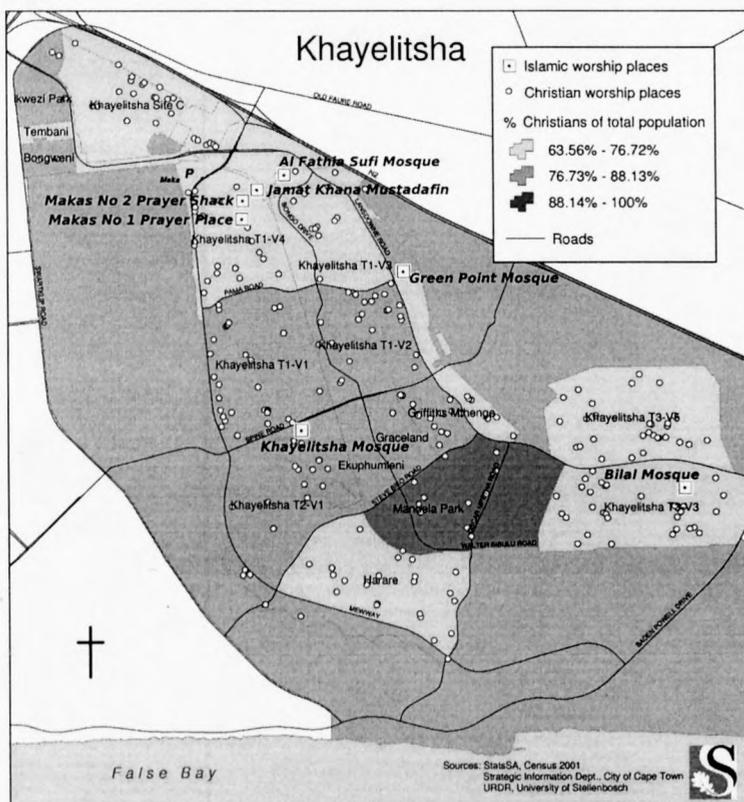
3.3.1. Overview map



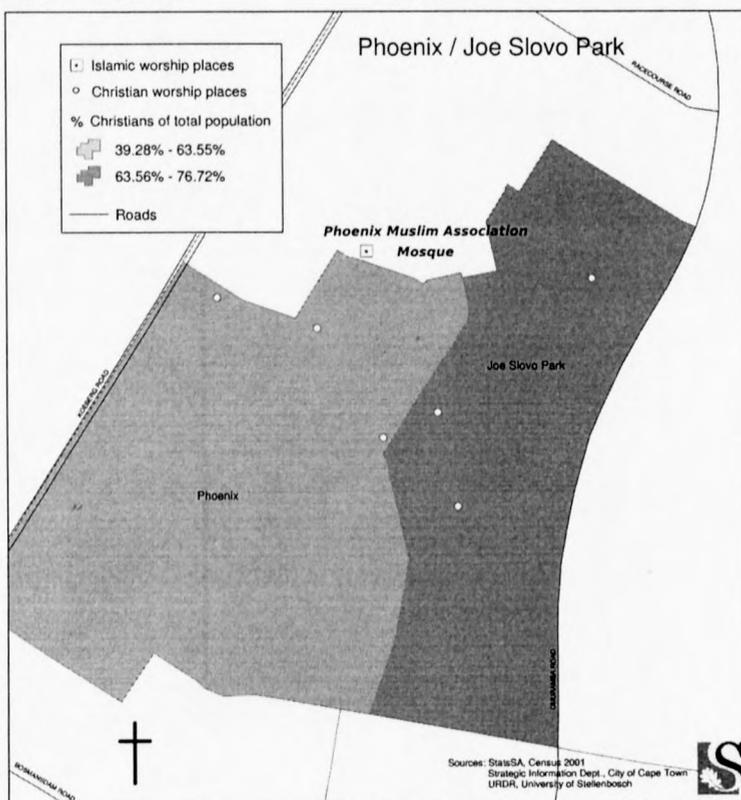
3.3.2. Gugulethu



3.3.3. Khayelitsha



3.3.4. Joe Slovo/Phoenix



It becomes evident that there are few Islamic places of worship compared to the amount of Christian places of worship. Rebecca Lee in her recent article entitled “Understanding African Women’s Conversion to Islam: Cape Town in Perspective” observes also that the ratio of Muslims compared to those who claim to belong to churches is minimal [Lee 2003]. Nevertheless it is very interesting to note that these places of worship are all of recent history [Table compiled from various interviews and field notes see appendix p 77].

Construction of Islamic places of worship		
Suburb	Date	Place
Guguletu	1974	Al Jihad Centre
Guguletu	1984	Muhammad Ali prayer room
Guguletu	2002	Islamic Information Centre
Guguletu	2002	Zawiya
Khayelitsha	1992	Khaelitsha Mosque in Litha Park
Khayelitsha	1997	Bilal Mosque
Khayelitsha	1997	R-section
Khayelitsha	1997	Al-Fathia Mosque R-section
Khayelitsha	s.a	Makas no 1 T-section
Khayelitsha	1999	Makas no 2 X-section
Khayelitsha	2003	Green Point Mosque
Khayelitsha	2004	Jama Khana Mustadafin V-section
Joe Slovo/Phoenix	1998-2002	Mosque in Phoenix

Thus we get an indication that Islam is establishing itself more and more in these townships, especially when taking into consideration that all three townships are low income areas.

3.3.5. Statistical findings

Apart from the Government statistics of 1996 and 2001 there is comparative data available from the Markinor’s World Values Survey. Although not accessible to me in the same detail as the Government statistics, the article by Johannes Erasmus and Jurgens Hendriks gives significant insight. It must be noted that “Markinor [is] the only South African internationally accredited market research company” [Erasmus & Hendriks 2003 p81].

The data is based on the 2000 World Values Survey. The total number of the

Muslim population of South Africa is stated as 425 270 which is 1.5% of the total population in this survey conducted in 1998. The South African Census figures of 2001 state higher figures for both the population in general as well as for Muslims, namely 654 063 Muslims which are 1.45% [Statistics p141].

Erasmus and Hendriks state in their evaluation that the Muslims in the younger generation group are increasing whereas the same age group Christians is decreasing [Erasmus & Hendriks 2003 p87]. Another interesting observation is that “the Muslim ... are mostly concentrated in metropolitan areas.” “87.5% of Muslims have ‘some high school’ and higher education.” [Erasmus & Hendriks 2003 p89-90]. The Muslim community in South Africa enjoys relatively good income. “Only 33.2% earn less than R1400 per household per month.” Language wise 64.5% of Muslims speak English, 20% Afrikaans, 10.8% Zulu and 4.7% speak Tswana. These percentages only show in what language the survey was conducted. It did not ask for the mother tongue, therefore these figures can be deceiving. Yet it is remarkable that the Xhosa language did not even feature. This may indicate that the majority of Black Muslims are not Xhosa speakers. The Markinor data lists 15.5% of all Muslims as belonging to the Black population [Erasmus & Hendriks 2003 p92-94]. My computation¹⁹ shows this to be 65917 in total.

The Government Census figures of 1980 for the Muslim population is 328440. Of these 8260²⁰ are recorded to be Black Muslims [Haron 1992 p3]. Zubeida Bibi Randeree quotes the 1991 census with a total of 338142 Muslims in South Africa of whom 11986 are classified Black. She notes that the Council of South Africa published figures with a total of 500 000 Muslims in South Africa in 1984 [Randeree 1997 p68].

The Government censuses of 1996 and 2001 yield the following figures [Source Government Statistics p141]. The computation of the average annual growth rate are mine.

¹⁹ 425270 Muslims in South Africa * 0.155 = 65917 Black Muslims.

²⁰ Vawda's tabulations of the census figures show 9048 Black Muslims for 1980 [Vawda 1994 p535].

South Africa Government Census Figures					
No	Area	Grouping	1996	2001	Annual Growth Rate ²¹
1	Guguletu	Muslim	1480	187	0.66%
2	Guguletu	Total Population	82241	80278	1.00%
3	Khayelitsha	Muslim	228	538	1.19%
4	Khayelitsha	Total Population	252980	331006	1.06%
5	Joe Slovo/Phoenix	Muslim	71	222	1.26%
6	Joe Slovo/Phoenix	Total Population	2374	9041	1.31%
7	Western Cape	Black Muslim	3284	8246	1.20%
8	Western Cape	Muslim	261086	292895	1.02%
9	Western Cape	Black Population	833681	1207463	1.08%
10	Western Cape	Total Population	3957322	4524332	1.03%
11	South Africa	Black Muslim	43699	74794	1.11%
12	South Africa	Muslim	551737	654063	1.03%
13	South Africa	Black Population	31141367	35416164	1.03%
14	South Africa	Total Population	40578899	44819778	1.02%

Some of these figures might be surprising and need further explanation before an evaluation can follow. The figures for Guguletu are not a typographical error. The census does indeed show a decline of 1293 Muslims between 1996 and 2001. In the light of such a big discrepancy it is interesting that Muhammed Haron claims a figure of 150 Muslims for Guguletu based on the 1980 Government census [Haron 1992 p4]. I have found no explanation why there is such a high figure for 1996 in the Government census. The personal estimates of the Muslims I interviewed in Guguletu are between 100-200 Muslims, which would be in line with Haron's and the current Government census figures [Ismael Gqamane 82, Ahmad Stulweni 86, and Yusuf Mohammad 78].

Concerning the low figures in 1996 and the drastic increase by 2001 for Joe Slovo/Phoenix it has to be remembered that the township only officially started in 1996 the year of the census. Many people only moved into the suburb starting from 1996. Thus the growth reflected in the figures for Joe Slovo/Phoenix represent mainly transfer growth. The annual growth rate of the total population for Joe Slovo/Phoenix also reflects this influx of people into the suburb.

After these explanations the figures in the table can be evaluated. I will use the row numbers in the first column to help with identification of the items in the table. I will also refer a number of times to the 'annual growth rate percentages.' Although the

²¹ Calculations of annual Growth rate was done with a goal seek mechanism of OpenOffice.org. The spreadsheet is included in the appendix from page 148 onward.

percentage may seem very small, yet little fluctuations 'annual growth rate' figures have a tremendous impact on society.

Starting with the townships I will make no interpretations on Guguletu (1+2) and Joe Slovo/Phoenix (5+6) for the above mentioned reasons. The Muslim population in Khayelitsha (3) has grown more than twice in these 5 years between the taking of the censuses'. The annual growth rate reflects that and shows it as the second highest on the entire table. Assuming that the influx of Muslims to Khayelitsha is not above average and that the population growth among Muslims is comparable to the rest of the population, then there must have been significant conversion growth among Muslims in the suburb.

Moving further down the table the dynamic that seems to be happening among Muslims in Khayelitsha also holds true for the entire Western Cape. The Black Muslim population in the Western Cape (7) has a growth rate of 1.20% which is very high. The table shows that the Black Muslim population in the Western Cape has more than doubled (from 3284 to 8246) between 1996 and 2001.

Compared to the growth rate of the Black population in the Western Cape (9) the Black Muslims outperform the growth of the Black population by far. What is interesting to note in this connection is that the entire Muslim population in the Western Cape (8) which includes the Black Muslims, has an annual growth rate of *less* than what the total population in the Western Cape (10) shows. In other words this means that the growth of Black Muslims in the Western Cape does not produce a higher overall growth rate for Muslims in the Western Cape.

There can be several reasons for that: Firstly, it could be that there was a shift in classification e.g. Muslims who were not classified as Black before are now being classified as Black. This would mean that the increase in Black Muslims is a transfer rather than conversion growth. Secondly, it could mean that the non-Black Muslims have a below average population growth. Thirdly, there could have been a transfer of non-Black Muslims away from the Western Cape (i.e. a migration to Gauteng for example). It could also be a combination of these factors. What the reason is cannot be further assessed just from the statistical data. What the table does not show, is that Black Muslims made up 1.26% of the total Muslim population in 1996. In 2001 this has increased to 2.82%²². In other words the ratio of Black Muslims to non-Black Muslims is

22 Calculations: W. C: $3284 * 100 / 261086 = 1.26\%$ in 1996; $8246 * 100 / 292895 = 2.82\%$ in 2001.

SA: $43699 * 100 / 551737 = 7.92\%$ in 1996; $74794 * 100 / 654063 = 11.44\%$ in 2001.

changing in favour of the Black Muslims.

The table also depicts the figures of the total South African population broken down in the same categories as used for the Western Cape (11-14). This was done for the sake of comparison to the national figures. A similar pattern in the annual growth rate is observable. Black Muslims (11) are growing the fastest. Also the percentage to non-Black Muslims is increasing. From 7.92% in 1996 to 11.44% in 2001 the ratio has risen in favour of Black Muslims.

Coming back to the statistics in the three townships and in realisation that the census figures are not too helpful in getting a clear picture where Guguletu and Joe Slovo/Phoenix are concerned the following table is provided. The listing compares the 2001 census figures with the answers obtained through the interviews in these townships. It may serve as an additional reference point.

Estimated figures of Muslims in Black townships	
Guguletu	
Source	Muslims
Ismael Gqamane	200
Ahmed Stulweni	100 - 150
Yusuf Mohammad	100
2001 Census	187
Khayelitsha	
Abdullah Omar	200-300 perhaps more
Abu Backer ²³	3000-5000
Hasim Gqamane	300
Yusuf Nombexeza	568 counted through a survey conducted by the Mosque
2001 Census	538
Joe Slovo/Phoenix	
Abdul Hirya	55 Families
Faried Williams	65-70 Families worship at the Mosque
2001 Census	222

The answers reveal that the people living in the areas are estimated very close to what the 2001 Census states (with the exception of Abu Backer estimate, who is not a local resident in the area). This can mean that the people interviewed have a good feel and grasp for the population with whom they work. One factor that all these figures do not reveal is how many children are attending Madrassa in these townships. It is very

²³ Abu Backer does not live in Khayelitsha.

difficult to establish if a child has become a Muslim or not. Yet attendance in a Madrassa now may have a big influence on the growth of Muslims in the future. In my interactions with Muslim in townships I observed a number of Madrassa and pre-school activities.

Although the statistics show that Black Muslims have grown to more than double since 1996 in the Western Cape the situation with Islam in the three townships is still that of a very small minority group. Islam is poised to grow further especially as the younger generation seems to be responding as the Markinor data suggests. With a growing Black Muslim population there will also be shifts within the greater Muslim community to accommodate the dynamic Black Muslim movement.

After having examined the complex statistical and quantitative situation in the townships, the interviews with Muslims will allow further enquiry into the activities and self-understanding of Muslims. To the Christians in the townships this self-understanding is perhaps the most visible manifestation of Islam.

3.3.6. Activities and self understanding of Muslims

The “Transformation Research Project” undertaken by the URDR (“Unit for Religion and Development Research” of the University of Stellenbosch in partnership with “Transformation Africa”) has produced a number of research reports. Two of these reports cover Guguletu and Khayelitsha. It would go beyond the scope of this work to discuss the reports in detail, but they provide valuable insight into the socio-economic context of these townships. Muslims and Christians live and have to live in what is identified as a stable, but poor, situation. Poverty, unemployment, substandard housing, lack of services are haunted by crime and health hazards with a high HIV/AIDS death rate [Erasmus & Mans 2004a, Erasmus & Mans 2004b].

For Joe Slovo/Phoenix there is no URDR report available at present. Nevertheless, my personal observation is that in the Joe Slovo section one finds very similar circumstances as in Guguletu and Khayelitsha, apart from the fact that the Township was built much more recently and is much smaller than the others. The Phoenix part of the Township is a bit more established and affluent.

The answers from the interviews have to be understood with this rather challenging background in mind. In this section we focus on the answers given by the Muslims who were interviewed.

In the interviews Muslims were asked in question number 5 to identify the main challenges they face as a religious community. Although there was some mentioning of the socio-economic issues such as “poverty”, “struggle to take kids to school”, “dis-

empowerment” the answers generally circled around the interaction with the rest of the population and the wider Muslim community. What stood out was what Sheik Ismael Gqamane summed up: “Islam is perceived as a foreign religion and culture. Islam is monotheistic, it fights aspects of African religious culture” [Ismael Gqamane p82]. Abdullah Omar has lived in Khayelitsha for years and who is the second Imam of the Bilal Mosque in Khayelitsha explained:

“The stereotypes in the minds of the African people. Xhosa people think that Islam belongs to the Asian community. Those who become Muslims are seen as traitors and are misunderstood. It is perceived as changing the tribal allegiance. This challenge is created by the way the Indian Muslims lived” [Abdullah Omar p97].

The result of such a perception existing in the general community is reflected in the statement: “When someone (Muslim) passes away then part of the Family (Christian) doesn’t want to give the body to us Muslims for burial” [Imam Yusuf Nombexeza p94]. As obstacles to conversion (interview question number 26) my informants stated: “Islam is seen as a Malay religion”, “Islam is not their tribe”, “they are afraid to leave the family”, “Islam is seen as a ‘coloured’ religion.” Muslims face a steep challenge in doing Da’wah work among the wider community because of this perception.

Yet Muslims are aware of it and are only too ready to prove that such a perception is a grievous misunderstanding. “We debate and propagate by showing and proving with examples that Islam is similar to Christianity” [Abdullah Omar p109]. As points of similarity Muslims view that Xhosa culture has: polygamy like Islam, the slaughtering of animals when a new baby is born and hospitality. Rebecca Lee who has done interviews with Xhosa women in Cape Town who converted to Islam is very strong on this point when she writes:

Far from entailing a conceptual and cultural leap, shifting to Islam represents a return to already rehearsed rituals and ideologies existing in Xhosa tradition. Many recent converts attested to this continuity in form and belief, and stressed that following Islam allowed them to be truer to their traditional cultural roots than previously [Lee 2003].

Aisha Rulumente and Sureia Njola stated that Islam is in line with the original beliefs of the African people. Furthermore they pointed out that “the original Xhosa name of God is ‘Qamata’ and that equates to Allah”²⁴[Aisha Rulumente, Sureia Njola p99].

Such explanations and persuasions seem, however, not to happen by minimizing

²⁴ Qamata created everything and the Spirits of the dead are supposed to be closer to him according to Xhosa traditional Religion. The term used for God by Xhosa Christians presently is “Thixo.”

or ignoring the differences between religions. Worship at graves, asking ancestors for forgiveness, ancestor veneration, consumption of alcohol, smoking of dagga was listed as points where Islam is different [Adbullah Omar p109].

Yet the equation, Islam equals an African compatible religion, is not so simple as it may appear at first sight. Auwaris Rafudeen describes “the cultural identity of South African Muslims ... as being in limbo.” For Rafudeen it is a process far from completion. He suggests “practical measures that can foster africanisation of [a] Muslim identity.” He advocates the study of “indigenous culture” and together with the “history of Islam in Africa,” “learning of indigenous African languages” and an understanding between “historically imported and historically indigenous segments of the South African Muslim population” [Rafudeen 2002 p59].

Black Muslims find themselves in this position of tension between, on the one hand, the rejection by the Xhosa community because of the perceived incompatibility with Xhosa life and culture and, on the other hand, their success in terms of converts through the work of explanation in their Da’wah efforts. The Muslims I met were far from being discouraged. On the contrary they held out great hopes of increasing their number. This is also reflected in the recent building and development of new Islamic places of worship in the townships.

A further challenge the Muslims are aware of are the internal struggles within Islam. These are not so much of doctrinal or legal nature, but much more on the cultural level. Young emerging African Islamic leadership is struggling with leadership which is coming from outside their communities. Except the Masakhane Muslim Community the other leading bodies of Muslims in the Western Cape are all located outside of the Black townships and have hardly any Black Muslims in their leadership. Ahmet Stulweni analyses that Malay and Indian Muslims are forcing a Malay and Indian Islam onto their converts from Black townships. He perceives this as a threat to the Muslim community as it produces a distorted view of Islam [Ahmat Stulweni p86].

During the Apartheid years a fair number of people like Yusuf Mohammad who shared his experience in the interview, joined Islam for political reasons. He like others saw Islam as a “vehicle to fight social injustice” [Yusuf Mohammad 78]. Being on different sides of the ‘colour classification spectrum’ with different freedoms and possibilities caused Muslims to differ what their agenda should be. Most of the Indian and Malay Muslims opted for a peaceful way of dealing with the oppressing Government. In the Black communities it was, amongst others, the Al-Jihad organisation

which joined the ‘armed struggle’ and became affiliated with the United Democratic Front. This did not happen without opposition and a number of Al-Jihad members left the organisation. From the Malay and Indian side the remaining Al-Jihad members were accused of being ‘political informants.’ This was a loaded political accusation which jeopardized some of their support from the local community. Although such disputes are a thing of the past they “have taken another form today” [Yusuf Mohamed p78].

The rise of the Mirabitun movement may serve as one example of some of the challenges of a multiracial Muslim community. The Masakhane Muslim Community newsletter article reveals:

Through the teachings of Imam Malik and a strong centralised leadership African Muslims united with Cape Malay, Indian and European Muslims for the first time under one Amir. This noble effort was torn apart by power struggles, but the movement gave way to a local umbrella body formed in 1993 by the youth of the Townships [Masakhane 2002 p50].

The new effort was called Ikhwanul-Muslimeen which was then renamed in 1997 to Masakhane Muslim Community. That such challenges exist till today is reflected in the statement “Racism is rife in Islam in Cape Town,” which was uttered by one Muslim from the townships who would like to remain anonymous. Ebrahim Fakude writes about such tensions when he describes the interaction of Black and resident Muslims in Fordsburg:

This interaction between the two communities exposed huge weaknesses from both sides that were in the past overlooked. Tensions gradually developed, initially about the distribution of funds supposedly meant for all Muslims but unevenly distributed. Ugly scenes followed as a result, especially in Johannesburg. A tacit boycott of Mosques in the townships by the established community²⁵ was once again resumed [Fakude 2002 p48].

Fakude further concludes that: “Sadly the problems, especially racism, are spreading unabated in a community that is supposed to spearhead non-racialism” [Fakude 2002 p49]

These challenges exist not only in Gauteng. The fact that all is not well with the further developments of the Masakhane Muslim community can be felt from statements like, “after a very successful beginning the Masakhane Muslim Community is not very active at present due to the fact that a number of active people have left” [Ismael Gqamane p106]. As an outsider to the Muslim community I do not have open access to

²⁵ “Established Muslim community” is used by Fakude in place of “Malay and Indian Muslim communities” as a more suitable term.

internal information. It is also far from me to pass any judgement, but for the sake of understanding the Muslim community in Black townships, it is essential not to distort the picture by suppressing the perhaps darker tones.

One of the matters of concern to the Muslim community is the quality of conversion among Black Muslims. To understand this the reasons for conversion to Islam have to be considered. The motivations and hindrances for conversion to Islam were some of the questions included in my interviews. But as a background it is important to consider the findings of other writers first.

In an interview conducted by Shahid Vawda on 8 July 1992 with Sheik Abbas Phiri he explains:

The young ones normally come in with a friend to see the mosque. Even if he is not asked to see Islam he will accompany his friend, because maybe they are going somewhere so he has to pass by. They (the non-Muslim friends) end up learning about Islam and getting interested in Islam, and become Muslims even before their friend asks them to become Muslims [Vawda 1994 p541].

Vawda continues to list the reasons why people turn to Islam after summarizing nine interviews with converts to Islam. His list is as follows: “a) personal, b) non-racial and non-nationalistic basis of Islam, c) theological, d) disillusionment with Christianity, e) political and f) the pan-Africanist element of Islam.” He is quick to point out that these are not mutually exclusive for a reason to convert to Islam. On close scrutiny disillusionment or little understanding, if any, about Christianity are present in almost every one of his interview summaries [Vawda 1994 p542-544].

In evaluating two interviews of converts to Islam, Tahir Fuzile Sitoto records what Ncube had to say:

As people who grew up in the township – there was a quest for religious identity. We could not identify with the oppressor’s religion. In terms of its teachings Islam was different – it was a political answer [Sitoto 2003 p47].

This politically charged conversion motive was the motivation for many converts who embraced Islam during the oppressive apartheid years in South Africa. One wonders now that the the political motive is removed, by the official end of apartheid, if the reason to stay a Muslim remains. It is possible to find those who remained Muslims and those who left the fold of Islam.

Not only situational political motivations resulted in conversions but also the desire to marry. Shamil Jeppie reveals that: “Conversions – especially to Islam – in order to marry women of the other faith occasionally occur in Cape Town.” He continues to

narrate as one example the story of Glen Khan:

For instance, Glen Khan, a gang boss became Muslim so that he could marry a Muslim woman only to reconvert just before his death in a hail of bullets [Jeppie 2000 p223].

Although one can argue that Glen Khan is an exceptional case it is by no means the only one. Abdullah Hakim Quick the head of the Da'wah department of the Muslim Judicial Council expressed his concern with the words: "The question is not about conversion, but about the quality of these conversions" [Abdullah Hakim Quick p112]. Ahmad Stulweni alludes to the problem when he labels the handouts given during Ramadan in Black townships as 'Ice Cream Dawah.' "Ice Cream Da'wah means people only become Muslims because they get material gain. Poverty does that to people" [Ahmad Stulweni 85].

Actively working with African Women, Fatima Lobi, who is herself a descendant of Imam Lobi, expressed her concern about the motivation for conversion in Xhosa woman. "They want food. Most women go to Islam in terms of, you know, for their families ..." "... they believe Islam is all about getting, getting, getting. So people would stay in their Christianity and would come to Islam only to get something" [Lee 2001 p69].

It is therefore not surprising that the established Muslims of Malay and Indian background are suspicious of the genuineness of converts from Islam. Ncube, in reflecting on his conversion in an interview with Sitoto, airs his frustration on how long it takes to be accepted: "Twelve years down the line one is still a convert" [Sitoto 2003 p47].

My own findings through the interviews confirm the preceding evidence. Reasons for conversions to Islam, as my informants stated, are: "For the material benefit ('Ice Cream Da'wah)", "people feel it brings social mobility, food on the table, political activists who were disillusioned with Christian and Western imperialism", "Islam is 'truer' than Christianity", "By the behaviour of Muslims. People ask us what it is all about", "Christianity did not give me anything. I went to the Shariah. I liked the Islamic religion", "They come because they need God", "A good number read and they got invited. ... Poverty is not such a motive for conversion. They have come to understand Islam as an African religion" [Interview question 25 p77].

Joining Islam is not just easy in the township environment. There are a number of odds stacked against a possible convert. Vawda, in evaluating the situation in the townships of NwaMashu, Ntuzuma and Inanda near Durban, collected the following list

of stress factors for conversion:

a) taunts and teasing that one is following an Indian religion, b) the absence of halaal food in the household, c) the lack of privacy when praying, d) the knowledge that meeting one's request for halal food and privacy will cause inconvenience to others, e) the probability that the family will be unable or unwilling to meet the special needs associated with the fast of Ramadan in terms of prayer and food rituals, and f) that one aspect of your life is no longer shared with other family members, which may cause problems [Vawda 1994 p541].

From the answers to my interview question 27 by the Muslim informants the obstacles of joining Islam were: a) Islam emphasises to be less materialistic, but people want things. b) Democracy is against the book concept, that the book (Qur'an) tells you what to do, c) Islam is seen as a Malay religion, it is alien, they consider it Kwere kwere,²⁶ d) the convert is rejected in the community, one is no longer perceived as an African, e) the dress code in Islam causes mockery, f) Muslims are called evil and oppressive. (Black people would rather work for Whites than for Coloured Muslims because they get treated so badly), g) Fasting during Ramadan, h) abstaining from Mqombothi,²⁷ i) burial customs in Christianity are expressive, Muslims do it inexpressive, j) Arabic as a language, k) prohibitions concerning promiscuity [Interview question 27 p77].

Some of the hindrances and obstacles listed here by Muslim people beg the question as to how far Islam can ever be considered to be a religion in line with African traditions let alone an African religion.

In spite of the difficulties Muslims in Black townships are continuing with a number of Da'wah related activities to persuade others to join the fold of Islam. Madrassa, feeding schemes, support for pre-schools, Eid functions, door to door visitation, invitations to Dikr and help with starting small scale business are the present ways Muslims conduct their Da'wah activities. Yet the overall impression is that at this point, not a concerted organized and streamlined effort [Interview questions 9, 11, 12 p77]. This does not however mean that it is not effective in many ways. In some instances African people are attracted just by the sheer activity that happens at Islamic places of worship [Ismael Gamane Question 10 p82].

26 "Kwere kwere" or "Kwiri kwiri" is an expression to label language and people of African origin that are foreign and unintelligible to Black South Africans.

27 "Mqombothi" is the home made African beer necessary for any African celebration that appeases the ancestors.

3.3.7. Reflections on the state of development of Islam

With this information on the current Muslim community in the three townships we may conclude that the development of Islam is still relatively young and small in numbers in the townships. Yet we also see the enormous dynamic and energy that is displayed in this religious minority community. Muslims do not suffer from low self esteem concerning their community and religion. Islam like Christianity is a mission minded religion, albeit motivated differently. Generally Muslims are eager to increase and extend their influence in the townships by winning people to Islam. This reality of extraordinary increase is reflected in the statistical growth recorded for Black Muslims in South Africa. With 11.4%²⁸ of the current Muslim population it is the fastest growing sector of the Muslim community.

At the same time the Muslims suffer from internal struggles as pointed out above. This includes grappling with the lack of an African identity of Islam which ultimately involves their hermeneutical approach to the situation and their religious sources. The realities of the poor conditions in the townships are an additional challenge for the Muslims, as for anyone else, firstly for their own survival and secondly, for inviting others to follow the course of Islam.

The next question to ask is: How does the Christian community living under the same circumstances relate to a growing Islam in their neighbourhood?

28 Total South African Black Muslims 74794 * 100 / Total of all South African Muslims 654063 = 11.435%

4. Attitudes of Christianity in the three townships

4.1. Situation for Christianity in the three Black townships

When looking at the situation of Christianity in the townships it is easy to focus entirely on socio-economic issues such as poverty, unemployment, appalling health and sanitary conditions, HIV/AIDS, crime and other problems that exist abundantly. Nevertheless the situation of Christianity in these places is not without history, a history where political power and Christianity were abused which resulted among other things in the creation of the townships with their frustrating situations. This history did not leave Christianity unscarred. Since the official revocation of Apartheid Christians had to work through many issues on all sides as the reports of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission show [TRC 1996].

Allan Anderson, in an article on South African pentecostalism in which he includes the African Independent Churches, like the Zion Christian Church ZCC, observes that through a withdrawal from the public sphere during Apartheid the church practised something that is in theological terms

a ‘realized eschatology’, where the distinction between the ‘not yet’ and the ‘already’ is blurred, and where people are urged to take their eyes off worldly things like politics, poverty and social oppression [Anderson 2000 p5].

It is equivalent to an escapism into the future from the present reality. In coming out of Apartheid a process has started, and is far from being finished, where the church is grappling with its position and stance on many issues. This is not only the case with the churches like the Dutch Reformed Church, but also with the churches whose majority of members reside in the townships. This is a place of tension between the need for processing the past with its consequences and the demands of the current situation. Both are taxing and energy consuming for the church leaderships and form part of the churches reality beyond the glaring problems like poverty, crime etc. Events like the recent South African Leadership Assembly (SACLA) 2003 where the issues have been defined in terms of ‘seven giants’²⁹ prove that a dynamic development is at work [SACLA 2003].

The socio-economic factors in the townships are obviously the same for the Christians as they are for the Muslims, perhaps with one significant difference: Since the Muslims are a minority they can, to an extent, opt not to get involved in certain issues.

²⁹ The seven giants identified are HIV and Aids, Violence, Crime, Racism, Poverty & Unemployment, Sexism, Family in Crisis.

This is hardly possible for the Christians who form around 75% of the inhabitants of the three townships in this study. Ministers fraternals are approached by the civil governing bodies for input, answers and community mobilisation. Therefore ministers carry a greater responsibility for as well as influence, on the general population than their Muslim counterparts.

From a financial aspect it is interesting to note that most Christian pastors have to raise their own income, except those where the denomination pools the salaries as it is with some of the mainline churches. To find support pastors rely either on their local churches, or they have secular jobs and are pastors on a part time basis. The Muslim clerics in Khayelitsha and Guguletu are funded from outside the community they serve as the following table reveals:

Funding of Islamic Clerics	
Cleric	Funding Organisation
Ismael Gqamane	Muslim Judicial Council
Abdullah Omar	Islamic Da'wah Movement
Ismael Ngqoyiyana	Islamic Da'wah Movement
Imam at Khayelitsha Mosque	Visits from outside the area (Indian origin)
Abu Backer	Mustadafin Foundation

In addition it is well known that Muslims, especially during the month of fasting (Ramadan), have extensive distribution and feeding projects. This is primarily sponsored from outside the Black community. SANZAF (South African National Zakah Fund) regularly publishes their achievements that attribute to the enormous funding that goes into the black townships [Mid-Year Statement 1997]. Thus Muslims receive more donations per capita, from outside the townships, than the Christians. In this context Pastor Lungile Tetyana exclaimed spontaneously: "The Muslims preach the message of the food parcel" [Lungile Tetyana p113]. Many churches in the townships use uniforms for their members. This creates another financial burden on the individual who has to finance the uniform. All in all the Christians are in a more difficult situation economically.

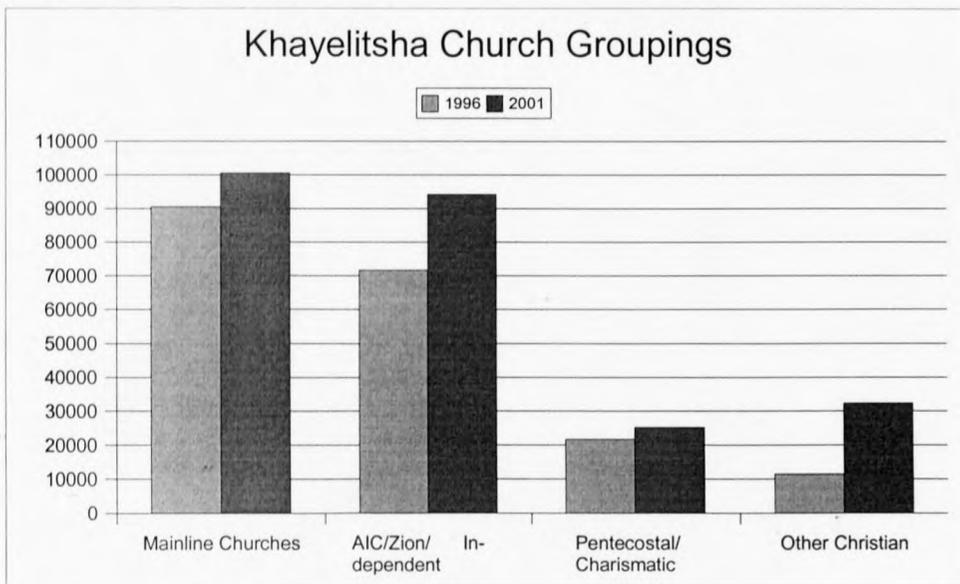
The URDR report for the Transformation Research Project lists the ratio of people to churches for Khayelitsha as one church per 1201 people [Erasmus & Mans 2004b p19] and for Guguletu, Nyanga and Crossroads with one church per 574 people respectively [Erasmus & Mans 2004a p19]. The comparative figures for the Muslim populations in these townships are much better. From the seven identified places of

Islamic worship in Khayelitsha three to four can be considered places equivalent to a church (e.g. places dedicated to religious worship with a full program of services)³⁰. With 538 Muslims in Khayelitsha it is a ratio of one Islamic place of worship per 180 people. If the figures for Guguletu are accurate as of the 2001 census, then this gives the three places of Islamic worship a ratio of one Islamic place of worship to 60 people³¹. In other words the Christian population has far less facilities per capita than the Muslims. In some sections of Khayelitsha the ratio is one church per 3 374 people [Erasmus & Mans 2004b p19]. It is no surprise then that the impression is created as Lungile Tetyana critically remarked:

The Government is supposed to be for the Blacks but the Government favours the Muslims. Muslims have it easier to get a plot. Muslims want their own cemetery and they get it because they have money.
[Lungile Tetyana p113]

Although the Government may have nothing to do with the situation this statement is an indicator of the frustration felt among church leaders in an environment where there is such a severe lack of churches per capita.

The denominational diversity of churches is another reality in the three townships. From the statistics it is evident that adherents of many different denominations are living in these areas.



30 The comparison is made in reference to services and program activities rather than building since Christian places of worship are calculated by the URDR report in a similar way. Many churches worship in homes, classrooms of schools and other places rather than dedicated formal church buildings.

31 Even with the much higher figure of the 1996 census it would produce a figure of one place of worship to 467 people.

From the diagram above, based on the 1996 and 2001 censuses figures, it is evident that the Mainline and African Independent Churches (AIC) are the largest. In Guguletu “the Methodist Church (15%), Other Christian Churches (10,3%) and Other Apostolic Churches (9.3%) are dominant” [Erasmus & Mans 2004a p10]. Joe Slovo is also featuring a variety of churches, one of them being French/Swahili speaking. The multiplicity of churches and denominations is positive in terms of choice and scope, but may be negative as it shows possible disunity. For this study the above information may suffice to give an idea of the environment in which Christians find themselves.³²

4.2. Christian attitudes about Islam in the townships

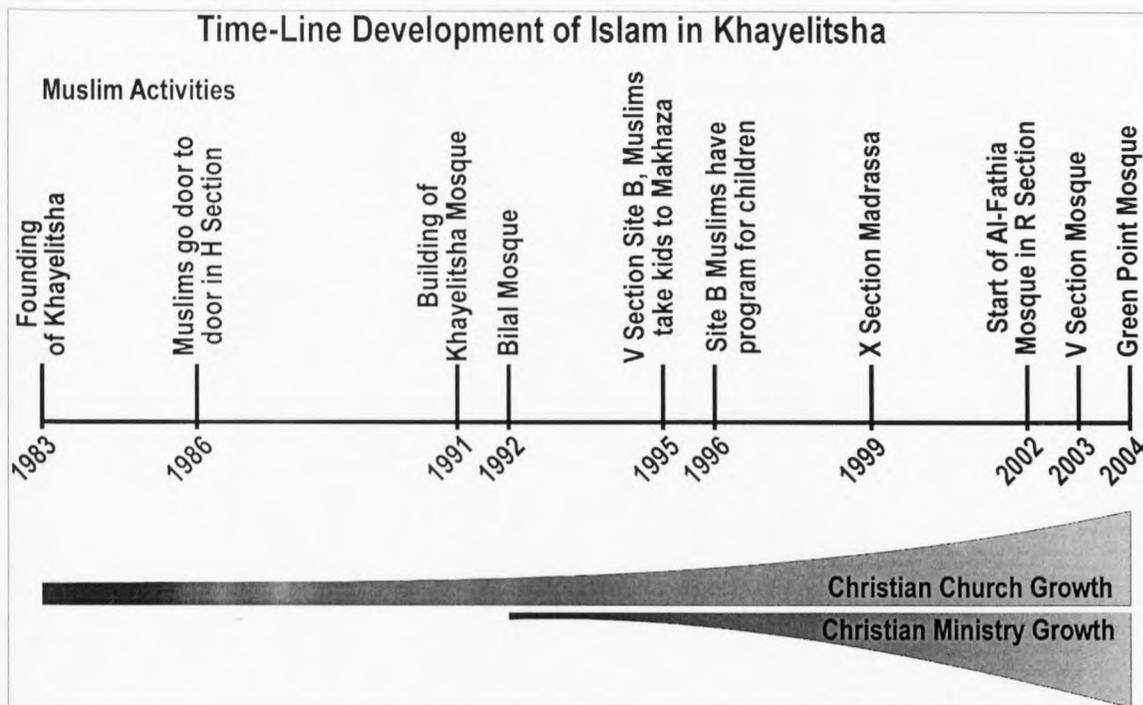
Since the focus of the study is about the Christian stance in relation to Islam it is now important to evaluate the findings of the interviews conducted with key Christians, mostly pastors in the three townships. I will, however, start with the presentation and evaluation of information and insights gleaned from the Participatory Action Research (PAR). The full report of the proceedings is attached in the appendix on page 137.

4.2.1. Participatory Action Research (PAR) meeting with pastors

The purpose of the PAR was not just to obtain accurate and in-depth information in an efficient way but to start a process of addressing the cross religious situation and introduce and expose participants to a wider field of ministry. With a fast growing Islam in the townships this situation presents an opportunity for empowerment for the church leaders. For the pastors it will be a preparation to help with situations which their church members face increasingly as they come in contact with Muslims. Since PAR is supposed not to be a self-serving or researcher serving exercise I am pleased to report that the meeting as such was a success and is bound to have positive spin-offs in the future. Some participants already discussed next action steps such as awareness, training and outreach events. Even interaction with Muslims is envisaged.

After an initial round of introducing everyone the meeting was opened in prayer and produced, as a first step, the following time line.

³² For further interest it may be pointed out that the above quoted URDR reports of Guguletu and Khayelitsha give a more detailed description and summary in the concluding remarks of the overall and Christian situation of the areas. [Erasmus & Mans 2004b p34-36, Erasmus & Mans 2004a p31-36].



The information was collected in an interactive session and immediately noted on the paper that was fixed to the wall for all to see. In front of everyone this time-line grew as the participants discussed the information. The information depicted on the time-line, covered in earlier parts of this thesis and is recorded in detail in the report of the meeting in the appendix. What needs to be mentioned here is that the pastors were able to piece together a fairly complete picture of the visible activities and places of the Muslims. However, not one of the pastors had all the information! Only in a team effort of exchange was all this information brought together. This was pointed out at the meeting as an encouragement that joint exercises, such as this, can provide them with necessary information and answers, also for other questions and challenges which they are facing, even in regard to understanding more about Islam and Muslims in their context.

The participants constantly related the events to the development of their churches and their ministries in which they are involved. Thus it was discovered that the number and the size of churches grew much more rapidly in the last 10-15 years and that in addition to churches, so called ministries had sprung up, which were helpful in addressing needs the churches did not cover always. Furthermore the participants noted with astonishment how many Muslim places of worship had come into being. It was somewhat surprising that Islam had made such inroads. Individuals had thought of Islam as an unimportant side issue which could safely be ignored. Such disregard of issues is by and large their practice, since pastors perceive other issues as more pressing than the

development of Islam. Nevertheless, putting all the information they had together, the pastors realized that what each one of them had experienced as a 'side issue' was something that is a real challenge to their church members. They realised that Islam should no longer be ignored, not that it will now receive main priority in their thinking, but it may no longer be shrugged of as irrelevant.

What is especially of concern is the interaction with Muslim employers and the methods Muslims are using to "catch" people. In frustration, pastors mentioned the lure of the 'hand out situation,' which Muslims create through their giving especially during Ramadan. "They have the message of the food parcel. How can we compete against such ways? We do not have the money they have," were the words of one senior pastor. "People assume that in becoming a Muslim one will become rich, so many people take the chance." One could not miss the overtones of frustration and a bit of despair in such statements. Facing the hardships of township life one can hardly be surprised at such outbursts when confronted with the effects that such material give-aways have on some of the people. The challenge here is also, for some church members who are tempted into a hypocritical life style, i.e. going to the Muslims just to obtain material goods yet continuing to be part of ordinary church life. Yet pastors are far from discouraged as we shall later see.

Other concerns were the vocal and increasing influence Muslims seem to have. It was felt that the Muslims are more visible than the church. The fact that the premier of the Western Cape is a Muslim was noted in support of the issue of influence. The experience of now being denied the running of Christian based programs in school assemblies in Khayelitsha because of possible Muslim objections is a heartfelt concern and perceived as 'losing ground.' It must be understood that there are very few Muslim children in public schools in Khayelitsha. The whole discussion is more on the level of teachers and principals. In this context it was said: "The church should be the head, but the church is the tail." Another observed: "The church is not visible. ... her voice is not heard." One pastor narrated the story that the Khayelitsha Mosque in Litha Park, which is primarily frequented by Malay and Indian Muslims who work in the area, had set up a loudspeaker system to pronounce the Adaan (Call to prayer) over the wider area and call the faithful to Salat (prayer) five times a day. This was considered a serious issue, not only because of the noise from very early in the morning to late at night, but it was also seen as a provocation. A number of church leaders went to the town elders and had the "noise shut off."

In the eyes of the pastors Muslims display a unity that the church does not have. Muslims are seen to help each other when one is in need or in difficulties especially, with aid from outside the community. In a context of poverty this is an attraction for those in need. This is a challenge for the church. The Muslim commitment to each other is seen as their commitment to Islam as their religion. This creates in the eyes of outsiders a power block that is not subject to the elders of the community. In the face of this situation pastors are aware of disunity among churches and church members and a lack of loving assistance to one another which is dis-powering. It is obvious that the pastors are not aware of the internal struggles of the Muslim community mentioned earlier. This happens because the Muslims try not to go public with their internal problems. Nevertheless, the concern and fears the pastors perceive will determine their actions.

The increasing numbers of foreign Muslims among the township Muslims was also noted. "The massive exodus of northern and central African brothers, deceives the local Black people that Islam is for Africans." The pastors know that not all foreigners are Muslims, but many of them are. East and West African Muslims are propagating Islam with great confidence, as they report of extensive Muslim communities elsewhere in Africa. At the same time quite a number of entrepreneurial foreign Muslims have opened small shops thus putting themselves into a slightly better position than the people around them. In my excursions in the townships I found Somali shops in Khayelitsha and Joe Slovo/Phoenix and it seems that in Guguletu a Somali is keen to open a shop in Muhammad Ali's place as noted above. Ismael Gqamane was emphatic when estimating that 30% of the Muslims in Guguletu are foreigners [Ismael Gqamane p82].

In the light of the fact that Muslims in the townships include a sizeable group of foreigners and that the Muslim population is seen in close contact with Malay and Indian Muslims it is hardly surprising that there is suspicion about them. Statements from pastors such as "I am worried about them. I don't trust them!" come from such discoveries and generate an uneasiness about any action of the Muslim community. One suggested: "Islam is a foreign culture that the church leadership needs to be taught about." For the foreigners to align themselves with the local Muslims is a question of identity and survival. A Muslim foreigner more easily finds a 'home' and a physical place to live in the embrace of the local Muslim Umma (brotherhood of all Muslims). Somehow these people have to make a living and it is a hard life in the townships.

The fear of what one does not know and xenophobia are certainly factors in the suspicion about foreign Muslims and Muslims in general. Nevertheless, one must not

underestimate that many people, who are part of the churches represented by the pastors in the meeting, work for Muslims in construction and other businesses and have been cheated and deliberately ‘kept low.’ In addition, with an unemployment that is 17.8% higher than the provincial average (35.3% in Khayelitsha, 17.5% in all of the Western Cape) foreigners who are getting jobs in companies are seen inevitably as competition on the job market [Erasmus & Mans 2004b]. All this does not help but compounds the fear of the somewhat new and unknown factor of Muslims in Black communities.

The issue of spiritual power adds yet another facet to the perception the pastors expressed about the Muslims in the townships. Muslims are seen to possess spiritual powers. It starts by some Muslims operating as fortune tellers, but it is not limited to fortune telling. “Muslims like to use Muti³³ to be more powerful.” “Muslims are selling it (Muti).” There was a great concern that such powers are negative for Christians. One pastor shared the story how he was diagnosed by a medical doctor with a serious medical condition. He got a prescription and went to the nearest pharmacy where a Muslim was working. On reading the prescription the chemist “suggested to me to go to a spiritualist for treatment or else I would die.” Concerned for their congregation members the other pastors confirmed that “Muslims have such powers.” They even mentioned that “non-gospel preaching churches do ‘benefit’ from the Muti that Muslims provide, to ‘slay their congregants in spirit.’” “These pastors put it (the Muti) on their staff and use it.” The staff is used to point to a person or is swayed over a group of people and it is believed and experienced that such practice affects people (i.e. slaying in the spirit).

The pastors were quick to point out: “But God is on our side. If you fear you lack something. Christians are not affected if they are in Christ. If we fear Muslims we don’t trust Christ.” Thus the power of Jesus is seen as superior and stronger and He is able to protect. This, however, does not do away with the reality of Muslims using spiritual powers. Not only the general public, but the Christian congregation members are exposed to such influences. The remark “If you fear, you lack something,” leaves a clear sounding warning. As the pastors proclaimed, only “in Christ” there is the protection. From a biblical viewpoint this is correct as it is stated for example in Paul’s letter to the Romans 8:38-39:

33 “Muti” is a Zulu word which means “tree.” Traditionally, witchdoctors and herbalists, use parts of trees like roots, leaves, flowers or bark to make medicine, by grinding, boiling or drying the ingredients. Such medicine can be used for different remedies ranging from medical treatments, protection from evil to cursing someone else. “According to Naidoo, traditional African belief says that all things - animal, vegetable or mineral - have power, and small pieces of the animal or vegetable will be used in muti or potions to “ward off evil, for personal protection and luck, or to ensure the faithfulness of a lover or the defeat of an enemy” [Davie 2004].

For I am convinced that neither death nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other created thing, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

Other passages attesting the same are (Eph 6:10-18, 1 Peter 5:8-10). Yet this does not mean that occult practices may have no effect whatsoever on Christians. There are enough warnings throughout the Bible like: “Therefore let him who thinks he stands take heed lest he fall” 1 Cor. 10:12.

It is indeed encouraging that the pastors do not fall into a frenzy driven by fear but try to work with the people from their biblical perspective. Yet it is a concern that they have, not only with Islam, but also with healers from the African Traditional Religion in the townships.

The spiritual concern is also reflected in their assessment of Muslims from a religious point. Expressions like “Muhammad their prophet is dead. They are lost!” seem to be blunt but reflect their views. It does not come from a triumphalist shortsighted eschatological attitude, but rather from a caring and soul winning perspective. “Muslims do not have assurance of salvation! We as Christians do have that. We should make it a matter of approaching them with the Gospel.” Another added: “For Christians who understand grace, they should be concerned that Muslims are lost.” In their understanding the need of salvation for Muslims also does not stem from a judgemental attitude. “The challenge is to love Muslims, so they can see God in us. We, Christians, need to befriend them.” There is no space for animosity and a crusader mentality against Muslims.

In a further analysis it was claimed that “Islam does not affect the heart.” As an example to support the claim it was explained that a Muslim killer may pray five times a day yet continue to kill. Christianity in turn is supposed to have a different effect on people. A change from within also changes behaviour. Such statements are of course generalisations and are understood as such, yet they are part and parcel of the perceived reality among the participants, which might be understandable with news coverage on the World Trade Centre bombing and – closer to home – the PAGAD³⁴ incidents. The 4th of August 1996 brought shocking TV footage pictures when gang leader Rashad Staggie was brutally killed under shouts of ‘Allah-u-akkbar’³⁵ in the streets of Cape Town [Tayob 1996 p23-29]. The Black people in the townships were not familiar enough with the details of the Coloured Muslim community to differentiate and decipher the happenings.

34 “PAGAD” Abbreviation for ‘People Against Gangsterism And Druglords’.

35 ‘Allah-u-Akbar’ Arabic for ‘God is greater.’

The violent Muslim image was irrevocably impressed on the minds of people.

In spite of such imagery and background perceptions, the discussion continued with the concern to reach Muslims for Jesus. In discussing what might be a suitable approach to Muslims one participant stated "Practical things are working with them, but it will take time to win them. We must not lose patience." This was the feeling, even in the light of difficult experiences when witnessing, that some shared. "My experience in witnessing to them is that they only want to convert me;" and "Befriending them also means one needs to be aware that they also want Christians to become Muslims." These are statements that summarise the conclusions of the pastors' experience in relating and witnessing to Muslims.

The discussion turned to the role that children play in reaching Muslim youth. A lack of teaching was identified to equip the Christian children in the context of a growing Muslim youth. "We fail to teach our children when they are young. Sunday school is often just child-minding, if there is one at all," was the assessment. As a solution it was proposed to perhaps remedy the situation by offering a decent Saturday program that would minister to their need.

It was recognized that empowerment for the children would need to be preceded by the study of the Qur'an and training on the side of the pastors. Although it may be a defensive reaction when it was eagerly brought up: "We need to study about the Qur'an. Muslims read the Bible", yet it is revealing that Christians have in no ways prepared themselves for an exchange with Islam in their context. The study of the Qur'an may not even be the first thing as someone rightly observed: "Most Muslims don't understand their Qur'an. We need to use the Bible in witnessing to them." Such statements show that in discussing the issue at hand the pastors are quite capable of finding their own answers that are suitable for their congregations. One even suggested as a motivation and further insight to read "books on testimonies of Muslims who have become Christians ... to see that God changes Muslims as well."

This positive note concludes my description and explanation of the Participatory Action Research meeting with the pastors in Khayelitsha. The reflection on the interviews with key Christians will further complement the emerging picture. Of course, after such a start, there are still many open questions, in particular, about any actions that should be taken and how to implement these into normal church life. On the way home contact details were exchanged which indicated a positive and fruitful continuation and the desire to engage more about the subject of Islam in the townships.

4.2.2. Reflection on the interviews with Christians in the Townships

The PAR meeting with the pastors may create the impression that the church leadership is quite informed about the Muslim presence and state of their development in the township, but it must not be forgotten that the picture only emerged with input from everyone present including an outside facilitator. Looking at the answers from the interviews, it becomes evident that the individual key-Christian is rather lacking an accurate overall picture of the situation [Christian Interviews p114].

It can perhaps be expected that none of the people interviewed had knowledge of statistical data on the population. Some seemed rather to just guess figures, others admitted outright that they did not know. Only the pastor in Joe Slovo had a fairly good idea of the percentages living in his area. This is perhaps not surprising when taking into account the small size of the township. Asking about the Christian churches in the area produced a similar reaction. Guguletu has more than one hundred churches (The URDR report lists 297 churches for Guguletu, Nyanga and Crossroads) and Khayelitsha has 274 churches. It is therefore understandable that pastors have a great difficulty in answering the question spontaneously. Since this was somewhat anticipated in drawing up the questionnaire, question number seven was designed to produce an indication as to how much the Christian leader is aware of other churches in his/her context. This produced a host of different answers. Only the Zion Christian Church in Guguletu and the Universal Church in Khayelitsha, and Assemblies of God (AOG) in Joe Slovo were mentioned a number of times. Considering that the interviews were conducted with evangelical Christians it is remarkable that in both the bigger areas churches were identified as most active which are not of evangelical persuasion. This only emphasises that these churches must have a strong public appearance. In Joe Slovo it is not surprising that the AOG was pointed out, since it is the only church that actually owns its building and which is in a very prominent place in the suburb. The Methodists are busy building their church.

Questions nine and ten show us in what kinds of activities, social as well as evangelistic, the churches engage. This is particularly interesting in the light of what Christians identified as the main challenges in the townships. The Christian answers listed: crime, hijacking, HIV/AIDS, poverty, unemployment, shebeens, corruption, presence of foreigners (xenophobia), family problems. In addition to these socio-economic problems other challenges were listed such as: Introduction of Islam in the community, lack of Bible training for pastors, a need for training in administration, dependencies created by non-evangelical churches, syncretism, lack of evangelism.

What follows is an encouraging host of answers. The following is a comprehensive alphabetically arranged list of all activities shared in the interviews:

Church activities	
Bible study	Old people ministry
Bury the people is the main activity	Open air, tent campaigns, evangelism
Clinic for tuberculosis support	Orphanage
Creché, educare	School visitation preaching in assemblies
Door to door visitation	Services, 5 services a day
Entrepreneurial program	Soup-kitchens, feeding scheme
HIV/AIDS program, AIDS support group	Sports, soccer
Hospital visitations	Sunday school
Men's meetings	Welfare services
Msizi (support activities)	Women's meetings
Music program	Youth meetings

This listing is also interesting from the point of view, that Muslims in the township will be bound to observe these Christian activities and even be affected by some of them.

A number of these activities are social actions and most of them are meted out to anyone in reach regardless of their religious affiliation. Ahmed Stulweni attested to the genuineness of Christian social action when he acclaimed: "I like to say that there is no Ice Cream Da'wah³⁶ coming from Christians. They help anyone." As a cross check the same question, about Christian activities, was asked to Muslims as an outside observance. The list is basically the same. In other words Muslims observe and are aware of the Christian activities in the townships. There was also one critical voice among the Christians concerning the churches' activities, namely that "the churches main activity is to bury the people. They are only helping spiritually not practically." I include this observational comment since it may point to an inward looking Christianity.

The comments on the interview so far have given us a glimpse of the self understanding of the church including comments on the context. The next step in examining the interviews must deal with the information and attitude towards the Muslim population.

When looking at the numerical answers to the question, "How many Muslims are in the suburb?" The Christian seem to be totally uninformed with the exception of the AOG pastor in Joe Slovo/Phoenix who even paid the Imam a visit in the past to interview

³⁶ For an explanation of Ice Cream Da'wah see page 30.

him for a college assignment. It can be argued that the Christians are pretty oblivious to the Muslim growth in their midst. Still, overall the numbers of Muslims are fairly small as the statistics reveal, but their presence is growing rapidly, as is the influence they have. Not knowing the numbers of Muslims is only one indication that the church actually is ignoring the Muslims in their midst to a large extent.

Question 12 through to 17 are used to investigate from various angles what kind of relationships exist between Christians and Muslims. The evaluation of the answers is devastating. Generally there is no or very little interaction between the two religious groups. Admissions like: “We don’t communicate. They are confined to themselves”, “No interaction now, perhaps in the future”, “Not yet, we have not interacted in terms of evangelism”, “There are contacts. The Muslims give something when there is a crisis.” only confirm the lack of interaction. This is confirmed by the answers from question 15: “What contact do you have to Muslim people?” In summary not one Christian leader had maintained a personal contact with a Muslim, let alone have a Muslim friend. I view this as seriously since the interviewed people are role models to many others. If they don’t have contacts with Muslims, let alone meaningful contacts, how will the situation be with their followers. Such a situation can very easily breed stereotypes which may create unnecessary animosity between the religions.

The Muslims were also asked (Question 14-15) the same question. The answers of the Muslims show that, as a minority, they indeed have diverse and deep contacts across the religious dividing line. One spoke of meetings with dialogues, others of sharing of facilities at functions, business transactions, going to each others funerals, every day conversations. Some Muslims readily claimed to have one or many Christian friends. But at the same time there were also voices indicating the subtle separation that exists between the religions. The evidence can be gathered in the following utterances: “We talk, but we are really separated from the other people in the suburb”, “We share ideas and we tell about Islam to convert people. We don’t disturb the community, because we want to win people.” It is staggering to see that the relationships between Muslims and Christians seem to be very one-sided. Is that yet another indicator that Christians are busy with their own agendas and are not fully playing their part in communal society?

Christian leaders were not able to identify all Islamic places of worship in their respective townships. In Guguletu only the Islamic Information Centre is known to Christian leaders, whereas the Al-Jihad Centre is unknown despite a history of 30 years.

There are two more Muslim places of worship in Guguletu. In Khayelitsha from the eight places I managed to find, only the two older Mosques, which are easily visible in the community, were identified. The Salat Ghana in V section was only identified because the one interviewee lives about 100 meters down the road from the place. The Mosque in Phoenix was clearly identified because of its big building, tower and the massive influx of cars on Fridays. Not knowing where the Islamic places are could be seen as a drawback for the Christian community. How will they make contact with Islamic leaders if they don't know where they are. Islamic places of worship can also be ideal places for exposing Christians to Islam in a non threatening environment thus lowering the fear of the unknown.

The questions (18-19) whether Christians and Muslims are working jointly or should work jointly on any given issues revealed on the side of Christians a refusal to work with Muslims. Nevertheless, a few stated that issues like HIV/AIDS, poverty, crime, disaster relief and community building are issues that can be tackled together regardless of religion. Yet I can testify that the enthusiasm for such ventures was not high when asking the question during the interview. In spite of the aforementioned interactions and friendships that exist from the Muslim side, it is perhaps surprising to see that Muslims are just as non committal as Christians when it comes to jointly tackling issues. During the interviews I could sense an obligation from both Christians and Muslims to make positive statements as citizens of a new South Africa, yet the invisible lines are drawn quite definitely. Perhaps it is also just uncertainty about the unfamiliar that hinders the development of an environment in which trust could grow which would allow the parties to join hands on certain issues. Nevertheless, on either side a certain desire was expressed that more should be done together, which is evidenced in the expression: "Basically we are South Africans, so we should!"

A final comparison of the interviews will have to be on conversions between the two faiths. Having touched on the quality of conversions in Black townships from a Muslim point of view earlier on, it is now necessary to add the Christian point of view. Responses to interview questions 20 to 24 provide the answers for this enquiry. The first Christians were asked if they are aware of any conversions to Islam and secondly, if they knew of any conversions in the last six months. From the answers it is clear that Christians are by and large not informed about conversions to Islam. Although most of the Christian leaders interviewed confirmed that there are conversions no one could even point to a single occurrence, except that in a very poor area in Khayelitsha (Madalabos)

some people became Muslim. The Christians were almost of one mind in stating that the converts to Islam had not been genuine Christians and must have come from an African Traditional Religious background. One explained: “Christians don’t count, because, the ones who convert were not committed Christians.” This would indicate that possible converts are not rooted in the churches and are therefore easily converted since they have no firm religious affiliation.

This poses the question why people convert to Islam. The view the Christian interviewees expressed is that, the motivation for conversions to Islam, are in the realm of meeting severe needs. Poverty relief was repeatedly mentioned, likewise to get a job, alleviate hunger, gain material benefits, incentives and promises. “People are hungry, live in poverty, the soup does it”, “The problem I have, is their feeding is not care, it is luring people into Islam,” are but two opinions expressed. Comparing these answers with the Muslims view on the subject, it is evident that Muslims are painfully aware of the material attraction to Islam as discussed earlier. In addition, Muslims see a host of motivations and reasons for the conversion to Islam. The testimonies and interviews of Black Muslims abound and support this fact as already stated earlier. It seems therefore that Christians have a limited understanding of what attracts people to Islam. It is particularly alarming that there was no self-reflection or self-criticism that conversions may take place because of weaknesses in how Christians live their faith or the Christian faith itself. The interviewed Christians seem to be very sure of themselves.

Turning to the question of what could hold a potential convert to Islam back from making the step across the line was answered by some Christians that there is no problem and such a step would be accepted in the community. Contrary to that, the majority were of the opinion that it would meet with “resistance from the community” and “negative attitudes.” Isolation would be inevitable and the AOG pastor Sindile Dyasi clarified:

If you are part of the Black community the Muslim Religion is not seen as part of our heritage. It is a breaking away from family ties. It is against Ubuntu³⁷. Burial rites are different from the African beliefs.

Thus we can conclude that Christians and Muslims are aware of the community pressures that exist which a potential convert to Islam has to consider. These pressures are very real since the belonging to a community is vehemently essential for African cultures.

The final set of questions (25-27) addresses the reverse, namely potential conversions from Islam to Christianity. With one exception Christians are not aware of

³⁷ ‘Ubuntu’ is an African word that means ‘humanity towards others.’

any conversions from Islam to Christianity. Yet a number of the Muslims know of the phenomenon. The latter attribute the conversions away from Islam to pressure from social conditions. Muslims are also aware of ‘double membership’ in both religions. Although strictly rejected as hypocritical and non genuine, Muslims know that there are African people who are playing the systems. “Black people who accepted Islam for the sake of food are Muslims and Christians.”

This underlines what Rebecca Lee discovered and states in her conclusion of her article “Conversion and Continuum?” where she quotes one woman saying: “At some place you find out that they do go to the Muslim mosque and at the same time they go to their own churches as well” [Lee 2001 p79]. Thus it becomes clear that circumstances account for much in the whole question of religious allegiance, rather than belief and acceptance of specific doctrines. A fine and culturally sensitive observation that speaks of an intimate knowledge of the people was made by Abdulla Omar at the Bilal Mosque in Khayelitsha when he explained: “We have people who stay away from the Mosque again after becoming Muslims. ... Sometimes there are temptations. If they do something bad they feel they cannot come to the holy people in the mosque. So they stay away.” This is a typical reaction of people from predominantly shame oriented cultures [Käser 1997 p163].

With this discovery the whole dimension of group orientation, prestige and other culturally normative factors come in to sight that play a significant role in the allegiances of people in religious matters. It goes beyond the scope of this thesis to explore this interesting subject³⁸ further. It may suffice to point to the enormous complexity of the subject to allow enough sympathy for the people who seem to hesitate and fluctuate between two choices and seem unable to stick to one side only.

4.3. Analysis of the Christian position in relation to Islam

With the data from the PAR meeting with the pastors in Khayelitsha and the interviews with both Muslims and Christians I will now attempt an initial analysis of the Christian position in relation to Islam in the townships.

Although Islam in the townships is struggling to clarify its identity the Christians have the advantage of an existing legitimate perception of an African identity. It is generally accepted in the Xhosa community to be a Christian. This places the church

38 For a further discussion on the subject I refer to chapter 10 ‘Kultur und Über-ich’ of Lothar Käser where he explicitly discusses the dynamics of group pressures, prestige, status and suffering in connection with shame-orientation [Käser 1997 p129-168]

in an established position without fear of persecution. In fact the church is seen as a vital and integral part of the community life, giving the church leverage and responsibility that far exceeds the actual worship services and programs run by the churches. With such privilege also comes responsibility. The church among other entities has to answer for the role she is playing in the townships.

In light of the fast growing Islam as indicated by the statistics, albeit the numbers are still very limited in the face of an overwhelming Christian majority, the church must look into the subject of Islam and relations to Muslim people if it wants to be relevant. It is therefore a concern that Christian leaders have little factual understanding of the situation concerning Islam in their neighbourhood. Such lack of understanding and ignorance is detrimental. However, as the time-line exercise has shown, when Christian leaders come together and pool their insights they will come to an informed position from which to lead their congregations and to engage in appropriate action.

As Christianity grew in the townships, especially through the starting of numerous ministries as indicated on the time-line, the focus of attention was very much on the unsaved and on the wellbeing of the church members internally. The growth of Islam stayed pretty much out of focus and developed almost unnoticed and was even ignored. The attitude of Christians is, in many cases, that of dismissing Islam as irrelevant. Nevertheless, the findings have shown that Islam does affect the grass roots membership of churches as well as the unchurched part of the population perhaps beyond its numerical factor through interaction in daily life and job opportunities in Muslim businesses.

Apart from such cross pollination influence it is evident that Muslims are actively charting a vocal and visible course of action. They are using media, like the Bush Radio and Radio Zibonele, as well as the Vukani Newspaper for Da'wah purposes, as Imam Yusuf Nombexeza revealed in one of the interviews. He also added that his group is planning to rent the 'Oliver Tambo Hall' to invite a speaker for a public debate with question and answer session [Yusuf Nombexeza p94].

In the light of such activity the Christian leadership is challenged to respond in a Christ-like way. The pastors are willing to do so, even jointly! The concerns and approaches mentioned in the PAR meeting testify to that. Yet the leaders also identified the need for empowering training for themselves and their constituencies concerning the issues about Islam. Their own, sometimes frustrating, experiences, in witnessing to

Muslims, taught them the importance of further learning and advice. Ignorance paired with inaccuracy leads to stereotype statements that often get confirmed by like-minded and equally under-informed Christians as evidenced in some of the individual interview responses. This potentially spells danger and hurtful conflict, rather than a basis for positive interaction or even evangelism.

Xenophobia against Muslim immigrants in a competitive job market with high unemployment figures is affecting the lives of Xhosa Christians. Church leaders need to lead their flock with relevant and practical advice and encouragement through tough times. One of the challenges is how a Christ-like attitude can prevail in a multi-religious, multi-national, competitive and poverty stricken situation. This challenge is not easily answered.

From a spiritual side the Christian community is challenged by Islam's seemingly easy way to accommodate the occult and witchcraft. In a Christian context that has its roots in African Traditional Religion it is not easy to draw the fine lines of what is compatible with Christianity and what falls outside. It is evident from the statements made, that Muslims bring this issue to the attention of the Christian church mixed with a message claiming to supersede Christianity.

Although the evidence has shown that the church has lots of activities there is nothing specially geared for Muslims. This may not be a problem as long as the programs are sensitive to Muslim enquirers as well. But the answers paint a picture of Christians who are ill-prepared to relate to Muslims. The interviews may point to an inward and introvert focus on survival and matters of church life. Again it will be the responsibility of the leaders to open up the church life to embrace the greater reality including the growing Muslim population.

Finally, discrepancies in the way conversions are perceived by Christians and Muslims seem to indicate that Christians are oblivious to what really is happening. It appears that Christians are 'going over to the Muslims' with hardly any notice from the Christian onlookers. The fact that double memberships, which are deemed hypocritical from both sides, are possible, underlines the severity of the issue.

Islam is here to stay in the Black townships and Christians need to face reality and grapple with the subject. The question is how to do that. The following and last chapter attempts to shed some light from a theological perspective.

5. Theological Reflections

No one doing theology starts with a blank sheet of paper. Being a European missionary, who has lived in South Africa for the past 15 years while ministering to Muslims with other Christians, I cannot deny that I value certain views and opinions. Nevertheless, I have attempted to maintain a balanced and disciplined approach aiming at objectivity in my research. To continue in this manner it is necessary again to investigate and make an attempt to define terminology. What follows is a discussion on Christian-Muslim relationships in the townships. The chapter will conclude by discussing some important aspects of practical ministry to Muslims.

5.1. Perspectives on 'dialogue' and ministry

Since 1996, with the new constitution, South Africa for the first time has 'freedom of religion' as a guaranteed right. Pieter Coertzen attests: "Now freedom of religion is guaranteed in article 15 of the Constitution" [Coertzen 2002 p1]. With a diversity of religions and peoples joined together in one republic, interaction on a religious level will take place. In such inter-religious encounter 'dialogue' has become the key word, yet the multitude of definitions has not made it easier to use the term nor to practice it.

The word 'dialogue' is not foreign to the New Testament. It is used for example in Acts 18:19 when the Apostle Paul "entered the Synagogue and reasoned (*διελεχθη*) with the Jews." The root form is *διαλεγομαι* which means: to discuss, to address, to preach. It is even translated as 'argued', 'reasoned' and also just as 'talking.' We can glean from this, that the New Testament is quite familiar with a variety of different ways of religious interaction [NASB Concordance p1642, see also Bauer 1988 c371].

The scope of usages of 'dialogue' is vast. On the one extreme, the position of Hans Küng, the well known president of the 'Foundation for a Global Ethic,' might be characteristic when he states in an article on dialogue with Muslims:

I do not deceive myself about what the immediate theological results of such conversations with Muslims in these lands might bring. The goal of such interreligious conversations clearly is not conversion experiences, but rather genuine dialogue conducted with accurate knowledge and trust with a view to long-range effects. [Küng 1986]

Küng seems to define his version of 'genuine dialogue' from the goal of securing world peace through a unified world ethics.

On the other end of the spectrum is what may be called the anti-dialogue position ... Drawing presuppositions from conservative Christian traditions and nineteenth-century positivism,

this position assumes an absolute, complete and accurate comprehension of Biblical truth as expressed in evangelical orthodoxy, forming ‘an exact correspondence between theology and Scripture’” [Pierson 2000 p274].

In this position there are perhaps those who condemn the other religion, such as the case of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa when Islam was referred to as a “false religion” [Meiring 1999 p272]. Having said this, one must add that the much more recent “report to the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church” holds a different position even advocating ‘friendship evangelism’ and a much more differentiated spirit can be felt [DRC General Synod Rep 2002].

Steven J Pierson, discussing the subject of dialogue in the ‘Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions,’ favours a position which “seeks to affirm both the understanding and communication aspects of dialogue without surrendering biblical absolutes.” He describes it as “a position combining critical realism with theological conservatism” [Pierson 2000 274-275]. His position is trying to take the middle ground between the extremes.

In this enormous spectrum of opinions David J Bosch comes to the rescue. In his classical work ‘Transforming Mission’ he lists eight characteristics of dialogue. He explains these “observations on dialogue” as:

- 1) the decision of the heart to accept the coexistence of different faiths,
 - 2) a presupposed commitment to a faith to dialogue about,
 - 3) an expectation that we meet God in dialogue “who has preceded us and prepared the people”,
 - 4) the necessity of an attitude of humility,
 - 5) the recognition that not every religion will relate to the Christian gospel the same way (or other religions for that matter),
 - 6) the coexistence of dialogue and mission opposing an either or situation,
 - 7) the openness “that more has to be picked up” in the process of dialogue, and finally
 - 8) the question of remaining in a place of tension without having all the answers
- [Bosch 1991 p483-489].

Relating these insights to dialogue with Muslims is indeed an experience of doing dialogue in a place of tension. In an article describing Muslim opinions on dialogue covering Egypt, Saudi-Arabia, Libya, Lebanon and Tunisia, the author Ekehard Rudolph observes from the reactions he received that there are three possible kinds of dialogue promoted from the Muslim side. The first being that Christians are accepted as

‘people of the book,’ but their message is replaced by the Qur’an. Dialogue is only possible if Christians accept such ‘supersession’ of their own message. Secondly, Christianity is recognized as a missionary religion which promotes western interest in the Islamic world. Dialogue is then a competition about the truthfulness and persuasiveness of the religions. Thirdly, both religions are monotheistic and have common ground and interests. A dialogue is possible and necessary. Rudolph favours the third approach [Rudolph 1992 p263]. In my eyes all three of these motivations for dialogue are wanting. The first two because they build on statements that Christians dismiss as factually untrue. The third one – albeit not contradictory – seems vague and too weak a basis to dialogue at all.

Out of an understanding that both faiths have a number of absolute and exclusive statements that are non-negotiables, Lamin Sanneh, a convert from Islam and Christian theologian, declares himself as he writes in ‘Piety & Power: Muslims and Christians in West Africa’:

It has not helped matters that those who favour dialogue have tended to oppose mission. They claim that dialogue is tolerant, enlightened and open-minded while mission is imperialistic, intolerant and harmful. Such polarisation is bad for mutual confidence, for if you engage in dialogue you must deal with religious differences as well as with similarities and leave open the possibility of changing your mind; in other words, leave open the possibility of convincing others and being in turn convinced. Otherwise it would make no sense to undertake either dialogue or mission. [Sanneh 1996 p6]

This is the tension of dialogue in ministry to Muslims, from which no one can divorce oneself. Indeed it is a tri-polar tension stemming from: Firstly, the ‘kerygma,’ the call for the message to be proclaimed of a divine Jesus as the Son of God, who died and rose. Secondly, the necessity to maintain loving, respectful and open dialogue in friendly relationships, and thirdly, the reality of Islamic Da’wah. [Nkulu-N’Sengha 1996 p530]

It does not help to theorise without a good dose of realism in relating to Muslims. The apologist Jay Smith, who has missionary experience among Muslims in Africa and is now regularly debating with Muslims even in Hyde Park in London shares his experience as:

It is rare that a Muslim, while in dialogue with a Christian, fails to remind us that our Bible is not only corrupt but that our Lord is nothing more than a man [Smith 1998 p30].

Jay Smith pushes for a paradigm shift in dialogue with Muslims. He explains as the ‘old paradigm’ that missionaries from hostile environments in the Muslim world

returning home have brought along their missionary principles, which have produced a cautious approach to Muslims which is being taught in seminaries and universities. [Smith 1998 p29-30]. Advocating as the 'new paradigm' a more direct approach for the western context in which he works by declaring "instead of running from a healthy exchange with our Muslim friends, we must take on their challenge and begin finding answers." The answers, he argues, are to be found in "historically corroborated evidence which not only authenticates our Scriptures but eradicates the authority for the Qur'an." [Smith 1998 p34-35].

Sanneh from his personal experience understands the need for a dose of realism when he says:

In any case, we must expect Muslims engaged in dialogue to be committed to Islam as a living, historical tradition as well as to the God with whom tradition is continuously engaged.... [Sanneh 1996 p6].

Taking into account the reality of the Islamic Shariah Leonard Swidler is quoted by Mutombo Nkulu-N'Sengha as saying: "The future offers two alternatives: death or dialogue" [Nkulu-N'Sengha 1996 p531].

In reflecting back for a moment to David Bosch's creative tension it turns out that it is indeed a tremendous challenge between all the different poles not to be torn apart but to find a way of balancing the different aspects that exist in a ministry to Muslims. This is a challenge that is not any easier in a complex township situation. But before we turn to the townships' relations there is one more side to explore.

A challenge and tension may not just be perceived by the Christian side. Jan H Boer has produced a self critical article holding the mirror up to the Christian's face. He writes among other quotable passages:

From the Christian point of view, that [sending Missionaries to Muslims] is a benign intention: it is our deepest desire to bring them to Christ and to salvation. It is our Great Commission. Yes, but Muslims regard our missionary efforts as a hostile attack and that undermines the very fountains of their religion and cultures. At this juncture they are correct. They *are* under attack by us [Boer 2002 p2].

This attack as Boer calls it has to do with the fact that the Gospel remains a stumbling block. But Boer does not stop there. He continues to challenge on a number of fronts: Firstly, Christian, and particular Missionary writing about Islam, has been done in a pejorative way. Secondly, the patronizing attitude of Christians combined with exploitation during colonialism and neo-colonialism (economic control) is seen as another attack and thirdly, secularisation is perceived by Muslims as an onslaught against

their religion [Boer 2002 p2-3]. To face such challenges self-critically and find answers personally, but also in the churches approach to Muslims, is a process that is needed. As such Islam may even serve to reach a deeper level of honesty.

Already Martin Luther saw in Islam “Gottes zornige Rute.” (God’s birch of wrath) Andreas Baumann in an excerpt from his book “Der Islam – Gottes Ruf zur Umkehr?” (Islam – God’s call to repentance?) published in *Evangelikale Missiologie* reveals:

Obwohl Luther die Muslime für verstockt hielt, fragte er sich, ob man sie nicht noch leichter für das Evangelium gewinnen könne als die Christenheit selbst.³⁹

Boer’s article as well as Baumann’s findings bring home that, although Christians have the Gospel to preach, a critical self-evaluation is needed. This was partly also my own motivation for research on this subject.

In summing up the discussion on dialogue and in applying it to the South African context in Black townships, I suggest that dialogue, inter-religious discourse, talking to and sharing with each other must happen. The diverse situational realities and possible participants for dialogue and religious encounter will certainly shape the kind of dialogue that is possible. Dialogue and interaction between Muslims and Christians in Black townships will have to be developed in specially fitting, yet diverse forms. I think that the extreme positions on either side of the dialogue spectrum are not helpful for an evangelical churches in the townships. Either extreme would be too controversial. On the one hand, evangelical Christians would view the ‘genuine dialogue’ of Küng as giving up essentials of the gospel message for the sake of peace. On the other hand, an outright condemning attitude towards Muslims would violate the Biblical mandate to love ones’ neighbours. The Bible based approach seems to be recommendable, as seen for example in the practice of Paul who practices dialogue in a multitude of forms, yet keeps a balance between reasoned proclamation and an inviting tone of the message of grace. What kind of relationships must Christians have with Muslims is the next question to be discussed.

5.2. Perspectives on Christian-Muslim Relations in townships

The question is now, how can Christians and Muslims relate to one another, particularly in the context of the inter-religious situation of the townships. Already in 1986 Gerrie

³⁹ Although Luther considered the Muslims obstinate, he asked himself if it would not be easier to win them for the gospel than Christianity itself. (my translation)

Lubbe a pastor from a Black Church in Lenasia/Johannesburg and a senior lecturer at the Department of Science of Religion at UNISA wrote a paper entitled “Christians, Muslims and liberations in South Africa” [Lubbe 1986]. In the last chapter of his paper he looks into the future with anticipation and writes:

If a dialogue which will result in cooperation and respect is to take place, one has to recognise that it is a process which takes place between equals. ... It stands to reason that in this respect Christians have an enormous responsibility from the side of Christian theology. ... Christian theologians would have the responsibility of breaking down in their constituency stereotypes which have been formed about Muslims.

He concludes: “Muslims and Christians can and should be allies in striving for liberation and justice in South African society” [Lubbe 1986 p33].

At the time when Lubbe penned these lines it was a bold statement to make and perhaps it is still a challenging statement for theologians today. At the time there were no Muslims in Parliament or Government. Some churches were still divided. To accept Muslims as equals and colleagues, as Lubbe demanded, can only be achieved if we see them with God’s eyes.

The retired Anglican Archbishop, Desmond Tutu, on a visit to the USA, gave a moving speech. Drawing attention to the first all-black film, ‘Stormy Weather’ he commented on the actors of the film: “It was saying that these whom you see depicted there have the ‘imago dei’” [Brushell p1]. What the bishop expressed is a fundamental truth that applies to everyone, even in the townships, including every Muslim. If we accept that all human beings, no matter what religion, bear the image of God (Gen 1:26) then the question of equality should be settled once for all, yet human hearts are slow in learning.

In another, later publication Lubbe, in talking about Muslim relations to Black Christians, lists three reasons why “from the side of black Christians ... a preparedness towards a peaceful co-existence with Muslims” might be possible. Firstly, he mentions the “inherently tolerant nature of blacks”, secondly, with Black people embracing Islam there has been an experience with having Muslims as immediate neighbours, and finally, that “Muslims in general share with black Christians the indignity of oppression” [Lubbe 1987 p13-14]. At the time of writing most Muslims and Black people were sitting in the same boat, albeit perhaps in slightly different positions. Both were suffering under apartheid and such, a common cause motivated standing together and motivated common action.

That a political motivation to join forces is indeed a reality, also on the Islamic side. This has been shown by Yusuf Mohammad's comments, one of the Muslim leaders interviewed of the Al-Jihad group, when he explained: "Al-Jihad became affiliated with the United Democratic Front (UDF). As a community we needed to fight together and bridge the divide"[Yusuf Mohammad question 5 p78]. From Lubbe and Mohammad we can understand that Muslims and Christians in the townships should have a basis for interaction.

However, now that apartheid has officially ended the Muslim community has started to see the Black Muslims as objects of Da'wah just like they see anyone else who is not a Muslim. The establishment of the Da'wah department of the Muslim Judicial Council is evidence of that. Although the focus is not only to Black Muslims, Abdullah Hakim Quick, the leader of the department, pointed out that there are Da'wah initiatives in Black townships [Abdullah Hakim Quick p112]. Similarly the establishment of the Masakhane Muslim Community is another Da'wah venture into the Black townships. But the question is if Muslim Da'wah from a Christian standpoint and particularly from a Black Christian standpoint, is to be seen as all bad and alarming, or if it is just a normal reality in a society with freedom of religion, as is the case in South Africa.

A few challenging and thought provoking insights come from Lamin Sanneh concerning this question. In his article "Christian experience of Islamic Da'wah" he clarifies that, just like Christianity, Islam has entered Africa with an agenda. Both have been criticised for it. But the criticism, so says Sanneh, is not to the detriment of either side. "Where would Islam and Christianity themselves be if they had never been attacked and condemned by opponents!" [Sanneh 1976 p412-412] In other words Sanneh promotes that Christians must acknowledge what has happened, learn from it and recognize its value.

But he does not stop there. Asking about "the Christian experience of Islamic religious activity" he draws further lessons: Firstly, Islam with its "religious stature and integrity" had a positive "theological and moral influence in Africa." "The Christian," says Sanneh, "is encouraged by the frank and direct way Islam appears to have understood and discharged its missionary obligation." If I understand Sanneh correctly he argues that if Islam had not been in Africa the understanding of God and the moral decay might be much worse than it is now.

Secondly, the Islam in Africa, albeit coloured by influence of African Traditional Religions, is nevertheless in "fundamental unity of thought and practice with

world Islam.” From a Christian perspective this can be used to “derive ecumenical profit from this confessional solidarity of Islam,” argues Sanneh. It seems that Islam in its ability to relate to a greater identity beyond Africa, could be an example for ecumenical cross pollination within Christianity.

The third point Sanneh puts forward has to do with triumphalism that both Islam and Christianity have practised. Concerning this attitude, of seeing Christianity as the ever victorious movement, he suggests that “Christians have learnt – and are learning – to assimilate into their thinking and life an uneven missionary record.” Further, he observes, that Islamic Da’wah in Africa is “stimulating because it has shown Christians how seriously the vocation to witness needs to be taken.” Finally, Sanneh sums up, the success Islam experienced in Africa made it at the same time “vulnerable to men with worldly ambitions and schismatic consequences followed” [Sanneh 1976 p421-423].

Sanneh, as an African, in his perhaps unique way, as a convert from Islam, is not scared to look at Islam and learn valuable lessons for the realm of Christianity and particular Christian mission. To adopt his attitude means the blinkers have to be discarded and fear of the unknown put aside to make bold attempts in investigating the dynamics of Islamic developments in Black townships. Such an attitude will be incompatible with the upholding of stereotypes and may help to foster a genuineness of the Christian faith that is convincing and persuasive for the salvation of those to whom Christians are called to be witnesses.

Yet South Africa has a history of fostering stereotypes especially in Muslim-Christian relations. In South Africa the Da’wah efforts of the past have been influenced by the life and work of Ahmed Deedat and the Islamic Propagation Centre International in Durban. His polemic approach was admired by some⁴⁰ and criticised by other Muslims like Mohammad Makki the editor of the Muslim Digest [Jamal 1991 p129]. Deedat’s fame and activities also spread abroad, where it had a similar feedback from Muslims and non Muslims alike. “The most public example of polemic between Muslims and Christians in Britain has undoubtedly been the debating tours of the South African Ahmed Deedat” observes Elizabeth Scantlebury. She continues by quoting the Arab News of March 1988 : “Brother Deedat delighted the 14 000 strong crowd with convincing arguments, proofs, jokes and ironies” [Scantlebury 1996 p263].

Although Ahmed Deedat suffered a stroke a few years ago which left him

⁴⁰ Deedat received the King Feisal award for Islamic work. [Jamal 1991 p124] Locally he was also praised by the Muslim Youth Movement [Jamal 1991 p130].

paralysed and bedridden, one could argue that the ‘Deedat era’ is over, but Abdullah Hakim Quick thinks differently. “Ahmed Deedat had an influence on Muslims in terms of changing their attitude and their self-awareness,” he said during the interview [Abdullah Hakim Quick p112]. Indeed, the same polemical arguments can still be heard in South Africa although perhaps not as frequently as in the past. This presents a challenge to Christians in Black townships. What approach to take? Elizabeth Scantlebury suggests after reviewing the history of Muslim-Christian relationships right through the course of history that “the only way forward to a goal of positive interaction between Muslims and Christians is one that would begin with individuals rather than organizations or institutions” [Scantlebury 1996 p268].

Even though I agree with Scantlebury that the way forward is rather with individuals than with established organizations, the goal is pitched too close if a positive interaction is all that needs to be achieved. Rather, as Sanneh exemplified, in looking at Islam in Africa as a whole and drawing lessons from it, the Christians in Black townships have to assess the situation themselves, draw conclusions based on Christian principles and from that standpoint address the situation adequately. Others from outside may contribute and help in a true spirit of ‘ubuntu’. To quote Archbishop Desmond Tutu again:

A person with ubuntu is open and available to others, affirming of others, does not feel threatened that others are able and good, for he or she has a proper self-assurance that comes from knowing that he or she belongs in a greater whole and is diminished when others are humiliated or diminished, when others are tortured or oppressed. [Tutu p1]

Such ‘ubuntu’ is something that Black Christians can bring into the dialogue with Muslims. The Participatory Action Research (PAR) meeting with the pastors in Khayelitsha has been a beginning of applying the realistic open minded approach to understanding the situation and developing the right answers for it.

One of the realities is that although Islam may serve us perhaps as a mirror and even an example in some cases, it does not mean that the church can adopt a position of an observer and be inactive. There is still the responsibility of proclaiming the ‘kerygma,’ that needs to be addressed. How are Christians supposed to share with Muslims? With this question in mind a discussion on Christian ministry to Muslims has to follow.

5.3. Perspectives on Christian ministry to Muslims

In light of the earlier discussion on dialogue, the elaboration on Christian ministry to

Muslims has to be begin with a clarification of what the basis of such a ministry needs to be. It will then be investigated how suitable such a basis is for the local situation. Finally I will look at issues pertaining to practical mission work in Black townships.

5.3.1. Theological basis for ministry to Muslims

Pierson, favours a dialogue that combines critical realism with theological conservatism, which I labelled 'middle ground.' He points to Bible passages such as, Jesus' encounter with Nicodemus and the Samaritan women (John 3-4), Peter's ministry at Cornelius' house (Acts 10), Paul's encounters with Elymas the magician (Acts 13), Paul's speech on the Areopagus in Athens (Acts 17), and the reasoning with Jews in Synagogues (Acts 19) [Pierson 2000 p274]. With these passages from the gospels and Acts he tries to show a Biblical basis for dialogue.

To further support this position other passages could be added such as exhortations from the letters of the New Testament, like the Christian role of an ambassador for Christ (2 Cor 5:18-21), the readiness to "make a defence to everyone who asks" (1 Peter 3:15-16) to mention just two more scriptures. These passages, have to do with dialogue and speaking to others in a cross cultural and cross religious context. They are all included in Christ's last words before his ascension, as recorded by Luke in Acts 1:8, where he says: "you shall be my witnesses." With the view that dialogue is much more than an interreligious exchange with no agenda, but rather a sensitive and respectful way to be witnesses, these verses could serve as a Biblical basis for ministry to Muslims. Yet the aspect of witness still goes further.

The inclination of being and proclaiming a testimony of the saving God is also not foreign to the Old Testament Scriptures. The Exodus event is a great testimony to the 'salvic' God of Israel as reflected in Moses' song of jubilee recorded in Exodus 15. Indeed, Brueggeman devotes his entire Old Testament theology to this theme of witness, counter witness, unsolicited testimony and Israel's embodied testimony. One of Brueggeman's points in a pluralistic society is, that the Old Testament text itself consists of a plurality of witnesses to God himself, to his actions and his silence in history. "Yahweh lives in, with and under this speech and in the end depends on Israel's testimony for an access point to the world," Brueggeman says in what he admits is a sweeping statement [Brueggeman 1997 p714]. What becomes clear, however, is that witness and testimony were and are part and parcel of Israel's existence. Likewise, we as followers of the very same God, ought to be joint-witnesses and give testimony to this time and age.

This thought is further expanded by Darrell Guder, professor of Missional and Ecumenical Theology at Princeton Theological Seminary, in what he calls a sequel to his earlier book 'Be my witnesses.'⁴¹ He extends the discussion on the role of the church regarding witness in the follow-on sequel 'The continuing conversion of the church.' In doing so he highlights basically three aspects: Firstly, that it is a form of 'reductionism' to separate evangelization from the church as a community in favour of 'parachurch' organisations. It reduces the churches "essential missionary character" and makes evangelistic organisations "proclaim something less than the full gospel." Secondly, "one cannot address evangelization with theological integrity unless one approaches the subject missiologically." This includes for him the "assumption of the 'missio dei'" which results, in one aspect, in "the mission of the church as God's sent people." The third aspect is the question "what would a missiological ecclesiology for the church in North America look like if we were to take the missionary context we are now in seriously." This post-colonial, post-modern missionary context is for him that "Christendom," as a power is "truly over" [Guder 2000 p viii-xiii].

What we may learn from Guder for the local ministry situation is that ministry to Muslims, although rooted in the 'missio dei,' must be the churches' ministry. Further, such ministry is missiological i.e. Cross-religious and cross-cultural, while taking into consideration that the ministry conducted as 'being, doing and saying the witness' is not to be confused with imposing an outside form or power structure. In practical terms this translates as one aspect of the life of the church, in a ministry to Muslims, not by outside 'parachurch' organisation, but a ministry designed, developed and carried out by the local church community itself.

Thus with the Biblical basis, exemplarily expounded by Brüggeman and Guder, a solid theological foundation is given which is also relevant for a ministry to Muslims in Black townships. But, how do Muslims think about this missional basis and how do they understand their own Da'wah efforts?

5.3.2. Suitability of the theological basis for ministry in townships

The South African, Michael Mumisa, is a scholar of Arabic literature and holds degrees in critical literary theory. In comparing definitions of Mission and Da'wah, Mumisa contrasts the two understandings as Christian Mission being 'missio dei' versus Islamic Da'wah as being "the duty of man." With such contrasting explanation Da'wah becomes

41 Guder, Darrell L 1985. *Be my witnesses: The Church's Mission Messenger and Messengers*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans. [Guder 1985]

only a horizontal (person to person) endeavour. Although he is quick to add that God gives ‘Hidáyah’ (guidance) he concludes: “The mission of a Muslim is to deliver the call and from there it is God’s act to grant him guidance” [Mumisa 2002 p 277-278].

Whether all Muslims agree with Mumisa’s conclusions or not is an open question. However, if his understanding of Da’wah is carried out in Black townships or elsewhere, it will fall short in comparison to the Christian dynamic of mission. The following will show that the theological understanding of the biblical basis for mission, as I have outlined above, is also relevant and appropriate for a practical ministry to Muslims in Black townships.

With the understandings that ministry to Muslims is rooted in ‘missio dei’ and that God is ultimately the author and perfecter of our faith – mission, ministry and dialogue, are not just a horizontal affair (as with Mumisa). Missionary ministry and dialogue have also a vertical (God – humanity) dimension. Indeed it is a triangular design with three parties, namely God and both human parties involved in interreligious encounter. Thus in relating to Muslims, Christians find themselves not left alone in the situation. With God’s presence and involvement the church can be the witness it ought to be.

Further, ministry to Muslims is not only a question of sheer obedience to deliver a call and then leave the rest to God, but a joint venture with the ‘salvic’ God whom we join to serve by His invitation, salvation and empowerment. At the same time we know God is ‘already there’⁴² with the one with whom we have contact. This demands that we see him not only as ‘imago dei’ but treat him with the same sacrificial love as “God loved us while we were yet sinners” to use Paul’s formulation in Rom 5:8. To this attitude attest the accepted recommendations of the Dutch Reformed Church Synod, particularly point 5: –

We have the inescapable responsibility to witness with humility and respect, especially through the means of friendship evangelism and the offering of practical service, and to bring the gospel of Jesus Christ to Jews and Muslims so that they can also experience salvation in Jesus Christ. [DRC General Synod Rep 2002 p9]

Bassam M Madany, who was a missionary for thirty six years to the Arab speaking world and who is a prolific writer, grapples with the practical implications Christian ministry to Muslims will encounter in a post-modern 21st century. He challenges his readers to live a genuine biblical based Christianity that will stand out

42 David Bosch says: “... we go expecting to meet the God who has preceded us and has been preparing people within the context of their own cultures and convictions [Bosch 1991 p484].

form the post-modern and secular as a clear “reference point of Christian existence”

[Madany 1997 p365]. He concludes his article by saying:

... at this juncture in world history, global missions in general and missions to Muslims in particular, should be the concern of every church member. The old distinction between domestic and foreign missions is outdated. [Madany 1997 p367]

Such a church wide concern for mission to Muslims as Madany advocates will be free from ‘reductionism’ (as Guder argued) and has the promises for a practical interreligious encounter which is relevant, culturally appropriate yet diverse enough to cope with today's challenges in the townships. Having thus explained the foundation of a Christian ministry to Muslims an elaboration on practical ministry aspects must now follow.

5.3.3. Issues of practical ministry to Muslims

The history of ministry to Muslims is not very long! Although going back to people like Raymond Lull (1231-1315) who tried “through peaceful conversations to show the superiority of the Christian truth” [Schirmacher1994 p318], it is perhaps only with Henry Martyn (1781-1812), Karl Gottlieb Pfander (1803-1865), William Temple Gairdner (1873-1928) and Samuel Zwemer (1867-1952) that ministry to Muslims developed as a missionary endeavour of greater magnitude [Schirmacher1994 p336]. Of course there has been always interaction with Islam on a scholarly basis, but such efforts do not necessarily merit the label ‘ministry to Muslims.’⁴³ Since those days a host of methodologies have been developed. Pieter Verster lists the following “ways of evangelising Muslims:”

Ways of Evangelising Muslims
Apologetics and dialogue
Contextualisation
Friendship evangelism
Friendly evangelism
Net evangelism
Service evangelism
Footstep evangelism

[Verster 2003 p51-55]

Apart from these methodologies William J Saal, the US director of Arab World

43 For a further discussion on the subject I refer to the chapter of “Bedeutende Apologeten des Islam und des Christentums” in “Der Islam 2” by Christine Schirmacher [Schirmacher1994 p325].

Ministries, explains three basic approaches. These are, in his words the, “knock it down”, “build upon it” and “walk around it” approaches [Saal 1991 p131-132]. As these graphical titles of Saal’s approaches indicate, they try to characterize what kind of style and attitude one uses in ministering to Muslims. Saal seems to favour his “build upon it” approach which tries to avoid the argumentative side of evangelising Muslims. However, Saal leaves it open to his readers and suggests to decide on the merits of the situation which approach is best suited.

This discussion, namely argumentative approach versus a contextualized or soft approach has created the impression as though the one could not be done together with the other. Looking into the South African situation John Gilchrist, who is a non-vocational evangelist to Muslims and respected author, has published two books, one dealing with objections the other concentrating on sharing the gospel message with Muslims. The first one is entitled “Facing the Muslim Challenge”, the second one “Sharing the Gospel with Muslims” [Gilchrist 2002, Gilchrist 2003]. As these titles suggest and the content of the two books reveal, it is not an either or. Gilchrist bring the two sides together as two sides of the same coin. The Christians relating to Muslims find themselves indeed in the position to share the gospel freely at times, but also face the need to explain the objections raised by Muslims. To avoid the latter means to end the conversation. Thus Christians engaged in ministry to Muslims need to be equipped for both. The strong desire of the pastors, in the meeting in Khayelitsha, for suitable training expresses exactly this need.

It is not only the issue ‘argumentative versus non-argumentative’ that is important. What must be guarded against, is that one approach is elevated above all others and made to be the sole recipe for ministry to Muslim. John Gilchrist warns of the temptation that

The intense resistance of most Muslims to the Gospel has driven many Christians to finding alternative ways of reaching them for Christ, ways that appear more likely to produce the desired results. In consequence a variety of different methods have been proposed, invariably coupled with dogmatic assertions, such as “this is the only way” or, alternatively, “we need a new way!” [Gilchrist 2003 p5]

For the multifaceted situation in the townships it must be clear that a “one size fits all approach” will not do. Verster agrees when he says: “Although footstep xxx evangelism⁴⁴ is proposed as main focus of evangelism for Muslims, it remains difficult to

44 Footstep evangelism is defined by Verster as a methodology, that follows the practical example of Jesus, who related to people as neighbours, lived with them, revealed himself to them as ‘Lord’ and exercised a holistic ministry. For a fuller discussion on the subject see Verster 2003 p54-55.

emphasise only one method of evangelism” [Verster 2003 p55]. The wisdom of not just legitimizing one approach, method or technique agrees with Gilchrist, who emphasizes that “God *alone* can give the growth.” Instead of singling out one method Gilchrist advocates:

Muslim evangelism needs a return to the simple witness of the gospel, a one-on-one sharing of the great truths of the good news of salvation in Jesus Christ.

Remembering the socio-economic challenges in the township it is questionable whether highly complex, specialized and perhaps expensive techniques, approaches and methods will ever work. Gilchrist’s call to a simple witness of the gospel seems to me a workable solution. It would allow the people to work with what they already have, namely their testimony and understanding of Christ. This does not mean that Christians in Black townships should not investigate the heritage of Muslim evangelism experience. On the contrary empowerment will be accompanied by investigation, learning and exercise. Nevertheless, true empowerment starts by using the resources that are at hand and using them to the fullest advantage. When Jesus called his church to be his witnesses (Acts 1:8), he did give the church all that was needed to fulfil this command. He gave himself anew through sending the Holy Spirit (Acts 2).

Verster aptly concludes after explaining the eschatological testimony, that the church ought to live in a situation that is filled with poverty and other hard realities by stating:

In the end Muslim evangelism can be no less than living in Christ in the presence of the world with this transforming hope. [Verster 2003 p56]

Thus we have seen in this section on the issues of practical ministry to Muslims that the multitude of approaches, the question of ‘argumentative versus non-argumentative’ approach, come in focus when disciplined by the theological basis set out above or as Gilchrist calls it the ‘simple gospel message.’ At the same time this biblical theological basis results in a doable way of ministry to Muslims in an economically challenged setting, as in the case with Black townships.

5.4. Concluding remarks

The whole chapter has shown that a theological perspective with a Biblical basis is relevant if the theological basis takes the ‘middle ground’ in dialogue and if such basis does not divorce itself from the aspect of mission. This is true especially when

undertaken by the witnessing community of the church, which will be able to use this basis as a guide for an effective, contextually relevant and feasible witness.

This calling to be Christ's witnesses, does not go to vocational 'missionary experts' alone, but to the whole body of Christ, the church in its local manifestation. As a body the church can learn, adopt and develop the approaches, methods and forms in which to relate to Muslims in an indigenous and appropriate way, thus fulfilling the role God has ordained as the head of mission.

6. Summary and Conclusion

In this thesis the three issues of research are: Firstly, the history and current status of the development of Islam in three townships, secondly, the attitudes amongst the Christians in the context of an emerging Muslim community and thirdly, a theological framework to assist the church in its encounter with Muslims.

6.1. Historical, statistical and current aspects

The **historical** survey showed that, with the exception of the Zanzibaris, the early arrivals of Black Muslims and so called Prize Negroes integrated into the established Indian and Malay Muslim communities. No distinct or defined group of Black Muslims existed for almost 300 years since the arrival of the first Muslim in South Africa. With few exceptions the history of Black Muslims in South African townships is very young and started in earnest only around 1960-70.

The History of Guguletu is an example, were a few dedicated Muslims, from outside the township, played a major role in motivating Black people to accept Islam. During Apartheid times political motivation caused a number of Muslims to join Islam because they saw it as a vehicle of fighting social injustice. The number of conversions to Islam in Guguletu declined after 1994, possibly because the motivation, to join Islam in order to fight Apartheid, did no longer exist. Nevertheless, in the last six years an upsurge in Da'wah efforts is noticeable, manifested in the founding of the Masakhane Muslim community and the establishment of two new Mosques as a result of a renewed missionary zeal.

In Khayelitsha, although the development of Islam is younger, the initial endeavours, from Malay and Indian Muslims from outside the suburb, have resulted in a small, but definite presence of Islam. The existence of different Muslim groups, who do not coordinate their efforts, reveal a measure of disunity among the Muslim community. This disunity seems to be a direct result of the financial and religious dependencies created by individual Muslims and Islamic organisations from outside the townships.

Finally, the Muslims in Joe Slovo/Phoenix have moved to the township recently, which is transfer growth rather than conversions. The Muslim community in Joe Slovo/Phoenix has not engaged in any significant Da'wah activities. Nevertheless, because of a large attendance on Fridays for Jum'ah by people from outside the township, the Muslim community has extraordinary financial and personal resources available to them. These resources position the Muslim community in an ideal starting

position, to engage locally in serious Da'wah efforts. The fact that the East and West African Muslims do not relate well to the only Mosque in the township reveals that Muslims have not yet overcome ethnic reservations.

In all three townships there is an increase in Da'wah related activities in the last 5-10 years. Muslims from outside and inside the townships are trying to increase the number of Muslims through gaining converts from the non Muslim sector.

Statistically, Black Muslims have grown more than double between 1996 and 2001 in the Western Cape, which outstrips the population growth and must be due to conversions. Yet numerically the Black Muslim community is still small in comparison to the total Black population, yet it is a beginning of an Islamic presence. Islam has arrived in the townships and is there to stay. Predictions based on statistical data of the past are speculative and tentative at best. Nevertheless, barring all other factors, if Islam keeps growing with a substantial conversion rate, as it is currently the case, Islam would double every five to seven years among the Black population.⁴⁵

However, with increased numbers comes also increased influence in the wider community. Since Islam does not exclude secular, political or economic issues the influence will be felt in all these instances. The Christian community will increasingly become aware of Muslim demands in all these spheres of life.

With the strong growth of Black Muslims the percentage of Black Muslims over and against the established Muslim communities are rising. This will most likely cause dynamic challenges resulting in structural shifts in the established Muslim communities. Such shifts may cause infighting among Muslims internally or it may result in more streamlined Da'wah efforts in townships. Only time will tell, yet some internal struggles are already a reality, like issues of racism against Black Muslims from their Coloured fellow Muslims.

The **current** situation for the Muslims and Christians in the three townships is socio-economically speaking a great challenge. Yet we have seen the self understanding of Black Muslims is bold and optimistic of what the future might hold. Muslims do not suffer from a low self esteem concerning their community and religion. This is evident in the energy invested into the various projects they have undertaken recently, resulting in a substantial number of Islamic places of worship. Muslims are active in specific Da'wah

45 I.e. If Islam in Khayelitsha would continue to grow at the present rate it would double every five years. Calculations with figures of Black Muslims nationwide suggest a doubling rate of every seven years. The entire Muslim population in South Africa would double in 19 years. The total population of South Africa would double in about 35 years with the same scenario.

efforts. Most Da'wah activity is supported and conducted from outside the townships with local collaboration. An African Muslim identity does not exist yet which is one of the major hindrances for a more rapid growth of Islam among Black people.

In contrast the Xhosa speaking community has an existing African Christian identity which, currently, still serves as a 'protection' against a developing Islam. Such a protection is a weak safeguard, especially since the Christians are not greatly aware of the Muslim presence and activity. No matter how we evaluate the historical, statistical and current aspects from the churches' perspective, Christians must face the wider reality and must take note of Islam in their neighbourhood.

6.2. Aspects on Christian attitudes

With a numerically well established Christianity in the townships the church should be in a good position to respond to Islam. Christianity is well accepted in Xhosa culture. Being the largest unifying entity in the community the church has also a communal, social and perhaps an economical and even political responsibility. As part of this responsibility it has to interact with Islam and provide guidance for the individual Christians. Since the presence of Islam is a reality Christians will have to relate to Muslims in every day life or become irrelevant. How do Christians fare in light of this tremendous challenge?

Factual information on Islam and Muslim activities in the townships is sparse among Christian leaders. This is a concern since Christians are being affected by Islamic activities on an individual level in every day life. Christian leaders ought to respond by informed advice but have identified a lack of training to cope with the situation. Nevertheless, the results from the PAR meeting have shown that when Christian leaders pool their insights they can develop the needed responses. Expert facilitators would be welcomed and needed to provide coaching and stimulate the empowerment process.

Many churches have an inward focus concerned with their own program and people. Although it is understandable that there are many needs in a crime ridden and low economic, poverty stricken township the church must not lose perspective of the world we live in. The danger of developing stereotype opinions and even judgements against those 'outside' is already taking hold of Christians. This is especially true in relation to Islam as the answers from the interviews have shown. Yet in dealing with the challenges from Islam constructively it would provide the church with a remedy for the inward focus and a safeguard against a possible isolation. It would also be a positive step toward overcoming the issues of xenophobia which exist.

Stereotype and wrong information has to be corrected, also in light of the un-churched population. Would the church not stand accused for being untruthful or even deceitful if it were to harbour stereotypes? How could genuine ministry to Muslims and others continue in a climate of accusation? The challenge to act and respond in a Christ-like way in a multi-religious, multi-national, competitive and poverty stricken situation is paramount. The pastors, in the PAR meeting, who started to realize the challenge saw the necessity of further training for themselves and their church members.

The findings report a host of activities with which Christians minister to the wider community. Neither are such programs geared for Muslims nor is the content sensitive to Muslims. This will repulse enquirers and create unnecessary separations in the community, which the Christians have a mandate to reach with the gospel.

From a spiritual side the Christian community is challenged by Islam's seemingly easy way to accommodate the occult, witchcraft and other elements of African Traditional Religion. Muslim Da'wah workers already are eager to point out to enquirers that Christianity is incompatible with African culture and advocate that Islam is the better fit. Although Christianity is generally accepted in Xhosa culture it is not something to take for granted. As time and influences change the community of faith has to do theology to find and formulate God's will for its context. Thus a reflection on the theological aspects needs to follow.

6.3. Theological aspects

In the complex situation with Islam in the townships the church needs to turn to God and his revelation for guidance and clarity. In doing so Christians do theology and enter in a process of finding answers to life's questions. With the challenging questions emerging from an encounter with Islam it is imperative that local Christians as well as theologians work together in finding answers.

For a beneficial Christian interaction with Muslims in townships I argued that extremes in dialogue are too controversial for the context. An all accommodating position such as Küng's, where essentially the end, of a world ethics and peace, justifies the means, would sacrifice essentials of the Gospel. A position of outright condemnation of Islam as an anti-Christian and false religion does violate the commandment of love. With Bosch a definition of dialogue is presented that keeps a balance between the extremes, yet allowing dialogue to be missional as well as interreligious exchange. This definition is not conclusive but leaves the Christian in the township in a tension and

process to rely on God for a day to day guidance for his interactions with Muslims.

The encounter with Muslims in townships must also, as we have seen from Guder, be as a witness and involve the entire church to do justice to the command of Jesus. As long as it is just a few “experts” who are involved in Christian ministry to Muslims it will fall short of being the witness. Only the concerted effort of the whole church will bring the gifts, insights, strength and scope to the encounter with Muslims that will result in God-honouring and helpful interaction with Muslims.

Christians and Muslims have to relate to one another. The common experience of Apartheid provides a starting point of sympathetic communication. To see Muslims as beings who are made in the image of God demands that Christians respect Muslims and love them sacrificially. This must result ultimately in the sharing of the gospel in appropriate ways. Yet the Muslim-Christian relationships are not one sided. Islam can serve Christians through its competitive nature as a challenge that will question and refine Christianity ultimately. In that light polemic encounters as with Ahmed Deedat the Muslim propagandist have to be seen. The church can emerge as truthful, genuinely loving, yet prepared to give sound answers.

The Muslim-Christian encounter emerges as a dynamic process, in which although the Church operates in the same context as Islam, yet responds to it from a Biblical basis. This response is being a witness on the basis of its past and current faith experience and by constantly seeking under God’s guidance the right responses for new situations.

This dynamic process needs a Biblical basis. For that purpose, the aspect of being God’s witnesses is well founded in the Old Testament, the gospels and the letters in the New Testament. The rooting of the testimony in the ‘*missio dei*’ enables the Christian witness to Muslims to be effective in a triangular type of relationship, consisting of God, the Christian and the Muslim. Only with God’s involvement the church in townships can fulfil its ministry mandate also towards Muslims. In light of a sweeping secularisation in South Africa the church can, by responding Biblically become a ‘reference point’ of truth and God’s love to Muslims.

In practical ministry to Muslims the church must discern which methods it must use. In a complex multi-religious, multi-cultural context a variety of methods must be used and new ones developed. The church in townships must not look for the one recipe of ministering to Muslims. Nevertheless, the ‘simple’ gospel message, the witness which God has bestowed on the church, must not be subdued by any method of ministry.

To utilise the current understanding and experience of God, which the church already got is, in the context of limited physical resources, a feasible, and effective way for a sustainable ministry to Muslims. Such utilisation will protect the church from unhealthy resource dependencies which methods, developed elsewhere might demand. This however should not stop the church from continuously evaluating approaches and methods as well as developing their own. This will provide the church with practical ways to act and respond meaningfully to Muslims in the township situation.

6.4. Application and open questions

The primary relevance of the study is, apart from the historical record and the availability of the data of the empirical research, to present the churches and ministries in the townships with an analysis and theological insights to motivate an increasingly meaningful encounter with Islam. Since the choice of the three townships is a cross-section of different township situations, it is representative of other townships in the Western Cape, if not elsewhere in South Africa. The research, therefore, may also benefit churches and workers among Muslims elsewhere in South Africa. I am convinced that the principles of a Biblically oriented, holistic approach to Christian ministry among Muslims would be a blessing to the churches in other townships. Yet, a comparison of the findings to other contexts would obviously be very interesting.

For the wider application a number of questions remain:

1. What impact will the extraordinary growth of the number of Black Muslims have on the church and Christians in South Africa in the future.
2. At this moment Islam in South Africa does not enjoy an accepted African identity in Xhosa society. What role will the West and East African immigrants have in fostering an African Islamic identity
3. If Islam would succeed in creating an African Islamic identity would it inevitably result in a mass movement to Islam? What role would the church have in the light of such developments, and what should perhaps be considered already by the church leadership in light of such an scenario?

These questions will have to be addressed sometime in the future. However the current study has revealed, that the almighty God has positioned his church into the townships, with all the potential it needs, to fulfil, under divine guidance and in relating to the larger body of Christ, the calling as a witness to His glory.

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8. Appendix

8.1. Explanation of the documents in the appendix

The research design and methodology was set out to ensure a transparent and honest process for obtaining, handling and evaluating the data. Such data was obtained through empirical field research in the form of conducting structured and unstructured interviews as well as engaging in a Participatory Action Research endeavour. This yielded mostly qualitative data, although it served in the end to cross check with statistical data. The statistical data was obtained from literature like the URDR reports for the Transformation Research Project as well as official government census. For the sake of accountability all the empirical findings were transcribed and added in the appendix. Representations of the statistical data, including all calculations were also added to the appendix.

A literary survey for the subject was undertaken which is reflected in the works that have been cited in this thesis. Other works were consulted for background information or for gaining a wider understanding of the field. For this I prepared an annotated bibliography which is not included in the appendix but available on the CD-ROM included with the original of the thesis.

8.2. Introductory remarks to interviews with Muslims

8.2.1. List of interviews conducted with key Muslims

Page	Interview	Place	Suburb
78	Yusuf Mohammad	Al-Jihad Centre	Guguletu
82	Sheik Ismael Gqamane	Islamic Information Centre	Guguletu
85	Ahmet Stulwani (a)	Al-Jihad Centre	Guguletu
86	Ahmet Stulwani (b)	Al-Jihad Centre	Guguletu
88	Abu Backer Bakali	Jamat Khana Mustadafin	Khayelitsha
91	Hassin Gqamane	Green Point Masjid	Khayelitsha
94	Imam Yusuf Nombexeza	Fathia, Jammal (Sufi)	Khayelitsha
97	Abdullah Omar (a)	Billal Mosque	Khayelitsha
99	Group Interview (Aisha Rulumente, Sureia Njola)	Jamat Khana Mustadafin	Khayelitsha
101	Faried Williams	Phoenix Islamic Society	Phoenix
103	Abdul Hirya	Phoenix Islamic Society	Phoenix

8.2.2. Accuracy of recording

At most of these interviews and meetings Gloria Cube, my research assistant was present. Since Gloria is also a postgraduate student of theology we did discuss the statements in the interviews, thus conducting peer reviews. Gloria also read through all transcripts of the interviews and notes and confirmed their accuracy of recording.

8.2.3. Introductory comments to Questionnaires

The following introductory comments were printed on each questionnaire and used in conducting the interviews:

Questionnaire for Interviews with Key Muslims Leaders

Introduction:

The questionnaire is used in a face-to-face interview situation. The target people are Muslim leaders in the various suburbs.

Proper introduction will be conducted and information shared about the purpose of the interview. The intention is that a personal relationship be established, a relationship that will outlast the interview and the research project. Thus the interviewee will be treated with dignity and respect.

The questions below form a grid for the interview, but there has to be flexibility to allow the interviewee and the interviewer to deviate from the points listed as the need arises.

Answers will be recorded as precisely as possible.

8.3. Interviews with Muslim leaders

8.3.1. Interview with Yusuf Mohammad

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Yusuf Mohammad	Date: 9 Dec 2004
	Place: Al-Jihad Centre Guguletu	Interviewer: MJ
1. What is your position / title / function?	Secretary of Al-Jihad Centre and Muezin	
2. How did you come to be involved in this way?	<p>I joined the youth movement in 1976 during the SOWETO uprising. The movement was working with black youth on the run and converts. The movement was politically charged. Al-Jihad was for me a religious vehicle to fight social injustice.</p> <p>I became Coordinator of youth called the Young Elephants of Islam YEI. Tatakulu Africa (Emir) was the commander of us all. There were camps (branches) in: Langa (two), Guguletu, Stellenbosch, Maitland, Hanover Park. A total of 70 youth (about 10-15 per group). These were militarily organized. The Group in Guguletu was called Badrudin from Battle of Badr.</p> <p>In 1979 I became absorbed in the Parent body (the older folks of the organisation)</p>	
3. How many Muslims live in this community?	100 in Guguletu	
4. How many Muslims participate in your Mosque/Jammat/Prayer room/organisation?	We have 40 Members all from outside of Guguletu	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Yusuf Mohammad Date: 9 Dec 2004 Place: Al-Jihad Centre Guguletu Interviewer: MJ
5. What are the main challenges facing the Muslim community in this suburb?	<p>Political disputes between organisations. For Example: The MJC opposed the building of the Al-Jihad centre in Guguletu from the outset. We were accused of being “political informant.”⁴⁶ Such disputes have taken another form today.</p> <p>Al-Jihad was losing members in 1984 when Al-Jihad joined the Armed struggle. Al-Jihad became affiliated with the United Democratic Front (UDF). As a community we needed to fight together and bridge the divide. I was detained in 1985. All this made Al-Jihad more of a military kind of organisation.</p> <p>5 members were caught with Arms and explosives and were charged in 1986 or 1987 with Terrorism. We had three excellent lawyers and appealed the sentence which was suspended but we became “banned people.”⁴⁷</p>
6. Which Muslim groupings exist in this suburb?	Al-Jihad Centre, Islamic information Centre belonging to Masakhane Muslim Movement and the Sawia Mosque
7. When did these Muslim groupings start in this suburb?	Masakhane started 1998.
8. Which are the active Muslim groupings?	Masakhane.
9. What activities does the Muslim community engage in on a weekly basis?	NY6 (Islamic Information Centre) Jum’ah and 5 daily prayers. Zawiya also hold Jum’ah and 5 daily prayers

46 “Political Informist” was a loaded term. People understood them as working together with the Apartheid’s regime and were therefore despised and opposed.

47 Labelled as banned people had all kinds of restrictions like not leaving the Western Cape, not meeting with more than 5 people at a time etc. Prayer at Mosque was impossible and for the teaching profession a special application was granted.

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Yusuf Mohammad Date: 9 Dec 2004 Place: Al-Jihad Centre Guguletu Interviewer: MJ
10. In what way do you conduct Da'wah in this community.	<p>We are connected to the ANC, COSATU and Women's League. We cooperate with them, but not with the local community. When we embraced Shi'ism in 1982 we had a split in Al-Jihad. The ones disagreeing left. They were lead by Kuwait students who we had sponsored in the first place. The students got into Wahabism while studying in Kuwait and that caused the split. The problem with MJC is that they depended on Wahabi money and therefore did not accept us as Muslims.</p> <p>But we have changed. Da'wah is doing Islam in a public place as a ministry. Da'wah was being a political program in South Africa to establish a Islamic presence in society and to secure the future of Islam.</p> <p>This changed in the 80's from a spiritual approach to a political approach. In Post Apartheid South Africa we took long but we now have a spiritual emphasis.</p> <p>There is another Shi'a Centre in Ottery called the Ahlul-Bait⁴⁸ Foundation of South Africa. They have a Cleric from Pakistan Aftab Heide. We had originally 30 youngsters from Guguletu, but after being taught here they joined the Ahlul-Bait Foundation of South Africa.</p> <p>The way forward for us in Da'wah is to build partnerships with the local community. The creché is running already on community basis. There is no Islamic training but it runs with our contribution. There are about 50 children.</p> <p>There is no partnership with other Muslim organisation and the Masakhane Muslim Movement as they developed tensions. A sewing project is run in Al-Jihad centre under their auspices, they never gave recognition to Al-Jihad. The sewing class was funded by the MJC and Hakim Quick coordinated it. They did not want to identify with us as Shi'a. When we spoke up they closed the sewing project.</p>
11. Are there any Da'wah related activities from the Muslim community that you are aware of? If so, which?	(not asked)
12. What are you planning in terms of Da'wah?	Funding is a problem
13. What is your estimate how many Christians live in this community?	95% of the community

48 Ahlul-Bait literally means "people of the house" (Qur'an 11:73). The followers see themselves belonging to the house of Muhammad.

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Yusuf Mohammad Place: Al-Jihad Centre Guguletu	Date: 9 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
14.What interaction exists between you and Christian people in this suburb.	The Creché is a way of interacting. In the past we assisted with the use of our facilities especially the Methodists next door.	
15.Do you have Christian friends in this suburb? If so how many?	Not close friends, but I do have friends.	
16.How many Christian churches are in the suburb?	Don't know.	
17.What churches are these (names/locations)?	--	
18.What activities do the Christians have in this suburb?	Church services and visible funerals. Easter weekend long services.	
19.Which Church seems to you the most active?	Those who wear the blue and red uniforms (Methodist)	
20.Are there issues on which Muslims and Christians work together jointly?	Drug struggle.	
21.Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims should work together jointly?	Absolutely. Muslim and Christians can work on R.D.P. initiatives.	
22.Are there conversions to Islam in this suburb? (If so follow on with questions 23 – 26)	Don't know.	
23.How many conversions to Islam do you know about in the last 6 month?	--	
24.What is the religious background of the people who converted?	Mainly Christian.	
25.Why in your opinion do people convert to Islam?	People feel it brings social mobility, food on the table. Political Activists who are disillusioned with Christian and Western imperialism.	
26.What do you see as obstacles for a conversion to Islam?	Islam is seen as a Malay religion. Islam is alien, they are considered Kwere/kwere	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Yusuf Mohammad Place: Al-Jihad Centre Guguletu	Date: 9 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
27.Are you aware of any conversions from Islam to Christianity? (if so follow on with questions (28- 29)	Black people who accepted Islam for the sake of food are Muslims and Christians . But conversions to Christianity, no.	
28.How many conversions to Christianity do you know occurred in the last 6 months?	--	
29.Why in your opinion do people convert to Christianity from Islam?	--	
30.Is there anything that you wish to express at the end of this interview? Anything that you would like to bring to my attention that might be important for this study?	no.	

8.3.2. Interview with Sheik Ismael Gqamane

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Sheik Ismael Gqamane Place: Islamic Information Centre Guguletu	Date: 30 Nov 2004 Interviewer: MJ
1. What is your position / title / function?	Imam.	
2. How did you come to be involved in this way?	I studied in Madina for 7 years. On my return I started to work with Majid Bilal in Khayelitsha. Then I moved to Langa and became Imam. I helped Imam Lobi and then took over from him. When a donation arrived from Saudi Arabia we bought this place. As far as I know it is zoned as a business property. A doctor used it before.	
3. How many Muslims live in this community?	100 – 150.	
4. How many Muslims relate to your Mosque/Jammat/Prayer room/organisation?	70 people relate to this mosque. 30% of the Muslims here are from East Africa.	
5. What are the main challenges facing the Muslim community in this suburb?	Islam is perceived as a foreign religion and culture. Islam is monotheistic If fights the aspect of African religious culture.	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Sheik Ismael Gqamane Place: Islamic Information Centre Guguletu	Date: 30 Nov 2004 Interviewer: MJ
6. Which Muslim groupings do exist in this suburb?	a) Masakhane Muslim Community b) Zawiah (belonging to the Tijania brotherhood) Started by Dr Abu Backer in Rwanda following Ashraf Zantsi) c) Al-Jihad Centre d) Prayer House at NY 148/224	
7. When did these Muslim groupings start in this suburb?	a) 2002 bought the Building but Madrassa started earlier 1989 b) 2002 Zawiah about 70 people attend there c) 1974 Al-Jihad Centre d) 1985 Prayer house	
8. Which are the active Muslim groupings?	We are the most active but Zawiah are also active.	
9. What activities does the Muslim community engage in on a weekly basis?	We have Madrassa in the afternoons and sometimes evening classes.	
10. In what way do you conduct Da'wah in this community.	Strange enough we have not conducted Da'wah in this community. People see the centre and come in and enquire. Otherwise we see people and have natural contact and invite them. During Ramadan we are always here and have more activities.	
11. Are there any Da'wah related activities from the Muslim community that you are aware of? If so which?	No Da'wah	
12. What are you planning in terms of Da'wah?	To engage people one on one. We have no specific plan.	
13. What is your estimate how many Christians live in this community?	99.9% We still have much to do.	
14. What interaction exists between you and Christian people in this suburb.	Nothing final. I have not heard of any interfaith gatherings.	
15. Do you have Christian friends in this suburb? If so how many?	Yes, but not too close. I talk to all people.	
16. How many Christian churches are in the suburb?	20+	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Sheik Ismael Gqamane Place: Islamic Information Centre Guguletu	Date: 30 Nov 2004 Interviewer: MJ
17. What churches are these (names/locations)?	I can't define them.	
18. What activities do the Christians have in this suburb?	They go to Church. Jehovah Witness go door to door. Roman Catholics have a feeding scheme. There was an American group that did something. I think it is the Universal Church people who stand in lines and give out pamphlets for 10 Rand.	
19. Which Church seems to you the most active?	Universal Church.	
20. Are there issues on which Muslims and Christians work together jointly?	No, we have not met formally.	
21. Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims should work together jointly?	Poverty, HIV/AIDS, moral deprivation.	
22. Are there conversions to Islam in this suburb? (If so follow on with questions 23 – 26)	Yes.	
23. How many conversions to Islam do you know where there in the last 6 month?	30 people in my Mosque.	
24. What is the religious background of the people who converted?	Christians and Ethnics.	
25. Why in your opinion do people convert to Islam?	A good number read and they got invited. They see it is a good religion. Poverty is not such a motive for conversion. They have come to understand Islam as an African religion. They feel that Christianity was forced on them.	
26. What do you see as obstacles for a conversion to Islam?	Obstacles are materialism and democracy. Islam stresses to be less materialistic, but people want things. People want to be happy here in this life. Islam is for the life beyond. Democracy is against the book concept in that the book tells you what to do but democracy you decide by vote what to do.	
27. Are you aware of any conversions from Islam to Christianity? (if so follow on with questions (28- 29)	Yes, Machmood. Some are driven by social condition and may go back because of that.	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Sheik Ismael Gqamane Place: Islamic Information Centre Guguletu	Date: 30 Nov 2004 Interviewer: MJ
28. How many conversions to Christianity do you know occurred in the last 6 months?	No. None I know of.	
29. Why in your opinion do people convert to Christianity from Islam?	--	
30. Is there anything that you wish to express at the end of this interview? Anything that you would like to bring to my attention that might be important for this study?	No nothing.	

8.3.3. Interview notes from meeting with Achmet Stulwani (a)

Contact details:

Ahmet Stulwane
Cell 0734460822

He suggested to meet with key people like:

Yusuf Muhammad from Al-Jihad 083-212-8472

Mama Fatima (interviewed by Rebecca Lee [American Chinese])

The centres in Guguletu:

Al-Jihad Centre of Nurdin Center

Related to Al-Jihad is the Abdul Bait Centre in Phillipi. Abdul bait followers of the household of the prophet = shia.

Islamic Information Centre

Sheik Hassan sisi Center (from Senegal) a sufi of the Tijania order Sufi -> more black orientated.

Stulwane is critical of Coloured and Indian Muslims in South Africa. He calls them racist and hypocrites.

Mirabitun: Stegman road in Claremont

Founder of the Mirabitun is Sheik Abdulkader al Jilany from Morocco went to Spain from where he influenced the Mirabitun.

1980 – 1990 Mirabitun enter the Black townships

Exiles have contact to Mirabitun. Integrating black elements into Islam on a Sufi basis following a Tariqa.

8.3.4. Interview with Ahmet Stulwani 30 Nov 2004 (b)

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Ahmet Stulwani Place: Al-Jihad Centre	Date: 30 Nov 2004 Interviewer: MJ
1. What is your position / title / function?	Student at UCT (MA student for Sociology) Trained as a Sheick (Imam) 3 ½ years in Medina.	
2. How did you come to be involved in this way?	Ahmed Stulwani does not have a fixed position in Al-Jihad centre although others would refer to him as their Imam??	
3. How many Muslims live in this community?	I estimate plus minus 200.	
4. How many Muslims participate in your Mosque/Jammat/Prayer room/organisation?	Al-Jihad Centre has no followers from Guguletu. All are coming from elsewhere and are about +- 30 Muslims.	
5. What are the main challenges facing the Muslim community in this suburb?	Ahmed Stulwani defines proselytisation as winning others for another religion without recognizing the culture of the converts, i.e. Malay and Indian Muslims forcing a Malay and Indian Islam onto their converts from black townships. He sees this kind of proselytisation as a threat to the Muslim community as it produces black Muslims who do exactly the same to black people thus producing a distorted view of Islam. Otherwise the Community poses no challenges to the Muslim community.	
6. Which Muslim groupings do exist in this suburb?	Tijania Tariqa Muslims (Local leader Ashraf Zantsi) at Zawia. Islamic Information Centre Sheik Ismael Gqamane. Al-Jihad. Members of Nation of Islam.	
7. When did these Muslim groupings start in this suburb?	Al- Jihad about 40 Years ago (30 Members from outside Guguletu) Islamic Information Centre about 3 Years ago (100 members) Zawiya about 2 years ago. (!00 members)	
8. Which are the active Muslim groupings?	All these groups are not very active except during Ramadan. I call this Ice cream Dawah. Ice cream Dawah means people only become Muslims because they get material gain. Poverty does that to people.	
9. What activities does the Muslim community engage in on a weekly basis?	None except the prayers	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Ahmet Stulweni Place: Al-Jihad Centre	Date: 30 Nov 2004 Interviewer: MJ
10. In what way do you conduct Da'wah in this community.	I don't believe in Da'wah. I believe in debates and dialogue to make my message clear.	
11. Are there any Da'wah related activities from the Muslim community that you are aware of? If so which?	Only during Ramadan but I tell you it is Ice-cream Daw'ah. This is my term.	
12. What are you planning in terms of Da'wah?	Nothing.	
13. What is your estimate how many Christian live in this community?	99 ½ % but this includes African Traditional Religion people.	
14. What interaction exists between you and Christian people in this suburb.	There is a lot of interaction. The dialogues we run for example and the functions.	
15. Do you have Christian friends in this suburb? If so how many?	A lot , most of my friends are Christian.	
16. How many Christian churches are in the suburb?	About 30.	
17. What churches are these (names/locations)?	Too many to list.	
18. What activities do the Christians have in this suburb?	Many, like HIV/AIDS program, Old age home program, youth program, family programs feeding schemes Social program. I like to say that there is no 'Ice Cream Da'wah' coming from Christians. They help anyone!	
19. Which Church seems to you the most active?	Baptist.	
20. Are there issues on which Muslims and Christians work together jointly?	Religious dialogues, HIV/AIDS.	
21. Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims should work together jointly?	Many. It should be based on faith and not on Religious diversities. Issues are: Poverty, Aids, youth, Social development, Health, Education, Family planning.	
22. Are there conversions to Islam in this suburb? (If so follow on with questions 23 – 26)	Yes.	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Ahmet Stulweni Place: Al-Jihad Centre	Date: 30 Nov 2004 Interviewer: MJ
23. How many conversions to Islam do you know about in the last 6 months?	Don't know, but it is happening particularly with Ismael Gqamane.	
24. What is the religious background of the people who converted?	Christian and ATR. But some are just joining African Traditional Religion to Islam and they fuse it together. Therefore it is questionable to what extent they are converts.	
25. Why in your opinion do people convert to Islam?	For the material Benefit (Ice-Cream Da'wah).	
26. What do you see as obstacles for a conversion to Islam?	No obstacles.	
27. Are you aware of any conversions from Islam to Christianity? (if so follow on with questions (28- 29))	Yes.	
28. How many conversions to Christianity do you know occurred in the last 6 months?	One Family, relatives of Sheik Ismael Gqamane.	
29. Why in your opinion do people convert to Christianity from Islam?	The hymns in church and the dancing is very attractive to African people. Islam does not have this.	
30. Is there anything that you wish to express at the end of this interview? Anything that you would like to bring to my attention that might be important for this study?	Muslims should study African Traditional Religion and decide then what is halaal and haram.	

8.3.5. Interview with Abu Backer Bakali

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Abu Backer Bakali Place: Jamat Khana Mustadafin Mosque	Date: 3 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
1. What is your position / title / function?	Mualim = Teacher.	
2. How did you come to be involved in this way?	I was appointed by the people of the Mustadafin Foundation in 2001	
3. How many Muslims live in this community?	I estimate about 3000-5000.	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Abu Backer Bakali Date: 3 Dec 2004 Place: Jamat Khana Mustadafin Mosque Interviewer: MJ
4. How many Muslims participate in your Mosque/Jammat/Prayer room/organisation?	10 Families that is +- 200 people who mostly live in V Section.
5. What are the main challenges facing the Muslim community in this suburb?	We don't have facilities. Poverty, people struggle to take kids to school. Violence.
6. Which Muslim groupings do exist in this suburb?	Preschools under Mustadafin: 1 in Site B, 1 in Makhaza, 1 in S Section, 1 in V Section. Mosques: Bilal, Khayelitsha (Litha Park), R section 1997, X section 1998, Greenpoint 1999, Site C D-Section 2003, V Section.
7. When did these Muslim groupings start in this suburb?	This place started 5 years ago.
8. Which are the active Muslim groupings?	Bilall and Jamat Kana V section.
9. What activities does the Muslim community engage in on a weekly basis?	Teaching Madrassa, Da'wah, Jumah,
10. In what way do you conduct Da'wah in this community.	Door to door, telling them about Islam. The teaching needs follow up. Camps for young people, pamphlets in Xhosa.
11. Are there any Da'wah related activities from the Muslim community that you are aware of? If so which?	R section they do Da'wah, Door to door and Dikr every Sunday.
12. What are you planning in terms of Da'wah?	We encourage everyone to be active in Da'wah. This means to make one self sufficient. We help start small scale business.
13. What is your estimate how many Christian live in this community?	80% Christian. Some Christians believe in ancestors as well.
14. What interaction exists between you and Christian people in this suburb.	The only thing is the leadership of the community.
15. Do you have Christian friends in this suburb? If so how many?	I don't really live here but where I live I have some Christians as friends.

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Abu Backer Bakali Place: Jamat Khana Mustadafin Mosque Date: 3 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
16.How many Christian churches are in the suburb?	Too many to count.
17.What churches are these (names/locations)?	Zion, Apostolic, Anglican, Z.C.C, Universal church.
18.What activities do the Christians have in this suburb?	Propagating Christianity. Training and public preaching. Universal Church does preaching.
19.Which Church seems to you the most active?	Zion and the Apostolic.
20.Are there issues on which Muslims and Christians work together jointly?	No, Pre-school Christians have.
21.Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims should work together jointly?	On social issues they should but with the religious differences in existence.
22.Are there conversions to Islam in this suburb? (If so follow on with questions 23 – 26)	Yes.
23.How many conversions to Islam do you about in the last 6 month?	18 people.
24.What is the religious background of the people who converted?	Christians.
25.Why in your opinion do people convert to Islam?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The way they understand Islam. - By the behaviour of the Muslims. People ask us what it is all about. This is positive.
26.What do you see as obstacles for a conversion to Islam?	The way Islam is perceived. They see it as to be for Indian people. You are no longer considered an African. Fasting during Ramadan.
27.Are you aware of any conversions from Islam to Christianity? (if so follow on with questions (28- 29)	Some Muslims don't practice Islam properly. But conversions I don't know any.
28.How many conversions to Christianity do you know occurred in the last 6 months?	--

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Abu Backer Bakali Place: Jamat Khana Mustadafin Mosque	Date: 3 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
29. Why in your opinion do people convert to Christianity from Islam?	--	
30. Is there anything that you wish to express at the end of this interview? Anything that you would like to bring to my attention that might be important for this study?	No.	

Observations: Attended the Jum'ah on Friday 3 Dec. There were 9 men and one women. Most Muslims were not from Khayelitsha but from coloured background. The Kutba was presented in English because of people who did not understand Xhosa. The imam indicated that he had originally prepared in Xhosa. Abu Backer is a black Muslim, from Malawi. There was also a zealous Somali Muslim present.

8.3.6. Interview with Hassin Gqamane

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Hassin Gqamane Place: Green Point Masjid Khayelitsha	Date: 1 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
1. What is your position / title / function?	Sheik, Father of the place (caretaker). The Mosque is part of the Masakhane Muslim Movement (MMM)	
2. How did you come to be involved in this way?	In the beginning of 2004 I moved here. I used to live in Guguletu. Sheik Ismael Gqamane of the Islamic Information Centre is my brother.	
3. How many Muslims live in this community?	300 in all of Khayelitsha	
4. How many Muslims participate in your Mosque/Jammat/Prayer room/organisation?	About 30. During Ramadan the place was full and overflowing. People had to stand outside.	
5. What are the main challenges facing the Muslim community in this suburb?	There are no difficulties. Parents get upset when kids come because they don't understand Islam and have their own churches.	
6. Which Muslim groupings do exist in this suburb?	Most Muslims are Xhosa otherwise there are no groupings.	
7. When did these Muslim groupings start in this suburb?	--	
8. Which are the active Muslim groupings?	Active Mosques are Majid Billal and Khayelitsha Mosque in Litha Park.	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Hassin Gqamane Place: Green Point Masjid Khayelitsha	Date: 1 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
9. What activities does the Muslim community engage in in a weekly basis?	5 daily prayers, but we do not have Jum'ah. Madrassa, Mondays - Thursdays. Fatima teaches girls, Adaf teaches boys.	
10. In what way do you conduct Da'wah in this community.	Da'wah is difficult. The people object to Islam and talk about their churches.	
11. Are there any Da'wah related activities from the Muslim community that you are aware of? If so which?	The other Mosques do Da'wah but I don't know what they do.	
12. What are you planning in terms of Da'wah?	We are not planning anything. I like to do Da'wah, but I am not trained.	
13. What is your estimate how many Christian live in this community?	Too many to count. I can't tell. There are only Christians. Muslims are very few.	
14. What interaction exists between you and Christian people in this suburb.	It is very difficult for me. We speak the same language (Xhosa) but they reject me and they keep talking about their churches.	
15. Do you have Christian friends in this suburb? If so how many?	I have no Christian friends except one, Dugo Mawawa	
16. How many Christian churches are in the suburb?	There are a lot.	
17. What churches are these (names/locations)?	Roman Catholic, Ethiopian, Zionist, Holy Cross, Assembly of God are some, but there are so many more. I don't know them.	
18. What activities do the Christians have in this suburb?	Concerts, funerals, street preaching, they try to go after people.	
19. Which Church seems to you the most active?	Wesleyan Methodist.	
20. Are there issues on which Muslims and Christians work together jointly?	No.	
21. Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims should work together jointly?	Don't know. Muslim are very difficult people. They are too stubborn and cannot change or cooperate. There is no understanding.	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Hassin Gqamane Place: Green Point Masjid Khayelitsha	Date: 1 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
22.Are there conversions to Islam in this suburb? (If so follow on with questions 23 – 26)	Yes.	
23.How many conversions to Islam do you know about in the last 6 month?	15 all in this Masjid.	
24.What is the religious background of the people who converted?	When the Imam explains things then they decide. If we have an organisation or function then the people see the cars they want to know what happened. They come and they hear and some think they can get food. The second or third time they embrace Islam. Their background is Christian	
25.Why in your opinion do people convert to Islam?	They believe like myself. My family is Muslim. Christianity did not give me anything. I went to the Shariah. I liked the Islamic religion.	
26.What do you see as obstacles for a conversion to Islam?	Obstacles are that Islam is not explained properly. People believe Islam is not their tribe. My brothers behaved differently and gave me a good example of Islam. Other obstacles are: Mqombothi = African beer, sacrifices to ancestors cannot be done any longer in Islam. Need someone to bury me. Burial customs are different. Christians are expressive Muslims are inexpressive.	
27.Are you aware of any conversions from Islam to Christianity? (if so follow on with questions (28- 29)	No	
28.How many conversions to Christianity do you know occurred in the last 6 months?	--	
29.Why in your opinion do people convert to Christianity from Islam?	--	
30.Is there anything that you wish to express at the end of this interview? Anything that you would like to bring to my attention that might be important for this study?	Nothing more.	

Observations:

Hassin Gqamane is functioning more as a care taker and an initial contact. He mentioned

that people are attracted by the commotion of functions and gatherings. This is enough to raise interest in the local population and to draw people. These interested people are then spoken to and invited to participate and become Muslims. A number of them convert on such occasions although the motive may not be genuine but rather materialistic.

The Green Point Masjid is a brand new structure which has not yet received an Imam. They are already planning to buy the house next door and extend the Mosque some day.

8.3.7. Interview with Imam Yusuf Nombexeza

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Imam Yusuf Nombexeza Place: Al Fathia, Jammam (Sufi) Khayelitsha	Date: 3 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
1. What is your position / title / function?	Imam	
2. How did you come to be involved in this way?	Elected and chosen by the people. Studied in Durban at ICOSA (Islamic College of South Africa)	
3. How many Muslims live in this community?	568 Muslims were counted in 2003 by us, we went from door to door and we have forms filled in.	
4. How many Muslims participate in your Mosque/Jammam/Prayer room/organisation?	40	
5. What are the main challenges facing the Muslim community in this suburb?	When someone (Muslim) passes away then part of the family don't want to give the body to us Muslims for burial. But we don't have any problems. The town committee helped us to have the Jammam here in Section R.	
6. Which Muslim groupings do exist in this suburb?	We belong to the Sufis, we do dickr we are of the Nashurubandi Group. Sheick Naism is the leader of this group. But this Mosque does not belong to any organisation. (MJ comment: did not talk about other places).	
7. When did these Muslim groupings start in this suburb?	Our work started even before the Bilal Mosque. About 8 years ago. I studied sufis. I liked it. After that I came back to Khayelitsha, others followed me. We started the Majid in Sept. 2003. (MJ comment: the answer only focused on the local effort).	
8. Which are the active Muslim groupings?	All are active! Bilal Mosque. Section V Mustadafin Mosque, Litha Park Mosque, R Section Al Fathia Jammam, Greenpoint Mosque, X Section Jammam.	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Imam Yusuf Nombexeza Place: Al Fathia, Jammam (Sufi) Khayelitsha	Date: 3 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
9. What activities does the Muslim community engage in on a weekly basis?	Madrassa in the afternoons for 6-14 year olds. Creché. Small business initiatives. Classes for big brothers from 7pm – 9pm. Women on Sundays for classes in the morning 11:am to 1 pm. Dickr is done on Sundays. Some teachers come from Maitland to help with the teaching.	
10. In what way do you conduct Da'wah in this community?	Once a week with Radio Zibonele (community radio station) Vukani Newspaper(once a week local newspaper) Visit people door to door Help people with schooling 6-10 (school fees help to start initiatives to get more Muslims)	
11. Are there any Da'wah related activities from the Muslim community that you are aware of? If so which?	Yes the others are also in Da'wah. The Bilal Mosque is using Bush Radio	
12. What are you planning in terms of Da'wah?	We are planning to invite people to listen to speakers. We will get the Oliver Tambo Hall (Biggest civic town-hall around) for a speaker with questions and debate.	
13. What is your estimate how many Christian live in this community?	80% Christian 5% Muslim (probably less I don't know how many people live in Khayelitsha) 15 % traditionalists.	
14. What interaction exists between you and Christian people in this suburb.	Good relationships, we speak, go to funerals of them and they come to our funerals.	
15. Do you have Christian friends in this suburb? If so how many?	Yes, I got Christian friends and even family.	
16. How many Christian churches are in the suburb?	Many. Too many to count.	
17. What churches are these (names/locations)?	Universal, Apostles, Z.C.C, and many others.	
18. What activities do the Christians have in this suburb?	Lots of programs, they have more programs than we do. They have projects to help people, creché, street kids	
19. Which Church seems to you the most active?	Roman Catholic, they have a house for old people, feeding scheme. We have given them food to distribute and also clothing. They are doing a good job with it.	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Imam Yusuf Nombexeza Place: Al Fathia, Jammal (Sufi) Khayelitsha	Date: 3 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
20. Are there issues on which Muslims and Christians work together jointly?	We gave the Catholics some food and clothing once.	
21. Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims should work together jointly?	Yes in helping people, poverty alleviation.	
22. Are there conversions to Islam in this suburb? (If so follow on with questions 23 – 26)	Yes.	
23. How many conversions to Islam do you know about in the last 6 months?	I know of 15 people.	
24. What is the religious background of the people who converted?	They were doing nothing, some were from Christian background.	
25. Why in your opinion do people convert to Islam?	They see how the Muslims act. They come because they need God. To be changed they want to be nearer to God.	
26. What do you see as obstacles for a conversion to Islam?	They are scared for the Arabic, afraid to leave the family, no beer any longer for festivities, to stay away from women	
27. Are you aware of any conversions from Islam to Christianity? (if so follow on with questions (28- 29)	I don't know of anyone.	
28. How many conversions to Christianity do you know occurred in the last 6 months?	--	
29. Why in your opinion do people convert to Christianity from Islam?		
30. Is there anything that you wish to express at the end of this interview? Anything that you would like to bring to my attention that might be important for this study?	That is all I have now.	

Observations: The Mosque is a very primitive building but the people identify with it very much. One can feel the life of the local community in this place. There were a number of young Muslim converts present.

8.3.8. Interview with Abdullah Omar

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Abdullah Omar Place: Billal Mosque Khayelitsha	Date: 30 Nov 2004 Interviewer: MJ
1. What is your position / title / function?	Assistant Imam and Teacher. Originates from Tanzania and is married to a South African wife.	
2. How did you come to be involved in this way?	Since my knowledge of Islam was good they appointed me to be Imam. Ismael Ngqoyiyane who is the first Imam and Xhosa did this.	
3. How many Muslims live in this community?	200-300.	
4. How many Muslims participate in your Mosque/Jammat /Prayer room/organisation?	In this mosque there are 160-200 plus kids perhaps up to 250.	
5. What are the main challenges facing the Muslim community in this suburb?	Poverty, dis-empowerment, but primarily the stereotypes in the minds of the African people. Xhosa people think that Islam belongs to the Asian community. Those who become Muslims are seen as traitors and are misunderstood. It is perceived as changing the tribal allegiance. This challenge is created by the way the Indian Muslims lived. They only care for themselves.	
6. Which Muslim groupings do exist in this suburb?	1. Bilal Mosque: Built 1991 (initiative goes back to 1996-1997) 2. Khayelitsha Mosque: built 1993 3. TR prayer house: bought 1999 4. Green point Mosque build 2000 5. R section Jammat: 2003. Followers of a Tariqa belonging to the Mirabitun.	
7. When did these Muslim groupings start in this suburb?	See above	
8. Which are the active Muslim groupings?	Bilal Mosque is the most active because of the classes, Madrassa. At Green point Mosque Fatima is teaching	
9. What activities does the Muslim community engage in on a weekly basis?	School, sewing classes sometimes in Gatesville. The Imam is translating the Qur'an into Xhosa.	
10. In what way do you conduct Da'wah in this community.	Sometimes we do that. Go from house to house We sometimes have Tablighies who help us. Some people come on their own.	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Abdullah Omar Place: Billal Mosque Khayelitsha	Date: 30 Nov 2004 Interviewer: MJ
11. Are there any Da'wah related activities from the Muslim community that you are aware of? If so which?	During the Month of Ramadan and festivities we tell people and invite them to our functions.	
12. What are you planning in terms of Da'wah?	We are about to plan what to do. We are still in discussion how to overcome the stereotype ideas about Islam in the wider community.	
13. What is your estimate how many Christian live in this community?	50% Christian the rest is African Traditional Religion Believe in Ancestors. Most converts are from the Christian community.	
14. What interaction exists between you and Christian people in this suburb.	We speak to Christians, buy from them. We share ideas and we tell about Islam to convert people. We don't disturb the community. Because we want to win people.	
15. Do you have Christian friends in this suburb? If so how many?	A lot, can't count them. Of our converts the family is often Christian.	
16. How many Christian churches are in the suburb?	Up to 200 but different ones.	
17. What churches are these (names/locations)?	Tribal Churches, Zionist, Ethiopian orthodox, Wesleyan, African independent . . . There are so many!	
18. What activities do the Christians have in this suburb?	Go around preaching and singing. Tent campaigns, open-air, community radio shows.	
19. Which Church seems to you the most active?	The one up the road. They wear suits don't know the name. Apostolic?	
20. Are there issues on which Muslims and Christians work together jointly?	No.	
21. Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims should work together jointly?	Crime, killings HIV/AIDS.	
22. Are there conversions to Islam in this suburb? (If so follow on with questions 23 – 26)	Yes.	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Abdullah Omar Place: Billal Mosque Khayelitsha	Date: 30 Nov 2004 Interviewer: MJ
23. How many conversions to Islam do you know about in the last 6 month?	20 converts (about 3 per month).	
24. What is the religious background of the people who converted?	Christian.	
25. Why in your opinion do people convert to Islam?	Islam is truer than Christianity. It is the proper way. Terrorism triggers questions among Christians, they ask. This is an opportunity to share about Islam and convert people.	
26. What do you see as obstacles for a conversion to Islam?	The community rejects the convert. The dress code in Islam causes mockery. Muslims are called evil and oppressive. Black people work rather for whites than for coloured Muslims because they get treated so badly.	
27. Are you aware of any conversions from Islam to Christianity? (if so follow on with questions (28- 29))	We have people who stay away from the Mosque again after becoming Muslims.	
28. How many conversions to Christianity do you know occurred in the last 6 months?	I only know of two who have not come back to the mosque and stayed home.	
29. Why in your opinion do people convert to Christianity from Islam?	Sometimes there are temptations. If they do something bad they feel they cannot come to the holy people in the mosque. So they stay away. (Shame orientation).	
30. Is there anything that you wish to express at the end of this interview? Anything that you would like to bring to my attention that might be important for this study?		

8.3.9. Group interview with Aisha Rulumente, Sureia Njola

Interview at: V-Section 152 Site B Khayelitsha

Gathering of Muslims started in 1992

1. How did you make contact with the Mustadafin?

(Answer unfortunately lost in the translation because of language difficulty).

2. How did the Community react?

They were teased and called names like “Mary Magdalene.” But they persisted in their new found religion until some of the people who teased them started asking questions about Islam.

3. How does Islam fit with the previous faith?

It fits fine because it is not anti ancestral worship. Prophet Muhammad is still alive in spirit. Just liquor is prohibited. Some men are not happy about that. (The understanding exists that if a celebration is done without the traditional beer (umqombothi) the ceremony is incomplete).

4. How do People in Khayelitsha feel about Islam.

They are happy because it is the original belief of the African people. The original Xhosa name of God is “Qamata” and that equates to Allah.⁴⁹

Places of Islamic Worship

Makhasa (Bilal Mosque)

Litha Park (Khayelitsha Mosque)

Harare (??)

X Section Site B (???)

R Section Site B (other side of railway line)

V Section Site B (Salagana of Mustadafin project)

This group is in touch with the people in the R Section. They meet the others only during Eid.

This is not part of the Masakhane Muslim community.

Story of Aishas' conversion

Mother of Aisha became a Muslim in 1990. Khadija (mother's name) worked for Muslims in Belhar. She liked the dress code and asked about it. Then she still continued her work but without becoming a Muslim. Then she met two Xhosa men (Abdul and Ismael Thwalingca) who were Muslims. She asked them how she could become a Muslim. They taught her the Kalima and she embraced Islam. Then she encouraged everyone at home. That is when Sureia became a Muslim, but Aisha continued to be a stubborn Zionist.

In 1992 she felt she was the, only one in the family who was not a Muslim and decided to become a Muslim. Aishas Mother lived in the R Section of Khayelitsha, Aisha herself lived in Makhasa. Aisha attended the Bilal Mosque.

Did you (Aisha) experience any differences spirituality since becoming a Muslim?

Yes, as a Zionist I was not supposed to eat pork, but I did and was found out through “prophets” in the church. Now as a Muslim I have no desire to eat pork because I fear Allah who can see me even if people are not looking.

49 Qamata created everything and the Spirits of the dead are supposed to be closer to him according to Xhosa traditional religion. The term used for God by Xhosa Christians presently is “Thixo.”

8.3.10. Interview with Faried Williams, 18 Tores Rd, Phoenix

Date: 15 Sept 2004

Background:

Mr Faried Williams is one of the founding members of the Mosque in Phoenix. He was one of the first Muslims who moved into the area. The current Imam, Zaid, recommended Mr Faried Williams to me as the key person who would be most knowledgeable.

The interview was conducted after a regular evening prayer time at the mosque in Phoenix. There were 10 men present (including the Imam), as well as 3 women and two young girls (who were praying behind a curtain).

After the prayer time Mr. Faried Williams conducted a tour of the Mosque especially the new building, which is being constructed at present.

The actual interview was then conducted at Mr. Faried Williams' house in the area.

I introduced myself and stated the purpose of the interview. I was then able to ask questions for which I readily received answers. The atmosphere was very open and friendly. Mr Faried Williams narrated the whole history of the development of the Muslim community since his arrival.

Facts and History:

1996 - Mr Faried Williams and family moved into the area. About 40 Muslim families were present in the greater area. No Mosque existed at the time. During Ramadan of 1996 Mr Faried Williams organized the use of a show house in Condef (Development company for building houses in the area) for their evening prayers .

One of the people who attended these evening prayers was of an Egyptian background and he offered to help with a deposit to get some land for a mosque project. From this input a committee was started which opened a bank account and did some fund raising, as this was the condition from the Egyptian benefactor. Within a week an amount of R8 000 had been raised. The deposit was paid (R 14 000) with the help of the Egyptian benefactor. Another US\$ 25.000 was donated through the Egyptian which was converted to R130.000. This sum of money paid for the entire plot and the land transfer to the Phoenix mosque. Thus, by the end of December 1986 the land was paid for.

A container was purchased for R6,000 and was then set up on the site and converted into a place of worship for daily Namaz.⁵⁰ This container served the congregation for 2 years. Sheik Gosain Kriel served on a voluntary basis as the leader of the congregation. He taught about Islam in this mosque.

In 1998 a small interim building, that cost R200 000 was erected. From this time on Mr. Gosain Kriel became the official Imam and was paid from the Committee (about R2000 per month).

The number of Muslim families participating at this Mosque had risen to about 60. Due to instabilities in the area, economic changes, hardships and other influences many people moved out of Phoenix. This also affected the Muslim community and the number of worshippers also decreased.

In 2002 when the suburb had stabilised again, there were about 55 Muslim families who were participating at this Mosque. The year 2002 also marks the beginning

50 Namaz: The Persian and Hindustani term for salat, the Muslim liturgical prayer [Hughes 1978]

of the present building project, because of the generous donation from a wealthy Muslim who lives in a very affluent area nearby. So far his donations mount to R2 000 000. As a result of this generous funding an elaborate Mosque is being built and already in use on Fridays for Jum'ah.⁵¹

Presently about 65-70 families participate in worship at this Mosque. The five daily prayer times are being held as well as the Friday Jum'ah. The attendance on Fridays is between 1700 and 2000 men. These are people who work in the surrounding industrial areas. The Friday collection is around R4 500 which enables the Mosque to operate without outside funding. However, the concern of the committee is that giving may decrease when the building is finished and this may create some problems. Fundraising events and sponsors are being sought from people who participate in this Mosque.

The Mosque also serves the adjacent Joe Slovo Park, a Black low income area with 90% Black and 10% Coloured inhabitants. There is a large contingent of refugees in Phoenix and Joe Slovo park. Some of them are Muslims and are part of this Mosque. No Da'wah efforts have been undertaken to date, to these poorer neighbours. Phoenix consists of 70% Coloured, 10% White and 20% Black people. On Fridays there are about 15% black Muslims who attend Jum'ah. Once the current Mosque building project is finished, a soup kitchen is envisaged, for the people in Joe Slovo Park.

On Mondays to Thursdays Madressa classes are conducted from 15:00 to 17:00 with 40 – 50 Coloured and a few refugee children. Two teachers conduct these classes. There was also an idea to start a crèche, but this has not materialised yet.

There are no established contacts to Christian churches in the area. Mr Faried Williams estimates that there are more Muslim functions than Christian functions in the suburb. He took notice of one church building being renovated and set up very fast in the area. In general, he has not noticed any Christian activity, whatsoever.

I thanked Mr. Faried Williams for this interview and his hospitality.

My observation and summary:

The Mosque in Joe Slovo Park is in an unique situation as it has so many attendees on Friday for Jum'ah which gives a big boost to the rather less affluent and small Muslim community. Without funding from Egypt and the generous donations from another rich Muslim individual who lives outside the area, no such progress would have been made.

The self driven motivation of the initial Muslim new-comers in this recently developed area is remarkable. The Muslims have been able to develop as a community and have found their place. Their future seems bright and there is a potential for growth in this area. With the new mosque they have certainly something impressive to show to the rest of the community.

It is interesting that the Muslim community has been mostly inward looking and not taken any serious note of the non-Muslims in Phoenix or Joe Slovo Park. Likewise the Christian community has made no impression on the Muslim sub-culture in their immediate neighbourhood.

Manfred Jung 15 Sept. 2004

51 Jum'ah: Traditional Friday gathering around noon time with the khutbah (speech).

8.3.11. Interview with Abdul Hirya

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Abdul Hirya Date: 10 Dec 2004 Place: Phoenix Islamic Society Interviewer: MJ	
1. What is your position / title / function?	I am a Caretaker and Imam. I am from Uganda. (MJ comment: The interviewee is studying at Cape Technicon and is sponsored by the local Muslim community.)	
2. How did you come to be involved in this way?	Studied in Uganda to Matric and Sudan for a one year diploma in Arabic.	
3. How many Muslims live in this community?	55 Families	
4. How many Muslims participate in this Mosque/Jammat/Prayer room/organisation?	800+ at Friday Jumaah The Mosque was built for Friday Jumaah especially for the workers from the surrounding industrial places.	
5. What are the main challenges facing the Muslim community in this suburb?	There are no problems that I like to mention. (MJ comment: The interviewee was very reluctant to say anything about the relationships in the local situation. He is a relatively new-comer to South Africa [+2 years]. In light of the problems of violence between South African Blacks and foreign Africans in the area this is understandable.)	
6. Which Muslim groupings exist in this suburb?	Suni, others I don't know.	
7. When did these Muslim groupings start in this suburb?	1996 when the suburb started	
8. Which are the active Muslim groupings?	--	
9. What activities does the Muslim community engage in on weekly basis?	A group of us do Diker. We do this about once a Month. Otherwise we have Jumaah, Sundays we go sometimes door to door to visit people.	
10. In what way do you conduct Da'wah in this community.	Sundays we do door to door, but mostly in Phoenix not in the Joe Slovo section.	
11. Are there any Da'wah related activities from the Muslim community that you are aware of? If so which?	No.	
12. What are you planning in terms of Da'wah?	Perhaps we will have a plan in 3 months	
13. What is your estimate how many Christian live in this community?	2000 +	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Abdul Hirya Date: 10 Dec 2004	
	Place: Phoenix Islamic Society	Interviewer: MJ
14. What interaction exists between you and Christian people in this suburb.	We talk, we help, but we are really separated from the other people in the suburb.	
15. Do you have Christian friends in this suburb? If so how many?	I have many, about 15 friends.	
16. How many Christian churches are in the suburb?	Universal, other church at shopping centre, Assemblies of God. Pointed out other churches on the map.	
17. What churches are these (names/locations)?	See above.	
18. What activities do the Christians have in this suburb?	They distribute pamphlets, 6 months ago they did a door to door. The Universal Church did this.	
19. Which Church seems to you the most active?	Universal Church.	
20. Are there issues on which Muslims and Christians work together jointly?	We help each other watching for our security. When I leave a window open the Christian neighbour will let me know.	
21. Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims should work together jointly?	We should have friendships and talks and know one another.	
22. Are there conversions to Islam in this suburb? (If so follow on with questions 23 – 26)	Yes.	
23. How many conversions to Islam do you know about in the last 6 months?	In the last two years there were 4 people.	
24. What is the religious background of the people who converted?	They were of Christian background.	
25. Why in your opinion do people convert to Islam?	The love among Muslims attracts. Also how Muslims behave is seen and attracts people.	
26. What do you see as obstacles for a conversion to Islam?	Islam is seen as a coloured religion this is a perception among the people. We don't drink and don't smoke. That is a hindrance for some.	
27. Are you aware of any conversions from Islam to Christianity? (if so follow on with questions (28- 29)	No.	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Abdul Hirya Date: 10 Dec 2004 Place: Phoenix Islamic Society Interviewer: MJ
28.How many conversions to Christianity do you know occurred in the last 6 months?	--
29.Why in your opinion do people convert to Christianity from Islam?	There are some who perhaps drink and then they do not come to prayer any longer.
30.Is there anything that you wish to express at the end of this interview? Anything that you would like to bring to my attention that might be important for this study?	God has given us a choice. Everyone must meet his creator. Islam will be the easiest way to meet with the creator.

Observations: Abdul Hirya is a young Ugandan Muslim who left Uganda and came to South Africa to study. He was surprisingly very well informed of the Christian situation in the suburb. Nevertheless he avoided to speaking about the tensions that exist in the community. He is zealous about Islam and did not miss the opportunity to advocate Islam during the interview.

8.4. Observation notes

8.4.1. List of Observation notes

Page No	Observation Notes
106	Telephone conversation with Ismail Gqamane
107	Notes from visit to Fatima and Muhammad Ali Ntantala
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113	Visit to Pastor Miranda Tandisa

8.4.2. Notes from telephone conversation with Ismael Gqamane

on 30 Dec 2004, Tel 637-0668, Cell 082-500-4447

Information on the Masakhane Muslim Community

There was an initiative in Guguletu on Muhammad Ali's property (Street 148/22). A room was added in the front for prayers and holding Madrassa. According to Ismael Gqamane the owner would like to turn the room into a shop. Ismael Gqamane is trying to keep it for a sewing project.

Sulayman Bhayat is said to have adopted a son of Ahmed Quamani [Haron 1992 p 8]. The spelling is wrong, it is Ahmed Gqamane, who is the father of Ismael Gqamane and Cassim Gqamane. Cassim Gqamane operated as the Amir of the Masakhane Muslim Community.

The Admin offices mentioned in Masakhane 2002 at NY1 were only rented and have been closed since the establishment of the Islamic Information Centre at NY6.

The fund-raising luncheon in Khayelitsha was successful in raising funds which were used to pay Madrassa teachers in 5 places and assistance was given with school fees.

According to Ismael Gqamane, the successful women's collective in Khayelitsha at site B does not exist any longer.

After a very successful beginning the MMC is not very active at present due to the fact that a number of active people have left, such as Igbal Cassim, Kareena Quick (focusing on other projects).

Presently Jamil Kobus and Ismael Gqamane are the active members.
3 Students are sponsored for studies in Durban and 3 in Johannesburg.

8.4.3. Notes from visit to Fatima and Muhammad Ali Ntantala

3 Jan 2005

Answers came from both Fatima and Muhammad

We live here for more than 15 years. My husband was a Roman Catholic before he embraced Islam. I belonged to the Church of Zion. He embraced Islam before me about 1985 and I accepted Islam in 1989.

Concerning the Madrassa:

The Islamic Da'wah Movement had delivered some bricks and sand but not enough to build.

The building was paid for by Ibrahim Omar and his brother Suleyman Omar. The Omar brothers live in 74 College Road in Rylands Tel 021-637-0916 ⁵²

The place was built in 1984 or 1985.

It served as a Madrassa for up to 21 children.

Since the Islamic Information Centre was opened the Madrassa has moved there. Now Ismail Gqamane would like to open a sewing project. But Masakane has no money and can pay no rent. The sewing project does not give us any funds. A Muslim man has given us some money as a first rent to open a shop. This will give us at least some profit.

Some of the children who attended Madrassa have left Islam because of the influence of other youth. They don't have Islamic families. Even Aisha, our own daughter, does not follow Islam any longer.

8.4.4. Observations Guguletu Al-Jihad Center

9 Dec 2004

Al-Jihad Centre is owned by the Al-Jihad Organisation of South Africa. They accommodate on their premises the Sivuyile Nurdin Pre-school. The staff of the preschool does not consist of Muslims, but of people from the community.

⁵² A quick phone call confirmed that it was indeed a number of people who donated to the establishment of the Madrassa. Ibrahim Omar indeed raised the funds. The Islamic Da'wah Movement donated windows and the door.

The al-Jihad centre hosts a prayer room, living quarters for Ahmad Stulweni (who is functioning as an Imam) and the Sivuyile Nurdin pre-school.

The property the centre is build upon is on a 99 year lease from the City Council. This is also the reason why they do not consider it a Mosque. A Mosque must be owned by the Muslim community. Yusuf, the secretary of Al-Jihad, says this protects them at the same time from the MJC who could otherwise claim ownership of the Mosque.

8.4.5. Observation of visit at Zawiya Mosque in Guguletu on Friday 17 September 2004

After joining the Friday Jum'ah at Al-Jihad centre in Guguletu I was on my way home when I saw a young Black Muslim man all dressed up in white garb. I did not recognise him as an attendee of Al Jihad Centre. So I stopped and introduced myself. He told me his name is Ibrahim. I then asked if he attended Jum'ah in Guguletu today. This he confirmed and told me that he attended at the Zawiya Mosque. He offered to show me the way, which I gladly accepted.

The Zawiya Mosque was established in 2002. It is a Sufi Mosque of the Tijania Brotherhood following the teachings of Alhassan Ali Cisse. Currently a Nigerian is the Imam at the place. His name is Imam Ashraf.

I met Ismail Gqamane there who was speaking to an Algerian Muslim Sheik. I was allowed to join the conversation. Ismail translated from English to Arabic with ease.

When the prayer time came I had the privilege to observe and I counted 10 young Muslim men, apart from the Imam leading the prayer. There were also 3 young Muslim ladies in attendance who prayed at the back.

The Zawiya Mosque has accommodation and a shop on the premises. The concept is not just to have a building for religious purposes, but an economically viable set-up, which is self sustaining and at the same time exemplary, showing vibrant Muslim life.

Notes of observation of visit to Zawiya Mosque on Thursday 9 December 2004.

I came with the intention to conduct an interview with Imam Ashraf. Unfortunately he turned me down, excusing himself as not being in the country long enough. Nevertheless we got chatting on various issues including my studies.

He encouraged me to continue to study about Islam. He invited me to come back after I was finished with my thesis and then discuss more about my findings.

Unfortunately I have very little on the history of this place and who initiated the building of the Mosque.

8.4.6. Notes from visit to the Gqamane Family home

Date 3 Jan 2005

The place is the family home of the late Ahmed Gqamane who died in 1992. He was instrumental in many developments concerning Islam in Guguletu and beyond.

We discussed the developments of the establishment of the Zawiya Masjid in Guguletu. The Gqamanes were hesitant to say much about the Zawiya place as there has been some problem before with someone doing research that caused some trouble in the community.

1996 the practice of Dikr was started by Ashraf Zantsi. Abu Backer visited a few times from Senegal where the founder "Hassan Sisi" comes from.

The Muslims could use the Al-Jihad Centre for their Dikr.

They raised money and in 2002 bought a house that was converted to the Zawiya Mosque.

8.4.7. Observation and notes from visit at Bilal Mosque on 6 Aug 2004

Address: Masjid Said Bilal, 32, 384 Ceceka Road, Makhaza Khayelitsha.

Imam: Abdullah Omar from Tanzania/Dar Es Salam

He came to study in Durban but did not get a study permit to pursue the studies. He came to Cape Town to visit his brother and became the second Imam at the mosque. His phone number is 083-947-3793.

Ismael Ngqoyiyana original and 'senior' Imam

Participants at Jum'ah: 15 including Imam, 1 girl and 3 boys.

Abdullah Omar stated that 150 people belong to the Mosque. The usual Jumah participation is 30-40 people. I have not observed such numbers in the various visits that I had to the mosque. Rather it seems there is a 10-20 person regular Jum'ah attendance.

Origin: Mr Hajji Suleiman Bhayat (Indian) started the mosque and secured some funding for the building from Saudi Arabia. The Mosque was built in 1997. Mr Bhayat belongs to Masjid Ishraq in 4 third Avenue in Grassy Park under Imam Shamin.

Program: Madrassa Mondays to Thursdays 16:00 – 18:00 for Children, On Sundays 11:00 – 14:00 For Adults. Primary school with 120 students.

Problems in Community are: The public think to become a Muslim is a form of rebellion against the African culture and traditions. One becomes a traitor in the eyes of the community, a traitor of the culture, someone who no longer believes in either the ancestors or Christianity. Islam is seen as synonymous with Malay or Indian culture. All this is because the public is ignorant about what Islam is in reality.

We have tried to publish material in Xhosa explaining what Islam is all about.

New Members are won by propagation through visitation in homes. Some come on their own. We use the Bible and Qur'an to convince them that Islam is the better religion. We debate and propagate by showing and proving with examples that Islam is similar to

Christianity.

Similarities: Xhosa has polygamy and Islam, slaughtering of animals when a new baby is born, hospitality

Differences: Worship at graves, asking ancestors for forgiveness, ancestor veneration, consumption of alcohol, smoking of dagga.

Finances: Finances are a problem and we need a sponsor. Some time ago we did get soup and bread for handing out, but no more. This has dried up. Other sponsorships are also dried up.

Abdullah Mulalgulana is the caretaker at the Mosque.

8.4.8. Observation of the Jumah Prayer time at Sala Ghana of Mustadafin

3 Dec 2004 in V section.

Attendance of Jumah: 9 men (6-7) Black rest Coloured plus one lady.

Among the attendees was also a Somali Muslim (Ahmad) who is very zealous and tried to convert me.

The Khuthbah was given by a black Muslim who is still in training. He explained that he had prepared in Xhosa but would do his best to speak in English with so many non Xhosa speakers present. (Note: At least half of the people could not understand Xhosa.)

The Imam Abu Backer from the Mustadafin Foundation did the ceremonial part of the Jum'ah including the Arabic recitals. Abu Backer is a Malawian and only speaks a little Xhosa.

8.4.9. Notes from visit at Mustadafin Foundation

I was privileged to speak with Mr Ibrahim Smith.

The Salat Ghana in Khayelitsha is not a Mosque otherwise it would be wahf⁵³. Thus we would use control over it anyone in the community could do whatever.

The Mustadafin Foundation started to work full time in Khayelitsha from about 1991. Before that it was only sporadic.

We did a lot of pre-school work and adult education as well as feeding schemes. Adult literacy was part of the program.

We got to know mama Ghadija in Site B. We worked with her and her extensive family. Just a couple of months after she passed away we could officially open the Salat Ghana there.

Mustadafin is supporting 12 pre-schools, and conducts feeding schemes. The pre-schools are not Islamic pre-schools.

⁵³ "Waqf is a term which in the language of the law signifies the appropriation or dedication of property to charitable uses and the service of God. The object ... must be of perpetual nature and it cannot be sold or transferred." [Huges 1978]

8.4.10. Observations visit to Makas No 1 and Makas No 2 in Khayelitsha

21 Dec 2004

Location: Makas No 1 is in T section of site B in Khayelitsha, Makas No 2 is in X-section of site B in Khayelitsha.

Makas No 1 was initially a Wendy house type of place for prayer and Islamic teaching. Now the Wendy house has been dismantled and a brick building erected as a private residence. Prayers still take place in the living room.

The lady of the house worked for a Muslim family. She was contacted during a door to door outreach by a certain Yusuf during the Crossroads uprisings in 1986. He helped her, taught about Islam and ultimately connected her with the Da'wah efforts from Al Jamia Mosque in Claremont. Later on this effort was integrated by the Masakhane Muslim Movement (MMM). Suleiman Bhayat was instrumental in erecting the Wendy house.

Makas No 2 was Started by Sheik Ismael Gqamane Imam in Guguletu in 1999. They set up a Wendy house type structure and use this as a Madrassa. During regular school terms they have teaching in the afternoons during the week. Meetings for grown ups take place on Sundays.

Both places are now supervised by the Masakhane Muslim Community.

8.4.11. Visit to Khayelitsha Mosque in Litha Park

We met Mr Adams (Coloured) who owns the surgery next to the Mosque and is the founder and sponsor of the Khayelitsha Mosque. He started the Mosque 13 years ago out of his need for a place of prayer. The Mosque also has a creché for 3 ½ – 5 ½ year olds (pre-school).

Mr Adams estimates the Muslim population at about 280 Muslim families. He added that many are Muslim by name (nominal) not really by inner convictions. Obstacles to a possible conversion (reversion) for people to Islam are the need to adopt the Islamic lifestyle and the need to stop drinking alcohol.

Mr Adams has a relationship with the Catholic Church which he considers the most active and practical church.

The Mosque attracts primarily coloured workers in Khayelitsha only a few black Muslims attend.

8.4.12. Notes on Visit to the Creché in Makhaza on 2 Dec. 2004

The creché was started as a private initiative by a Christian lady. The Muslims of the Mustatafin Foundation came and offered her food for the children. For receiving the food she had to be willing that a sign of the Mustatafin Foundation would be put up. She still owns the property.

She has received training on how to run a creché from the Mustatafin Foundation. She has been repeatedly invited to go to the Mosque (Bilal).

She says she is not a Muslim but she goes to Mosque when they invite her. She is not teaching anything about Islam to the children in her care. There were no signs of any Islamic influence in the creché.

She claims there are at least another five such crechés like hers that received support and the same privileges from the Mustatafin Foundation.

Imam Abu Backer from the Mustatafin Foundation said they did this, not to promote Islam, but to help regardless of religion and creed.

There is also a very new CocaCola sign with the name of the creché. When we visited there were 5 Children at 15:30.

8.4.13. Notes of meeting Dr. Hackim Quick, Muslim Judicial Council

Monday 6 Sept 2004

Dr Hakim Quick is head of the Outreach (Da'wah) department of the Muslim Judicial Council.

History of Da'wah in black townships:

Langa: Imam Dawood Lobi used his house and built a Mosque. He died in 2002 and his children continue the Da'wah work. The work in Langa became a Lobi family affair but is not kept up well.

Guguletu: Imam Ismael Gqamane works at the Islamic Information centre. His father was a first generation Muslim. There is also the Al-Jihad centre, a Shi'a place.

Khayelitsha:

Bilal Mosque initiated by Suleiman Bhayat an Indian Business man.

Khayelitsha Mosque started by Dr Adams, an Indian medical doctor.

Muslim businessmen have a negative effect on Da'wah. (MJ comment: Exploitation of labourers, advantageous pricing, monopolising and abusing the market are some of the reasons)

Indirect Da'wah through Somalians, Malawians, Nigerians, Tanzanians. Da'wah through marriage.

No conscious effort is made by the Senegalese Muslims. They are very tribalistic thus stay only with themselves.

Muslims begin to realize that development is the way to go for Da'wah, especially in times of crisis (i.e. Rwanda)

We have no numbers of converts, but there is a substantial number of conversions. The question is not about conversion, but about the quality of these conversions.

Masakhane Muslim Community is gathering leadership in Black townships for training and Da'wah.

Activities include: Workshops, training, outreaches. They set up tents and give talks, distribute food and interact. This is done during Eid. This is a way of getting to know them.

People are always coming into Mosque to enquire about Islam. An African identity for

Islam is missing. Christianity has already established a Christian African identity.

Muslim Judicial Council (MJC) literature has no reports on the Dawah. There is a newsletter of Masakhane Muslim Community. They have produced three issues so far. Shaik Ismael Gqamane would know more.

Ahmed Deedat had an influence on Muslims in terms of changing their attitude and their self-awareness. Muslims have been in decline but now that is no longer the case.

Tabligy Jamat has little effect. They are too narrow minded to follow. Door of Ijtihad (legal reasoning in Islam) is closed for them.

8.4.14. Notes from visit with Rev Lungile Tetyana (Shepherd since 1983)

Contact details:

Phone 364-7430, Cell 073-507-4415

He is a pastor of a church (Upper Hall) that meets in a school, in the H section of Khayelitsha..

Comments made during the visit in our free discussion about Islam.

The Muslims preach the message of the food parcel. They teach the Qur'an. The Government is supposed to be for the Blacks, but the Government favours the Muslims. Muslims have it easier to get a plot. Muslims want their own cemetery and they get it because they have money.

The church must do something about Islam. The church must not be afraid of Islam.

8.4.15. Notes from visit with Miranda Tandisa in Makhaza

Miranda Tandisa is part of the pastoral team of Theo Mayekiso of the "New Generation Church"

They have a Prayer Project in 5 groups of topics:

- God
- Families (how to build families)
- Culture
- Unchurched people
- Church

Contact details:

Theo Mayekiso 082-462-8841

Miranda Tandisa 072-400-5118

Miranda only knew of one Muslim place the Bilal Mosque in Makhaza.

On the question "What can the Church do about Islam?" she answered:

1. Church people should comment with love.
2. We need to get to know the Muslim people and build relationships, prepare ourselves and care.

She is keen to get some training for the young people that are part of their church.

8.5. Introductory remarks to interviews with Christians

8.5.1. List of interviews conducted with Christians

PageNo	Interview	Place	Suburb
115	Interview with Mzwabantu Magadla	Anglican Church	Guguletu
117	Hamilton Mabeta	AFM	Guguletu
120	Msebenzi Makhasi	AOG Greenpoint	Khayelitsha
122	Landile Beyile	Africa for Christ Ministries	Khayelitsha
125	Khaya Maseko	Revival Ministries	Khayelitsha
128	Zamile Femele	Church of England in SA	Khayelitsha
131	Sindile Dyasi	AOG Phoenix	Phoenix
134	Interview with Lilian Dikana	Educare Phoenix	Phoenix

8.5.2. Accuracy of recording

At most of these interviews and meetings Gloria Cube, my research assistant was present. Since Gloria is also a postgraduate student of theology we did discuss the statements in the interviews, thus conducting peer reviews. Gloria also read through all transcripts of the interviews and notes and confirmed their accuracy of recording.

8.5.3. Introductory comments to Questionnaires

The following introductory comment were printed and used with conducting of each Questionnaire:

Questionnaire for Interviews with Key Christian Leaders

Introduction:

The questionnaire is used in a face-to-face interview situation. The target people are Christian leaders in the various suburbs.

Proper introduction will be conducted and information shared about the purpose of the interview. The intention is that a personal relationship be established, a relationship that will outlast the interview and the research project. Thus the interviewee will be treated with dignity and respect.

The questions below form a grid for the interview, but there has to be flexibility to allow the interviewee and the interviewer to deviate from the points listed as the need arises.

Answers will be recorded as precisely as possible.

8.6. Interviews with Christian leaders

8.6.1. Interview with Mzwabantu Magadla

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Mzwabantu Magadla	Date 29 Nov 2004
	Place: Guguletu Anglican Church Cr. of Ny2/Ny3	Interviewer: MJ
1. What is your position / title / function	Secretary of the Anglican Church in Guguletu	
2. How did you come to be involved in this way?	Born here, I was appointed because I am an Anglican (Salaried position)	
3. How many Christians live in this community?	Don't know	
4. How many Christians are members of your church/organisation?	800 Families, 350 Families come to church on Sunday	
5. What other Christian churches and organisations exist in this suburb?	Many, I don't know how many. There is a Fraternal. The Arch-deacon Mpambai is part of the Fraternal.	
6. When did these churches / organisations start in this suburb?	--	
7. Which of these churches / organisations do you consider most active?	Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian, Zionist, Apostles	
8. What are the main challenges facing the Christian community in this suburb? -	In this order of priority: 1 = highest priority 3 lowest. 1 HIV/AIDS 2 Poverty together with unemployment 3 Introduction of Islam in the community	
9. What activities does your church engage in, in this suburb?	Project orphanage, soup-kitchens, Aids Support Group, Evangelism over Easter	
10. What kinds of outreach or evangelism related activities does your church/organisation undertake in this suburb?	Evangelism over Easter in a certain style. The style is to have meetings during Lent and to do some open airs.	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Mzwabantu Magadla Place: Guguletu Anglican Church Cr. of Ny2/Ny3	Date 29 Nov 2004 Interviewer: MJ
11.How many Muslims would you estimate live in this suburb?	It is growing a little bit but I don't know figures. There is only one Muslim Building in NY6 (MJ comment: It is the Islamic Information Centre of Ismael Gqamane)	
12.What interaction exists between Christian people and Muslims in this suburb?	A lot of interaction exists. But really I don't know. People (Christians) are resistant to Muslims.	
13.Which Islamic places of worship are there in this suburb?	See 11 above.	
14.Which of these do you think are the most active?	I have no idea what activities they have.	
15.What contact do you have to Muslim people?	In the past I had contact at work (my manager). Now during my studies at UCT. (MJ comment: He had no contacts to Muslims in Guguletu)	
16.Do you have Muslim friends in this suburb? If so how many?	I used to have relations but not friends.	
17.What activities do the Muslims engage in, in this suburb?	Celebrate Eid and Qurban and do their prayers. Social Activities a bit, but I don't know of any. What they do is conditional.	
18.Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims work together jointly?	Not that I know of.	
19.Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims should work together jointly?	Basically we are South Africans, so we should. HIV/Aids, poverty, moral regeneration.	
20.Are there conversions to Islam in this suburb? (If so follow on with questions 21 – 24)	There is a lot of that, but I don't know how many.	
21.How many conversions to Islam do you know were there in the last 6 month?	I'm not close enough to know that.	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Mzwabantu Magadla Place: Guguletu Anglican Church Cr. of Ny2/Ny3	Date 29 Nov 2004 Interviewer: MJ
22. What is the religious background of the people who converted?	Christian. No African traditionalists.	
23. Why in your opinion do people convert to Islam?	Poverty, they give food, then you get converted. Most people are in squatter camps.	
24. What do you see as obstacles for a conversion to Islam?	Resistance from people and community. What kind of resistance? Negative attitude from others because Islam is something new.	
25. Are you aware of any conversions from Islam to Christianity? (if so follow on with questions (26- 27))	No, that does not happen here.	
26. How many conversions to Christianity do you know occurred in the last 6 months?	(MJ comment: not asked, see 25 above)	
27. Why in your opinion do people convert to Christianity from Islam?	Because of marriage (MJ comment: asked for verification)	
28. Is there anything that you wish to express at the end of this interview? Anything that you would like to bring to my attention that might be important for this study?	We as Christians, we are willing to assist and to help. Muslims, help to get conversions. This is my perception.	

8.6.2. Interview with Hamilton Mabeta

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Hamilton Mabeta Place: AFM in Guguletu	Date: 21 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
1. What is your position / title / function?	Pastor	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Hamilton Mabeta Place: AFM in Guguletu	Date: 21 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
2. How did you come to be involved in this way?	I was born in Guguletu. I was one of the young people in the church when God called me in 1970. I studied in Thembelani College in Umtata. After graduation I became pastor here.	
3. How many Christians live in this community?	56% Christian 15% Muslims 5% African Traditional Religion (MJ comment: He seemed to make the percentages up not really having thought about it hence they don't total up 100%)	
4. How many Christians are members of your church/organisation?	850 people.	
5. What other Christian churches and organisations exist in this suburb?	Roman Catholic, Wesleyan, Assemblies of God, Zion, Baptist.	
6. When did these churches/organisations start in this suburb?	Long time ago.	
7. Which of these churches/organisations do you consider most active?	Wesleyan, Baptist, AFM, even Zion are active.	
8. What are the main challenges facing the Christian community in this suburb?	Crime, hijacking.	
9. What activities does your church engage in, in this suburb?	Music program, soccer, sports, services, welfare services, AIDS program	
10. What kinds of outreach or evangelism related activities does your church/organisation undertake in this suburb?	We visit door to door, do open airs, engage in tent campaigns.	
11. How many Muslims would you estimate live in this suburb?	100 perhaps. (MJ comment: This would never make 15% of the population see question 3).	
12. What interaction exists between Christian people and Muslims in this suburb?	There are contacts. The Muslims give something when there is a crisis.	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Hamilton Mabeta Place: AFM in Guguletu	Date: 21 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
13. Which Islamic places of worship are there in this suburb?	NY6 place (Islamic Information Centre).	
14. Which of these do you think are the most active?	--	
15. What contact do you have to Muslim people?	No contact.	
16. Do you have Muslim friends in this suburb? If so how many?	One, I just know him we grew up together. He is of a Muslim family.	
17. What activities do the Muslims engage in, in this suburb?	I don't know.	
18. Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims work together jointly?	No.	
19. Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims should work together jointly?	No they got a different faith.	
20. Are there conversions to Islam in this suburb? (If so follow on with questions 21 – 24)	No, I don't know.	
21. How many conversions to Islam do you know were there in the last 6 month?	--	
22. What is the religious background of the people who converted?	--	
23. Why in your opinion do people convert to Islam?	Because of lack of work they go to Muslims and get work. Businessmen are Muslim so they get to work for them and they must join the prayer, thus they join Islam.	
24. What do you see as obstacles for a conversion to Islam?	It is accepted in the community	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Hamilton Mabeta Place: AFM in Guguletu	Date: 21 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
25. Are you aware of any conversions from Islam to Christianity? (if so follow on with questions (26- 27))	Not in Guguletu	
26. How many conversions to Christianity do you know occurred in the last 6 months?	--	
27. Why in your opinion do people convert to Christianity from Islam?	We get Bible they have the Qur'an. Christian believe Christ is God. Muslims don't. People receive a revelation from God who Jesus is	
28. Is there anything that you wish to express at the end of this interview? Anything that you would like to bring to my attention that might be important for this study?	A Muslim has passion. When there is a crisis they know how to give. They are Business men and have to give.	

8.6.3. Interview with Msebenzi Makhasi

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Msebenzi Makhasi Place: Assemblies of God Khayelitsha	Date: 1 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
1. What is your position / title / function?	Senior Pastor	
2. How did you come to be involved in this way?	I had a call and started, then I took some courses afterwards.	
3. How many Christians live in this community?	70% are Christian, 30% Sangomas, Z.C.C, ATR	
4. How many Christians are members of your church/organisation?	About 800	
5. What other Christian churches and organisations exist in this suburb?	Faith Mission, Baptist, Full gospel, Assemblies of God, Roman Catholic, Methodist, Universal, Church without walls.	
6. When did these churches/organisations start in this suburb?	From the beginning of Khayelitsha	
7. Which of these churches/organisations do you consider most active?	Roman Catholic, Methodist/Wesleyan, Full Gospel, Faith Ministries	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Msebenzi Makhasi Place: Assemblies of God Khayelitsha	Date: 1 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
8. What are the main challenges facing the Christian community in this suburb?	Shebeen houses (houses where alcohol is available for purchase and consumption), cult churches (sangomas and ATR), crime	
9. What activities does your church engage in, in this suburb?	We used to preach on the street and taxi ranks. Young people put up tents and make revivals. Tent ministry. We are planning for a feeding scheme, AIDS program on Sundays where we invite Nurses for an awareness program.	
10.What kinds of outreach or evangelism related activities does your church/organisation undertake in this suburb?	See above.	
11.How many Muslims would you estimate live in this suburb?	1000.	
12.What interaction exists between Christian people and Muslims in this suburb?	No interaction exists. There is a gap, Why? Most of the time they the Muslims, don't come so they do not have contact.	
13.Which Islamic places of worship are there in this suburb?	Only one next to Metropolitan place. (Khayelitsha Mosque in Litha Park) (MJ comment: The Green Point Masjid is about 250 meters around the corner of the church building and it is not known to the pastor.)	
14.Which of these do you think are the most active?	--	
15.What contact do you have to Muslim people?	No contact.	
16.Do you have Muslim friends in this suburb? If so how many?	No.	
17.What activities do the Muslims engage in, in this suburb?	I don't know and we don't care	
18.Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims work together jointly?	I don't think so. We differ in believing and we use a different Bible.	
19.Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims should work together jointly?	No.	
20.Are there conversions to Islam in this suburb? (If so follow on with questions 21 – 24)	Yes.	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Msebenzi Makhasi Place: Assemblies of God Khayelitsha	Date: 1 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
21.How many conversions to Islam do you know where there in the last 6 month?	I know of three.	
22.What is the religious background of the people who converted?	Non religious people.	
23.Why in your opinion do people convert to Islam?	I don't know how they convert. They do a programe and give them something.	
24.What do you see as obstacles for a conversion to Islam?	I dont think there is anything that keeps people away from Islam. People make their own decisions.	
25.Are you aware of any conversions from Islam to Christianity? (if so follow on with questions (26- 27)	No.	
26.How many conversions to Christianity do you know occurred in the last 6 months?		
27.Why in your opinion do people convert to Christianity from Islam?		
28.Is there anything that you wish to express at the end of this interview? Anything that you would like to bring to my attention that might be important for this study?	No.	

Observations: The pastor is a very alert man and made a very good impression. His english was excellent. Yet he has done next to nothing about the Muslims in the suburb. Not even the mosque around the corner from his Church.

8.6.4. Interview with Landile Beyile

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Landile Beyile Place: Africa for Christ Ministry Church	Date: 7 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
1. What is your position / title / function?	Senior pastor.	
2. How did you come to be involved in this way?	I was serving in another church and they elected me as a pastor. I started this new Ministry and by default became their pastor.	
3. How many Christians live in this community?	I do not know, I have not done a review.	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Landile Beyile Place: Africa for Christ Ministry Church	Date: 7 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
4. How many Christians are members of your church/organisation?	30 people.	
5. What other Christian churches and organisations exist in this suburb?	So many, in many schools you find churches.	
6. When did these churches/organisations start in this suburb?	Some are standard Churches who have a long history. Others are new and just started.	
7. Which of these churches/organisations do you consider most active?	The churches are not interested in the communities. Pastors are the ones who are trying to benefit from their church members. Activity is not a measurement by anything, they just want to get offering. They are not interested in the people.	
8. What are the main challenges facing the Christian community in this suburb?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pastors need Bible school training so they can teach sound doctrine. Some repeat sermons they hear on the radio. 2. People are not taught to make a difference themselves they wait for donations from outside. 3. Administration is poor. 4. The church should take the responsibility for helping those in need because of i.e. flooding, but it is not happening. 	
9. What activities does your church engage in, in this suburb?	The church's main activity is to bury the people. They are only helping spiritually not practically.	
10. What kinds of outreach or evangelism related activities does your church/organisation undertake in this suburb?	We are going to talk to people door to door. Locally we have done something and will target families.	
11. How many Muslims would you estimate live in this suburb?	Less than 100	
12. What interaction exists between Christian people and Muslims in this suburb?	I don't know exactly	
13. Which Islamic places of worship are there in this suburb?	Mosque in Makhasa (Billal) and Mosque next to metropolitan (Litha Park Mosque).	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Landile Beyile Place: Africa for Christ Ministry Church	Date: 7 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
14. Which of these do you think are the most active?	Makhasa Mosque. They have a school there. They hand out food every Friday and in times of floods they help with blankets.	
15. What contact do you have to Muslim people?	None.	
16. Do you have Muslim friends in this suburb? If so how many?	No.	
17. What activities do the Muslims engage in, in this suburb?	Have a school. Help people in need (flooding) They aim to make people Muslim.	
18. Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims work together jointly?	I don't know, but I heard of some meetings with Churches. Muslims are there as well the government is organizing that.	
19. Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims should work together jointly?	Yes, the Christians could join to help the people, disaster relief.	
20. Are there conversions to Islam in this suburb? (If so follow on with questions 21 – 24)	Yes.	
21. How many conversions to Islam do you know where there in the last 6 month?	In Madalabos ⁵⁴ people became Muslims.	
22. What is the religious background of the people who converted?	Some were Christians, but their churches don't play a role to them. It is more "Muslims help me therefore I become a Muslim."	
23. Why in your opinion do people convert to Islam?	For what they get. Some Christians are Christians because they need a burial some time in the future.	
24. What do you see as obstacles for a conversion to Islam?	If someone is born again it would mean giving up Jesus. There would be no objection from the community.	
25. Are you aware of any conversions from Islam to Christianity? (if so follow on with questions (26- 27)	No, Islam is new in Khayelitsha	

⁵⁴ A poor area in Khayelitsha

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Landile Beyile Place: Africa for Christ Ministry Church	Date: 7 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
26. How many conversions to Christianity do you know occurred in the last 6 months?	--	
27. Why in your opinion do people convert to Christianity from Islam?	--	
28. Is there anything that you wish to express at the end of this interview? Anything that you would like to bring to my attention that might be important for this study?	No Christians can help by all means. If Christians could support the needy families then they would be accepted more.	

Observations: Note question 9. The affect of HIV/AIDS is impacting society. Note Question 14 The Muslims do not hand out food on Fridays at the Bilal mosque only during Ramadan or festivities (Eid, Qurban).

8.6.5. Interview with Khaya Maseko

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Khaya Maseko Place: Revival Ministries	Date: 1 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
1. What is your position / title / function?	Senior Pastor.	
2. How did you come to be involved in this way?	Founder of the Church.	
3. How many Christians live in this community?	70% Christianity. 30% African Traditional Religion.	
4. How many Christians are members of your church/organisation?	+ - 3000.	
5. What other Christian churches and organisations exist in this suburb?	Too many to name.	
6. When did these churches/organisations start in this suburb?	Our Church started 2001 June. The others I don't know	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Khaya Maseko	Date: 1 Dec 2004
	Place: Revival Ministries	Interviewer: MJ
7. Which of these churches/ organisations do you consider most active?	Salvation, Universal.	
8. What are the main challenges facing the Christian community in this suburb?	Family problems, unemployment, HIV/AIDS	
9. What activities does your church engage in, in this suburb?	5 Services a day Msizi, HIV/AIDS Old people ministry Support Groups Feeding scheme Phakamisanani = Entrepreneurial program	
10. What kinds of outreach or evangelism related activities does your church/organisation undertake in this suburb?	We use flyers which we give out to invite people to the Church.	
11. How many Muslims would you estimate live in this suburb?	Less than 0% but I do see a few.	
12. What interaction exists between Christian people and Muslims in this suburb?	No we don't communicate. They are confined to themselves.	
13. Which Islamic places of worship are there in this suburb?	Two, one in Makasa (Bilal) and one in Litha Park.	
14. Which of these do you think are the most active?	They are not active.	
15. What contact do you have to Muslim people?	None.	
16. Do you have Muslim friends in this suburb? If so how many?	No.	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Khaya Maseko Place: Revival Ministries	Date: 1 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
17. What activities do the Muslims engage in, in this suburb?	Feeding and clothing. They help individuals to start and then overtake people.	
18. Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims work together jointly?	No, we are different. What they do is not genuine they just make converts.	
19. Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims should work together jointly?	No.	
20. Are there conversions to Islam in this suburb? (If so follow on with questions 21 – 24)	Not that I am aware of.	
21. How many conversions to Islam do you know where there in the last 6 month?	--	
22. What is the religious background of the people who converted?	--	
23. Why in your opinion do people convert to Islam?	People are hungry, live in poverty the soup does it.	
24. What do you see as obstacles for a conversion to Islam?	I see no problems. If my son would convert I would sit him down and try to talk him out of it, but if he wants to believe it is his belief.	
25. Are you aware of any conversions from Islam to Christianity? (if so follow on with questions (26- 27)	Many 12 – 15, we got them in our church.	
26. How many conversions to Christianity do you know occurred in the last 6 months?	See above, perhaps there are even more than we got.	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Khaya Maseko Place: Revival Ministries	Date: 1 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
27. Why in your opinion do people convert to Christianity from Islam?	They find the truth in life	
28. Is there anything that you wish to express at the end of this interview? Anything that you would like to bring to my attention that might be important for this study?	We have no problems with Muslims. The problem I have is their feeding is not care, it is luring people into Islam.	

Observations: This Church is not seen as an evangelical church, but it has a tremendous following. They are planning a R1.8 million building for their site. Plans have already submitted to the Council.

8.6.6. Interview with Zamile Femele

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Zamile Femele Place: Church of England in SA Khay. V Section	Date: 7 Dez 2004 Interviewer: MJ
1. What is your position / title / function?	Ordained as a Deacon in CESA (Church of England in South Africa)	
2. How did you come to be involved in this way?	When I became a Christian I had a calling. Went with YWAM to do 6 Months outreach. Then studied at George Witfield College in CT. I was involved in this local church while studying.	
3. How many Christians live in this community?	Our people are very religious. Some go to Evangelical and others to Mainline Churches. Not many are committed to Christ. Perhaps only 40% - 35% are real Christians	
4. How many Christians relate to your church/organisation?	12 people on Sundays. 8 are committed members. The Church was started long ago, but had a bad history. (Originally Lora Hass project from St. James.)	
5. What other Christian churches and organisations exist in this suburb?	Assemblies of God, Faith Mission, Baptist, Christian Ministries, too many.	
6. When did these churches/organisations start in this suburb?	--	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Zamile Femele	Date: 7 Dez 2004
	Place: Church of England in SA Khay. V Section	Interviewer: MJ
7. Which of these churches/organisations do you consider most active?	The Universal Church, they are going out to do door to door The Jehovah's Witnesses also go from door to door	
8. What are the main challenges facing the Christian community in this suburb?	Unemployment, poverty, Non Evangelical Churches offer help in materialistic ways or even promises for wealth. We can't follow that. Syncretism mixing Ancestor worship with Christianity. The problem is that people try to appease the ancestors.	
9. What activities does your church engage in, in this suburb?	Bible study on Mondays, Youth on Fridays, we are limited (number of people).	
10. What kinds of outreach or evangelism related activities does your church/organisation undertake in this suburb?	We are not involved in planned or organized outreach. For next year we plan to do something. This year we worked with OM door to door on some Sundays.	
11. How many Muslims would you estimate live in this suburb?	People go to Mosque because of the good they get like aid, food etc. But people are not really Muslim. 40% real 60% unreal Muslims about 80-100 in total.	
12. What interaction exists between Christian people and Muslims in this suburb?	No division to Muslims, we talk to them and do business with them. There is no hostility.	
13. Which Islamic places of worship are there in this suburb?	V section, Makhaza, Lita Park.	
14. Which of these do you think are the most active?	Makhazar because it is a big place.	
15. What contact do you have to Muslim people?	None.	
16. Do you have Muslim friends in this suburb? If so how many?	No, not yet.	
17. What activities do the Muslims engage in, in this suburb?	Services. I don't know really.	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Zamile Femele Place: Church of England in SA Khay. V Section	Date: 7 Dez 2004 Interviewer: MJ
18.Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims work together jointly?	Nothing.	
19.Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims should work together jointly?	Crime, drugs, community building approaches.	
20.Are there conversions to Islam in this suburb? (If so follow on with questions 21 – 24)	Yes.	
21.How many conversions to Islam do you know where there in the last 6 month?	Don't know any. One this year.	
22.What is the religious background of the people who converted?	Don't know. Christians don't count because the ones who convert were not committed Christians.	
23.Why in your opinion do people convert to Islam?	Muslim promise material benefits.	
24.What do you see as obstacles for a conversion to Islam?	Islam is something new to people. As a Muslim one would feel isolated from the people. People think Islam is strange.	
25.Are you aware of any conversions from Islam to Christianity? (if so follow on with questions (26- 27)	No	
26.How many conversions to Christianity do you know occurred in the last 6 months?	--	
27.Why in your opinion do people convert to Christianity from Islam?	--	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Zamile Femele Place: Church of England in SA Khay. V Section	Date: 7 Dez 2004 Interviewer: MJ
28.Is there anything that you wish to express at the end of this interview? Anything that you would like to bring to my attention that might be important for this study?	No	

Observations: The Church suffered a tremendous setback over a property issue. The founders of the church where white people not listening to the locals in the beginning about securing the ownership of the property.

8.6.7. Interview with Sindile Dyasi

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Sindile Dyasi Place: Assemblies of God Joe Slovo	Date: 21 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
1. What is your position / title / function?	Senior pastor	
2. How did you come to be involved in this way?	I started as an Evangelist in the AOG movement. There is an umbrella body called Back to God. The Mission is to plant churches especially in Black communities. From 1996 - 1999 I was appointed as a probational pastor in the Eastern Cape for one church. Then in 2000 I came to Cape Town to study at Cape Theological Seminary (CTS) for four years. I graduated 2003. During the time at CTS I was involved with the church here in Joe Slovo. I became pastor in 2004.	
3. How many Christians live in this community?	Majority of people are part of the mainline churches 60% and more are Christians 25% are belonging to African Traditional Religion 5% belong to Islam	
4. How many Christians are members of your church/organisation?	120 people	
5. What other Christian churches and organisations exist in this suburb?	Mainline churches: Catholics, Protestants, Methodist, Anglican, Presbyterian Pentecostal type of Churches: AOG, Apostolic Faith Mission (very few) Full Gospel Church.	
6. When did these churches/organisations start in this suburb?	1996 when the suburb started	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Sindile Dyasi Place: Assemblies of God Joe Slovo	Date: 21 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
7. Which of these churches/organisations do you consider most active?	AOG then Liwa Laphakade (Living Rock) who meet in community facilities.	
8. What are the main challenges facing the Christian community in this suburb?	The church is supposed to serve the community but the churches don't get involved. Growth of Islam. Christians are not active in Evangelism.	
9. What activities does your church engage in, in this suburb?	Sunday services, youth Sessions, women's meetings and men's meetings, hospital visitations, open air, creché feeding scheme.	
10. What kinds of outreach or evangelism related activities does your church/organisation undertake in this suburb?	Open air's, hospital visitation, school visitation, preaching in assemblies.	
11. How many Muslims would you estimate live in this suburb?	200.	
12. What interaction exists between Christian people and Muslims in this suburb?	Not yet. We have not interacted in terms of evangelism. I had an interview with the Imam in 2002 for an assignment at the college.	
13. Which Islamic places of worship are there in this suburb?	Mosque in Phoenix.	
14. Which of these do you think are the most active?	--	
15. What contact do you have to Muslim people?	No contact yet. But we are planning.	
16. Do you have Muslim friends in this suburb? If so how many?	Some, the Imam is a contact.	
17. What activities do the Muslims engage in, in this suburb?	They are excellent in recognizing the need of the community. They regard themselves as a religion for the community. They hand out food and clothing.	
18. Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims work together jointly?	No.	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Sindile Dyasi Place: Assemblies of God Joe Slovo	Date: 21 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
19.Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims should work together jointly?	They can in terms of community building.	
20.Are there conversions to Islam in this suburb? (If so follow on with questions 21 – 24)	Yes.	
21.How many conversions to Islam do you know of in the last 6 month?	The Muslim employers try to convert the workers and their kids. The people then start wearing the Muslim attire,and this is how you can recognize them. They are not growing very fast.	
22.What is the religious background of the people who converted?	Mostly Christian and mostly Coloured.	
23.Why in your opinion do people convert to Islam?	Mostly the Muslims give incentives. It is a fact that they provide for physical needs. They promise to meet the physical need and promise employment.	
24.What do you see as obstacles for a conversion to Islam?	If you are part of the black community the Muslim Religion is not seen as part of our heritage. It is a breaking away from family ties. It is against Ubuntu. Burial rites are different from the African beliefs.	
25.Are you aware of any conversions from Islam to Christianity? (if so follow on with questions (26- 27)	No.	
26.How many conversions to Christianity do you know occurred in the last 6 months?	--	
27.Why in your opinion do people convert to Christianity from Islam?	Christianity is the universal religion. There is no other way to Christ the mediator.	
28.Is there anything that you wish to express at the end of this interview? Anything that you would like to bring to my attention that might be important for this study?	Islam is a concern to me. Unless we can go door to door we must persuade them. Otherwise the Muslims take advantage to convert the people.	

Additional comments: The suburb has a great number of foreign Africans from east and west Africa. Two years ago there were killings (South African Blacks killing the foreigners) but now things are fine. The foreign Africans moved in and now hire shacks from us. They do their business, salons, shops. They are very good in technology. They trade and are involved in dress making.

Observations:

The pastor is dynamic and AOG is probably the fastest growing Church in Joe Slovo/Phoenix area.

8.6.8. Interview with Lilian Dikana

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Lilian Dikana Place: Assemblies of God Educare	Date: 10 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
1. What is your position / title / function?	Principal of Educare Center (48 Children)	
2. How did you come to be involved in this way?	I started a Creché in my backyard in the year 2000. Social Services rejected my application and said I needed a proper place for a creché not just a backyard. In 2001 I was able to move into these containers with the creché.	
3. How many Christians live in this community?	I don't know, it is a lot.	
4. How many Christians are members of your church/organisation?	500 belong to the Assemblies of God.	
5. What other Christian churches and organisations exist in this suburb?	Wesleyan? Methodist since 1996 Zionist-1996, only meet in houses since 1996 Baptist 1996 (place unknown perhaps in the school) Presbyterian 1996 (place unknown) Assemblies of God 1996 but built a church building recently Universal Church of God 2001 All people and churches came from Kukutown which was a informal settlement nearby. The Government provided housing in Joe Slovo and Phoenix started in 1996 thus the Churches also moved here.	
6. When did these churches/organisations start in this suburb?	See above.	
7. Which of these churches/organisations do you consider most active?	Assemblies of God because of soup kitchen and clothing projects	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Lilian Dikana	Date: 10 Dec 2004
	Place: Assemblies of God Educare	Interviewer: MJ
8. What are the main challenges facing the Christian community in this suburb?	Shebeens, corruption and crime. A lot of people from other countries are here. They have even killed people here in 2002. They burned their houses with people inside. They are Kwere-kwere/Kwiri-kwiri (supposed to refer to the sound of the language that local people do not understand).	
9. What activities does your church engage in, in this suburb?	Educare, clinic for tuberculosis support, morning and evening service every day (morning service at 05:00. Sunday services, Bible study, Sunday School.	
10.What kinds of outreach or evangelism related activities does your church/organisation undertake in this suburb?	Sometimes we use a tent for evangelism. We have open-air 3 times a week. We are planning to have a vegetable garden project and a crafts project doing beads.	
11.How many Muslims would you estimate live in this suburb?	Don't know.	
12.What interaction exists between Christian people and Muslims in this suburb?	No interaction now, perhaps in the future. We see nothing wrong with them.	
13.Which Islamic places of worship are there in this suburb?	Mosque in Phoenix.	
14.Which of these do you think are the most active?	--	
15.What contact do you have to Muslim people?	No contact at all.	
16.Do you have Muslim friends in this suburb? If so how many?	No	
17.What activities do the Muslims engage in, in this suburb?	I don't know. They have done nothing. They only prayed.	
18.Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims work together jointly?	No	
19.Are there issues on which Christians and Muslims should work together jointly?	No.	

Questions	Name of Interviewee: Lilian Dikana Place: Assemblies of God Educare	Date: 10 Dec 2004 Interviewer: MJ
20.Are there conversions to Islam in this suburb? (If so follow on with questions 21 – 24)	No.	
21.How many conversions to Islam do you know where there in the last 6 month?	--	
22.What is the religious background of the people who converted?	--	
23.Why in your opinion do people convert to Islam?	I don't know.	
24.What do you see as obstacles for a conversion to Islam?	If my son were to convert to Islam I would ask him why. But it would be his choice.	
25.Are you aware of any conversions from Islam to Christianity? (if so follow on with questions (26- 27)	No	
26.How many conversions to Christianity do you know occurred in the last 6 months?	--	
27.Why in your opinion do people convert to Christianity from Islam?	--	
28.Is there anything that you wish to express at the end of this interview? Anything that you would like to bring to my attention that might be important for this study?	No that is all.	

Observation: Lilian Dikana is the founder and leader of the Educare centre. She had the initiative and is the key person in the educare. The educare is part of the Assemblies of God church initiative. Her husband is a key elder in the church.

8.7. Participatory Action Research notes

This meeting was conducted as a Participatory Action Research event. The goal was not only to check the church leaders' awareness of the presence of Islam in the townships, but to set a process in motion that will result in a mutual benefit for all participants. Now that leaders are aware that there are others who are concerned about the spread of Islam, they can work out what to do jointly, as a Christian response to the development of Islam.

The people participating in the meeting are all pastors of significant evangelical churches in Khayelitsha or involved in Christian ministries. Not all participants knew each other at the beginning of the meeting, thus for a number of them this was a first contact and introduction for future working relationships.

Present:

Surname	Name		Residence	Position
1. Makapela	Peter	CESA	Mandela Park	Theol.grad
2. Masango	Phumezo	CESA	Mandela Park	Pastor
3. Yeza	Gerald	Call of Christ	Site C	Pastor
4. Bulana	Mussolini	Union Baptist	Makhaya	Pastor
5. Tetyana		Upper Hall	Khayelitsha	Pastor
6. Nkalane	Samkelo	International Assemblies	Site B (V)	Pastor
7. Philane	Maxwell	True Vine Ministries	Litha Park	Pastor
8. Valashiya	Victor	Christian Assembly of Christ	Harare	Pastor
9. Valashiya	Nontando	dito	dito	Wife
10. Wana	Miranda	New Generation	Litha Park	Pastor

The format of the meeting:

1. Introduction of people and purpose
2. Prayer
3. Time-line exercise
4. Guided interactive discussions with some questions
5. Closure in prayer
6. Tea

Comments on the process of the meeting:

After initial introduction we did a **time line** exercise finding out about the development of Islam in Khayelitsha and the greater developments of Christianity in Khayelitsha. This exercise not only provided opportunity for input from everyone but brought together information that was not available in its entirety to any one. The graphical representation that developed helped the people to realise the existence of processes in their own community.

This time line exercise provided a basis for further discussion on Islam for the rest of the meeting. The second part of the meeting took its own course with a few interspersed questions to bring people back to the topic when the discussion digressed.

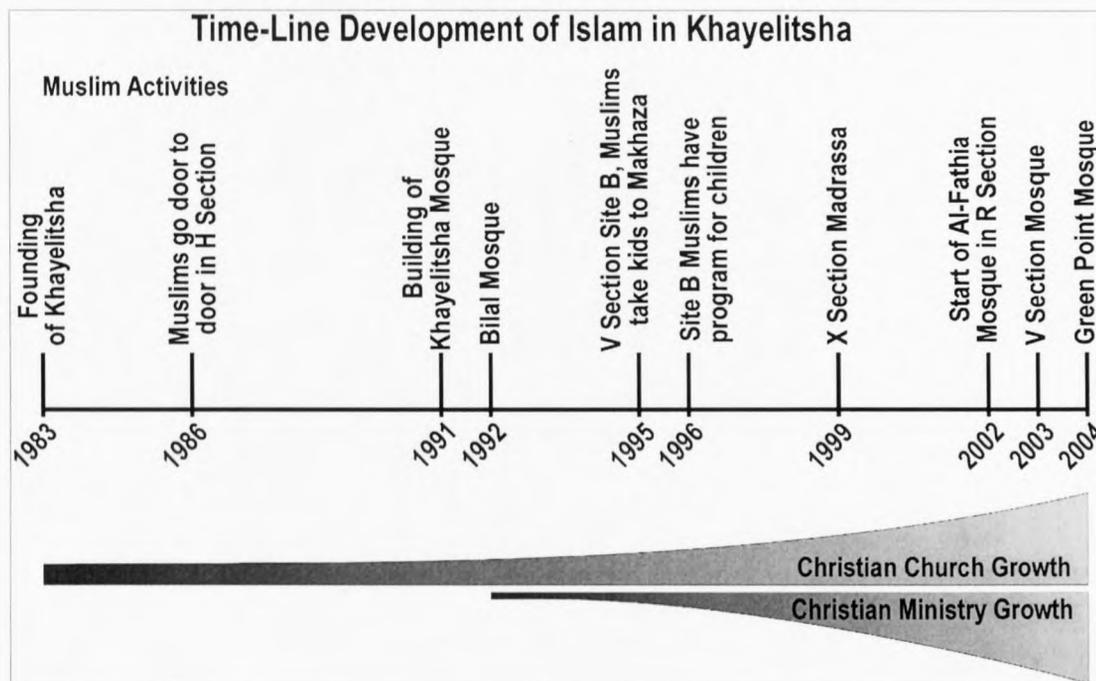
Overall, the meeting was a success in terms of finding valuable information, discovering attitudes, realising existing needs and the desire to meet again to develop a joint Christian

approach to reach Muslims.

Result of time-line exercise

Below is the graphical representation of the time-line that developed as a result of the time line exercise.

The information represented on the time-line is as follows:



Khayelitsha township was built in 1983. There were predominantly main line churches that existed then. 1986 saw the intrusion of Muslims in the area, in the H section in a door to door campaign. Free food was distributed and a Mosque was in the process of being built. As time went on, the Muslim leader decided to sell the food he was supposed to distribute for free. As a result he was taken off the project and the Muslims found no replacement, thus the Muslim effort died out in this section. In 1991 Mr. Adams, the medical doctor built the Khayelitsha Mosque next to the Metropolitan place. In 1992 the mosque in Makhaza was built. 1995 there were efforts in the V section where children were taught about Islam and in 1996 their presence was visible in site B. The Mosque in R section was erected in 2002. The Mosque in V section went up last year (2003) and at Green point they finished one this year (2004).

1996 saw the increase of Christian ministries and the mainline churches seemed to experience a decline during this time. Tent ministries meant that there were more people who were reached with the gospel and more people who became Christians. New churches and Christian Ministries were founded. This increase of Christian churches has resulted in the lack of interaction among the churches themselves. Everyone is too busy caring for their own church.

Guided interactive discussions with some questions

To guide and stimulate the discussion a few pointed questions were used which are represented here as headings to some of the statements that were being made in the

discussion. It must be noted however that it was very much a free flowing discussion. As such, the recorded comments do not necessarily match the questions.

How do you feel when you think of Muslims?

- They are close and work together.
- Muhammad their prophet is dead. They are lost!
- I like their unity. They work together.
- I feel we need to know more about them.

Have you been confronted with issues concerning Islam by others. What issues are they?

- Muslims have the message of the food parcel. How can we compete against such ways? We do not have the money they have.
- They are committed to the religion and they are practical about their religion. They do things in the community.
- They help each other when one of them is in difficulties.
- Have more influence even when they are in the minority.
- They are lost people
- I am worried about them. I don't trust them.
- The challenge is to love Muslims so they can see God in us. We, Christians, need to befriend them.
- Practical things are working with them, but it will take time to win them we must not lose patience.
- My experience in witnessing to them is that they only want to convert me.
- Befriending them also means one needs to be aware that they also want Christians to become Muslims

When you think about your church members what concerns and experiences do they have?

- The problem I see is this: They are close to each other, united and committed to the religion. This becomes a challenge to us. I don't see the church doing the same.
- The church is not visible. Muslims are a challenge to the church because the church is not united, not visible and her voice is not heard.
- Muslims love religion more than people.
- They have a much greater influence. The premier is a Muslim.
- The church is the tail. It should be the head, but it is the tail.
- They do not compromise
- Schools have started to oppose Christian programs. Schools are afraid that Muslims object to a Christian program. But there are only a few children who are of Muslim parents. It is so difficult now to get into schools for assembly programs even if it is life skill type of programs for all children.
- The issue is also an issue between Democracy vs Theocracy.
- Islam does not affect the heart. A killer continues to kill and pray 5 times a day. Christianity affects the heart and changes behaviour. Christians need to teach their children so that they may share with Muslim children.
- We fail to teach our children when they are young. Sunday school is often just child minding if there is one at all.

- Some pastors are called to the children. I suggest to have children's programs on Saturday to minister to them, because Sundays are too full to do that.
- Muslims do not have assurance of salvation. We as Christians do have that. We should make it a matter of approaching them with the Gospel.
- For Christians who understand grace, they should be concerned that Muslims are lost.
- There are now so many foreigners here. Many are Muslims and make inroads.
- The massive exodus of northern and central African brothers deceives the local Black people that Islam is for Africans.
- Other people assume that in becoming a Muslim one will become rich, so many people take the chance.
- Islam is a foreign culture that the church leadership needs to be taught about.

How could you deal with the situation in the church?

- Most Muslims don't understand their Qur'an. We need to use the Bible in witnessing to them.
- We need to study about the Qur'an. Muslims read the Bible.
- Power of prayer is important.
- Books on testimonies of Muslim who have become Christians need to be read to see that God changes Muslims as well.

What about the spirits and power in relation to Muslims?

- Muslims use the stars to do fortune telling.
- Muslims like to use Muti to be more powerful.
- Non gospel preaching Churches do "benefit" from the Muti that Muslim provide, to "slay their congregants in spirit."
- The Muslims are selling it and then these pastors put it on their staff and use it.
- Muslims do have such powers.
- A Muslim chemist suggested to me to go to a spiritualist for treatment or else I would die.
- But God is on our side. If there is fear you lack something. Christians are not affected if they are in Christ. If we fear Muslims we don't trust Christ.
- Muslims use Christianity to take people away from Xhosa culture.
- Christianity is propagated as a black culture destroyer and thus some people are deceived.
- There is a concern for a general Muslim rule in the country.
- I have fear that the Muslims are taking over.

8.8. Statistics

8.8.1. Total population 1996 by province

Total population 1996 by province

	African/Black	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White	Unspecified	Total
Western Cape	833681	2143220	37915	819652	122855	3957322
Eastern Cape	5445424	470463	18425	331909	35751	6301972
Northern Cape	278637	437682	2392	110936	11015	840662
Free State	2224868	79247	2965	315094	11235	2633409
KwaZulu-Natal	6882162	117284	790270	558729	68978	8417423
North West	3059527	45647	9756	222928	17154	3355012
Gauteng	5155480	272288	163513	1698482	58308	7348071
Mpumalanga	2501016	20624	14099	247403	14549	2797692
Northern Province	4760572	7512	5830	120988	32434	4927336
Total	31141367	3593967	1045165	4426121	372279	40578899

Source StatsSA Census 1996

8.8.2. Total population 2001 by province

Total population 2001 by province

	Black African	Coloured	Indian or Asian	White	Total
Western Cape	1207463	2438957	45021	832897	4524338
Eastern Cape	5635062	478814	18351	304533	6436760
Northern Cape	293976	424374	2321	102055	822726
Free State	2381065	83188	3737	238790	2706779
KwaZulu-Natal	8002416	141877	798278	483445	9426017
North West	3358453	56965	9903	244025	3669347
Gauteng	6522796	337991	218001	1758387	8837175
Mpumalanga	2886314	22192	11266	203223	3122995
Limpopo	5128619	10149	8592	126282	5273641
Total	35416164	3994507	1115470	4293637	44819778

Source StatsSA 2001 Census

8.8.3. Difference Between the 1996 and 2001

Difference Between the 1996 and 2001

	Black African	Coloured	Indian or Asian	White	Total
Western Cape	373782	295737	7106	13245	567016
Eastern Cape	189638	8351	-74	-27376	134788
Northern Cape	15339	-13308	-71	-8881	-17936
Free State	156197	3941	772	-76304	73370
KwaZulu-Natal	1120254	24593	8008	-75284	1008594
North West	298926	11318	147	21097	314335
Gauteng	1367316	65703	54488	59905	1489104
Mpumalanga	385298	1568	-2833	-44180	325303
Northern Province	368047	2637	2762	5294	346305
Total	4274797	400540	70305	-132484	4240879

Calculations are mine based on StatSA 1996 and 2001

8.8.4. Total Muslim population 1996 by province

Total Muslim population 1996 by province

	African/Black	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White	Unspecified	Total
Western Cape	3284	210046	26493	1013	20251	261086
Eastern Cape	2840	6389	5564	191	1448	16432
Northern Cape	394	2071	1791	46	180	4482
Free State	908	163	1080	22	11	2185
KwaZulu-Natal	10401	4445	110085	536	1125	126593
North West	3192	322	6511	56	54	10134
Gauteng	12819	18139	74385	1127	1970	108440
Mpumalanga	7195	434	8158	237	57	16081
Northern Provin	2665	45	3437	56	102	6304
Total	43699	242053	237505	3283	25196	551737

Source StatsSA 1996 census

8.8.5. Total Muslim population 2001 by province

Total Muslim population 2001 by province

	Black African	Coloured	Indian or Asian	White	Total
Western Cape	8243	251805	29774	3109	292931
Eastern Cape	3603	9561	5842	650	19656
Northern Cape	711	2797	1010	63	4580
Free State	1815	300	1804	129	4048
KwaZulu-Natal	17891	6113	117444	1050	142498
North West	4678	953	7211	225	13067
Gauteng	24621	23710	98797	2959	150088
Mpumalanga	9473	493	6691	260	16917
Limpopo	3760	198	6222	99	10279
Total	74795	295930	274795	8544	654064

Source StatsSA 1996 census

8.8.6. Difference between 1996 and 2001

Difference between 1996 and 2001

	Black African	Coloured	Indian or Asian	White	Total
Western Cape	4959	41759	3281	2096	31845
Eastern Cape	763	3172	278	459	3224
Northern Cape	317	726	-781	17	98
Free State	907	137	724	107	1863
KwaZulu-Natal	7490	1668	7359	514	15905
North West	1486	631	700	169	2933
Gauteng	11802	5571	24412	1832	41648
Mpumalanga	2278	59	-1467	23	836
Limpopo	1095	153	2785	43	3975
Total	31097	53876	37291	5260	102327

Calculations are mine based on StatsSA 1996 and 2001

8.8.7. Religious affiliations of total population in the Western Cape 1996

Religious affiliations total population Western Cape 1996

	African/Black	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White	Unspecified	Total
Dutch Reformed Church	32821	404855	348	310652	10983	759659
Reformed Churches	1858	16016	54	3286	956	22170
Nederduits Hervormde Kerk	208	304	0	1779	0	2291
Anglican Church	36382	234092	420	49278	11475	331647
Church of England in SA	1679	4039	0	17332	421	23471
Intern. Fellowship of Chr. Ch	197	1359	11	1704	21	3292
Methodist Churches of SA	112570	52182	185	49426	4000	218363
Presbyterian Churches	30706	2838	55	16993	699	51291
United Congreg. Church OF SA	3747	43137	32	3220	1085	51221
Lutheran Church of Southern A	5910	58124	11	5529	2336	71910
Roman Catholic Church	54155	130439	1185	54951	7972	248702
Apostolic Faith Mission of SA	13938	66226	197	24947	2352	107660
Other Apostolic Churches	57853	163225	229	14597	4712	240616
Baptist Churches of Southern A	8281	18036	43	10293	1077	37730
Pinkster Protestante Kerk	1504	13611	0	5463	517	21095
Afrikaanse Protestante Kerk	43	43	0	1178	0	1264
Full Gospel Ch of God in Sthrn A	4453	18588	188	2663	904	26796
Greek Orthodox	98	0	109	1492	0	1699
Ch. Of Christ of Latter Day Saints	204	141	260	818	65	1488
Other Pentecostal Churches	527	27688	0	657	237	29109
Salvation Army United Church	654	1178	0	558	235	2625
Seventh-Day Adventist Church	5668	8046	22	1553	490	15779
New Apostolic Church	6660	133762	65	7843	3819	152149
Assemblies of God of SA	7865	11914	0	2791	545	23115
St Engenas Zion Christian Church	100	22	0	32	0	154
Zion Christian Church	30384	4500	0	227	344	35455
Bandla Lama Nazaretha	7417	1695	0	0	87	9199
African Methodist Episcopal Ch	5255	33395	11	45	957	39663
St John's Apostolic Church	7644	491	0	0	22	8157
International Pentecost Church	232	89	0	43	0	364
Other African Indep. Churches	3810	2898	0	409	11	7128
Other Christian Churches	35885	84355	564	27970	3752	152526
African Traditional Belief	199	76	0	0	11	286
Judaism	142	577	33	14492	119	15363
Buddhism	33	112	153	261	0	559
Taoist	33	527	0	356	32	948
Confucian	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hinduism	253	599	3215	176	86	4329
Muslim Faith	3284	210046	26493	1013	20251	261087
Bahais	12	54	0	22	55	143
New Age	98	53	0	183	0	334
Jehovah's Witnesses	4885	5871	11	2265	100	13132
Other non-Christian Religions	86	198	0	10	0	294
Other Methodist Churches	1215	801	0	54	44	2114
Other Presbyterian Churches	3005	192	0	223	21	3441
Other Congregational Churches	580	2486	0	295	33	3394
Other Lutheran Churches	65	2483	0	21	43	2612
Other Catholic Churches	383	2931	0	107	0	3421
Other Baptist Churches	1356	1004	0	108	22	2490
Other Pentecostal Churches	3429	50291	11	3027	1640	58398
Other Orthodox Churches	177	142	0	75	0	394
Other (Seventh-Day) Adv Ch	2357	2420	0	673	140	5590
Other African Apostolic Churches	219	140	0	54	43	456
Other Assemblies	1700	3923	0	672	22	6317
Other Zionist Churches	82237	8827	0	647	1200	92911
Christian Scientist	0	0	0	86	0	86
Christian Centres	1680	10010	107	2438	370	14605
Ethiopian Type Churches	21457	12470	0	312	405	34644
Ethnic Churches	98	1657	0	0	1546	3301
Other Evangelical Churches	25091	25053	66	1683	1171	53064
Other Charismatic Churches	80	886	0	530	55	1551
No religion	101468	49414	731	45503	4569	201685
Refused	2979	8680	272	12811	1067	25809
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unspecified	77822	157421	1670	65302	23143	325358
NA: Institution	18550	46590	1165	48521	6591	121417
Total	833681	2143220	37915	819652	122855	3957323

Source StatSA 1996 census

8.8.8. Religious affiliations of total population in the Western Cape 2001

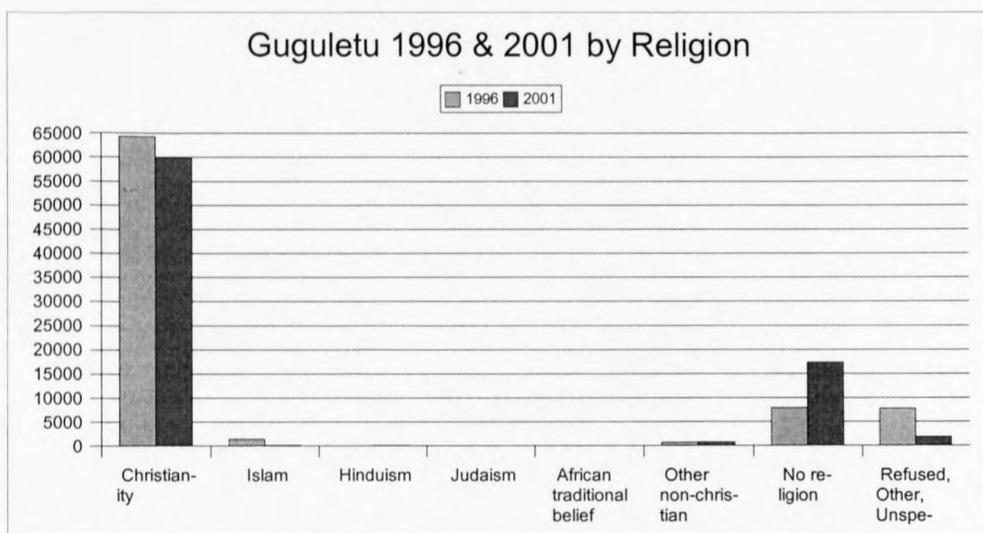
Religious affiliations of total population in the Western Cape 2001

	Black African	Coloured	Indian or Asian	White	Total
Dutch Reformed Church	33598	308725	481	341536	684340
Zion Christian churches	98298	9691	78	1069	109136
Catholic churches	51360	136177	1234	56872	245643
Methodist churches	161116	87929	287	54380	303712
Pentecostal/Charismatic	89820	284873	1092	35229	411014
Anglican churches	48491	265357	821	68463	383132
Apostolic Faith Mission of SA	3575	17461	18	6753	27807
Lutheran churches	7474	68007	110	5120	80711
Presbyterian churches	40595	3972	77	15984	60628
Bandla Lama Nazaretha	3609	3020	9	178	6816
Baptist churches	14545	28555	160	13845	57105
Congregational churches	9213	53021	69	3800	66103
Orthodox churches	616	673	12	1730	3031
Other Apostolic churches	123668	420675	782	34163	579288
Other Zionist churches	62064	46375	138	3977	112554
Ethiopian type churches	47647	13170	75	1314	62206
Other Reformed churches	568	3905	12	5413	9898
Other African Independent	15811	24122	84	5604	45621
Other Christian churches	116450	273617	1786	64444	456297
African Traditional Belief	796	34	-	9	839
Judaism	337	692	6	15656	16691
Hinduism	624	853	5298	255	7030
Other faiths	8538	8921	380	4997	22836
Islam	8246	251808	29759	3082	292895
No religion	238297	93566	1583	74112	407558
Refused, not stated	22075	33780	671	14912	71438
Total	1207433	2438981	45021	832897	4524332

Source: StatsSA 2001 census

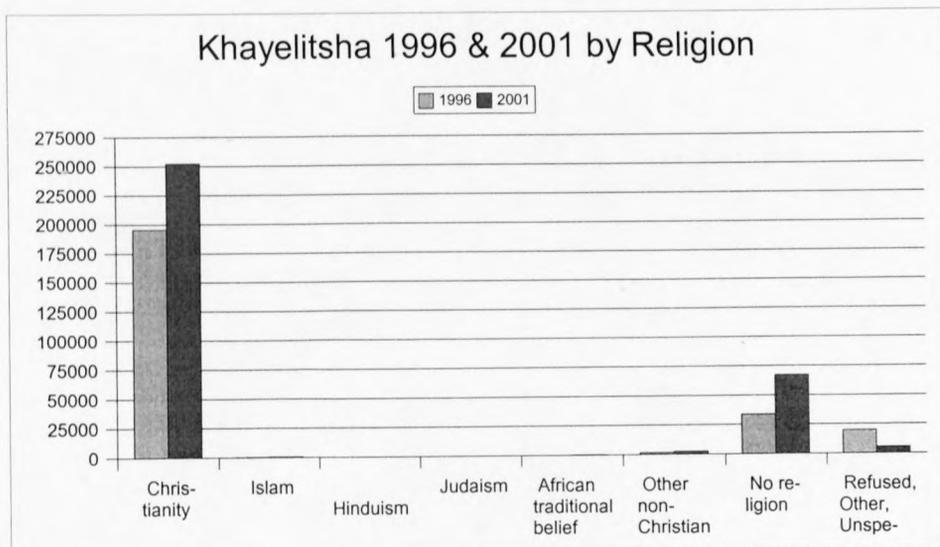
8.8.9. Religious affiliations of Guguletu 1996 and 2001

Guguletu	1996	2001	Difference
Zion Christian churches	2082	3363	1281
Dutch Reformed churches	1908	1209	-699
Catholic churches	5706	3167	-2539
Methodist churches	14580	12855	-1725
Pentecostal/Charismatic churches	5395	4753	-642
Anglican churches	5195	4275	-920
Apostolic Faith Mission	1479	219	-1260
Lutheran churches	548	319	-229
Presbyterian churches	5723	5566	-157
Bandla Lama Nazaretha	419	113	-306
Baptist churches	1278	1226	-52
Congregational churches	621	820	199
Orthodox churches	22	49	27
Other Apostolic churches	8642	6450	-2192
Other Zionist churches	4105	2014	-2091
Ethiopian type churches	2668	3664	996
Other Reformed churches	280	21	-259
Other African independent churches	291	994	703
Other Christian churches	3311	8896	5585
Total Christians	64253	59973	-4280
	1996	2001	
Christianity	64253	59973	
Islam	1480	187	-1293
Hinduism	17	67	50
Judaism	1	39	38
African traditional belief	30	21	-9
Other non-christian churches	712	777	65
No religion	7899	17385	9486
Refused, Other, Unspecified	7760	1829	-5931
WCRelig1_NA Institution	89		-89
Total	82241	80278	-1963



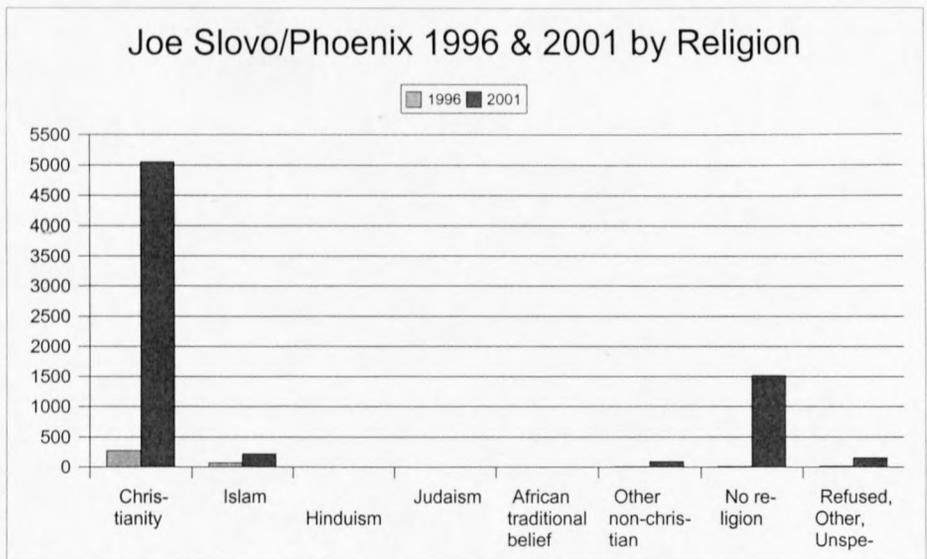
8.8.10. Religious affiliations of Khayelitsha 1996 and 2001

Khayelitsha	1996	2001
Zion Christian churches	10367	25622
Dutch Reformed churches	7478	6275
Catholic churches	16476	12181
Methodist churches	39795	49494
Pentecostal/Charismatic churches	17871	24658
Anglican churches	10306	11964
Apostolic Faith Mission	3833	620
Lutheran churches	1360	1754
Presbyterian churches	10345	12844
Bandla Lama Nazaretha	3040	1247
Baptist churches	2923	3454
Congregational churches	1146	2334
Orthodox churches	40	185
Other Apostolic churches	22382	31114
Other Zionist churches	27015	17104
Ethiopian type churches	7576	14438
Other Reformed churches	702	151
Other African independent churches	1241	4697
Other Christian churches	11517	32269
Total Christians	195413	252405
	1996	2001
Christianity	195413	252405
Islam	228	538
Hinduism	42	190
Judaism	35	48
African traditional belief	55	347
Other non-Christian churches	1853	2513
No religion	33737	67290
Refused, Other, Unspecified	19621	5674
WCRelig1_NA Institution	0	
Total	252980	331006



8.8.11. Religious affiliations of Joe Slovo/Phoenix 1996 and 2001

Joe Slovo/Phoenix	1996	2001
Zion Christian churches	0	128
Dutch Reformed churches	35	203
Catholic churches	52	317
Methodist churches	11	738
Pentecostal/Charismatic churches	23	670
Anglican churches	41	476
Apostolic Faith Mission	6	6
Lutheran churches	5	51
Presbyterian churches	0	131
Bandla Lama Nazaretha	0	27
Baptist churches	7	15
Congregational churches	2	48
Orthodox churches	0	3
Other Apostolic churches	44	785
Other Zionist churches	0	368
Ethiopian type churches	3	162
Other Reformed churches	0	9
Other African independent churches	1	76
Other Christian churches	44	842
Total Christian	274	5055
	1996	2001
Christianity	274	5055
Islam	71	222
Hinduism	0	0
Judaism	0	0
African traditional belief	0	0
Other non-christian churches	4	93
No religion	10	1513
Refused, Other, Unspecified	19	157
Total	378	7040



8.8.12. Annual Growth Rate Calculations

Calculations based on 1996 and 2001 Government Censuses

Population South Africa	Year	Pop Year begin	%	Pop Year end	Difference
	1996	40578899	1.02	41393690	814791.47
	1997	41393690.47	1.02	42224842	831151.82
	1998	42224842.28	1.02	43072683	847840.67
	1999	43072682.96	1.02	43937548	864864.63
	2000	43937547.59	1.02	44819778	882230.41
	2001	44819778	1.02	45719723	4240879

Muslim South Africa	Year	Pop Year begin	%	Pop Year end	Difference
	1996	551737	1.03	570834	19096.7
	1997	570833.7	1.03	590591	19757.67
	1998	590591.37	1.03	611033	20441.53
	1999	611032.9	1.03	632182	21149.05
	2000	632181.94	1.03	654063	21881.06
	2001	654063			102326

Black Population South Africa	Year	Pop Year begin	%	Pop Year end	Difference
	1996	31141367	1.03	31952912	811544.91
	1997	31952911.91	1.03	32785606	832693.8
	1998	32785605.71	1.03	33640000	854393.82
	1999	33639999.53	1.03	34516659	876659.35
	2000	34516658.88	1.03	35416164	899505.12
	2001	35416164			4274797

Black Muslims South Africa	Year	Pop Year begin	%	Pop Year end	Difference
	1996	43699	1.11	48658	4958.59
	1997	48657.59	1.11	54179	5521.24
	1998	54178.83	1.11	60327	6147.75
	1999	60326.57	1.11	67172	6845.34
	2000	67171.91	1.11	74794	7622.09
	2001	74794			31095

Population Western Cape	Year	Pop Year begin	%	Pop Year end	Difference
	1996	3957322	1.03	4064733	107410.83
	1997	4064732.83	1.03	4175059	110326.2
	1998	4175059.03	1.03	4288380	113320.71
	1999	4288379.74	1.03	4404776	116396.5
	2000	4404776.24	1.03	4524332	119555.76
	2001	4524332			567010

Muslims Western Cape	Year	Pop Year begin	%	Pop Year end	Difference
	1996	261086	1.02	267159	6072.66
	1997	267158.66	1.02	273373	6213.91
	1998	273372.57	1.02	279731	6358.44
	1999	279731.01	1.02	286237	6506.33
	2000	286237.34	1.02	292895	6657.66
	2001	292895			31809

Black Population Western C.	Year	Pop Year begin	%	Pop Year end	Difference
	1996	833681	1.08	897790	64108.85
	1997	897789.85	1.08	966829	69038.72
	1998	966828.57	1.08	1041176	74347.7
	1999	1041176.27	1.08	1121241	80064.93
	2000	1121241.2	1.08	1207463	86221.8
	2001	1207463			373782

Calculations based on 1996 and 2001 Government Censuses continued

Black Muslims Western C.	Pop	Year begin %		Pop	Year end	Difference
	1996	3284	1.20	3948		663.95
	1997	3947.95	1.20	4746		798.18
	1998	4746.13	1.20	5706		959.55
	1999	5705.68	1.20	6859		1153.55
	2000	6859.23	1.20	8246		1386.77
	2001	8246				4962

Population Joe Slovo/Phoenix	Pop	Year begin %		Pop	Year end	Difference
	1996	2374	1.31	3102		727.9
	1997	3101.9	1.31	4053		951.08
	1998	4052.99	1.31	5296		1242.7
	1999	5295.69	1.31	6919		1623.73
	2000	6919.41	1.31	9041		2121.59
	2001	9041				6667

Muslims Joe Slovo/Phoenix	Pop	Year begin %		Pop	Year end	Difference
	1996	71	1.26	89		18.18
	1997	89.18	1.26	112		22.84
	1998	112.02	1.26	141		28.69
	1999	140.71	1.26	177		36.03
	2000	176.74	1.26	222		45.26
	2001	222				151

Population Khayelitsha	Pop	Year begin %		Pop	Year end	Difference
	1996	252980	1.06	266954		13973.81
	1997	266953.81	1.06	281699		14745.68
	1998	281699.49	1.06	297260		15560.18
	1999	297259.67	1.06	313679		16419.68
	2000	313679.35	1.06	331006		17326.65
	2001	331006				78026

Muslims Khayelitsha	Pop	Year begin %		Pop	Year end	Difference
	1996	228	1.19	271		42.71
	1997	270.71	1.19	321		50.71
	1998	321.42	1.19	382		60.21
	1999	381.63	1.19	453		71.49
	2000	453.12	1.19	538		84.88
	2001	538				310

Population Guguletu	Pop	Year begin %		Pop	Year end	Difference
	1996	82241	1.00	81845		-396.4
	1997	81844.6	1.00	81450		-394.49
	1998	81450.1	1.00	81058		-392.59
	1999	81057.51	1.00	80667		-390.7
	2000	80666.82	1.00	80278		-388.82
	2001	80278				-1963

Muslims Guguletu	Pop	Year begin %		Pop	Year end	Difference
	1996	1480	.66	979		-501.46
	1997	978.54	.66	647		-331.55
	1998	646.98	.66	428		-219.21
	1999	427.77	.66	283		-144.94
	2000	282.83	.66	187		-95.83
	2001	187				-1293

8.9. Glossary of Islamic terms

Term	Explanation
Da'wah	Basic meaning "to call", "to summon", "to invite" thus Da'wah becomes "a call" or "invitation", and in specialised usage "missionary activity." ⁵⁵ Generally used for the Propagation of Islam.
Hajj	Pilgrimage to Mecca.
Ijtihad	Literally "Exertion" The logical deduction on a legal or theological question by Mujtahid or learned or enlightened doctor.
Illah	Freewill offering which is given for a project for the benefit for greater human kind.
Imam	Muslim cleric leading the Mosque.
Jum'ah	Literally "Day of Assembly" commonly used for the Friday congregational prayer in a Mosque where the khutbah is presented.
Khuthbah	Speech delivered on Fridays at the time of the midday prayer.
Madrassa	Islamic school to teach Islam and Qur'an recitals.
Masjid	Lit. "The place of prostration." It is used for the Mosque or the place of public prayer in Islam.
Ramadan	Month of fasting.
Sadaqaat	freewill offering which can be given to anyone and any cause
Salat Ghana	Temporary place of Islamic worship and activity. It is not waqf and can be under the control of an individual or a group. Sometimes the term Jana'at Ghana is used in its place.
Sheik	Muslim leader, there is no ordination or clear definition of what constitutes a sheik
Waqf	"Waqf is a term which in the language of the law signifies the appropriation or dedication of property to charitable uses and the service of God. The object ... must be of perpetual nature and it can not be sold or transferred." [Hughes 1978]
Zakah (Zakat)	Obligatory tax on wealth (savings) about 2.5% per annum
Sufi	Mystics in Islam
Tariqa	Literally 'way' referring to special teachings of the sufi orders to attain higher spirituality.
Tijania	Islamic sufi brotherhood founded by Ahmad al-Tijani (1737-1815) in Fez 1780. [Clarke & Linden 1984 p43]
Shariah	Islamic law
Umma	Brotherhood of all Muslims
Adan	Call to prayer
Salat	Ritual prayer