

**CHURCH AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT:
A GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF ELIM**

BY

BRIAN PATRICK ENGEL

**submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of**

MAGISTER ARTIUM

IN THE DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a classical building with six columns and a pediment.

**UNIVERSITY of the
at the
WESTERN CAPE**

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

SUPERVISOR: PROF. A.C. REDLINGHUIS

CO-SUPERVISORS: DR. V. TAYLOR

PROF. P. LE ROUX

NOVEMBER 1992

DECLARATION

"Herewith I, Brian Patrick Engel, declare that

CHURCH AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT: A GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF ELIM

is my own work and that all sources that have been used or
quoted were acknowledged by means of complete references."



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

.....
BRIAN PARICK ENGEL

DEDICATED TO

MY MOTHER AND LATE FATHER

The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a classical building with a pediment and columns.

UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude to the following:

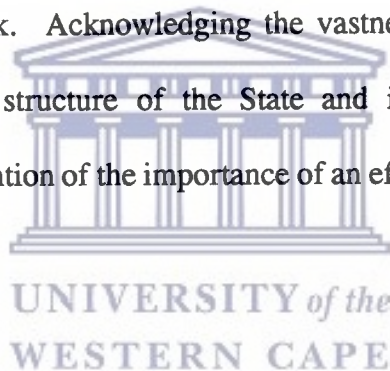
- * The people of Elim for their helpfulness and assistance in making this thesis possible;
- * Prof. A.C. Redlinghuis, my supervisor, for his expert knowledge and encouragement throughout the entire thesis;
- * Prof. P. du P. le Roux and Dr. V. Taylor, the co-supervisors for their useful comments;
- * The Regional Board of the Moravian Church in Southern Africa (Western Cape Province) for granting me permission to do the empirical study in Elim and access to the Archives at the Moravian Theological Centre;
- * Ministers of Elim, past and present, for their co-operation in granting interviews;
- * The HSRC for much appreciated financial assistance;
- * Elsworth McPherson (Geography Department, UWC) for time and effort spent in drawing the maps;
- * Michael Liddle who assisted with the questionnaire survey;
- * Harry May for time spent on the SPSS programme to enable me to get computerised information of the survey data;
- * Thomas van Breda for time and effort with the preparation of the thesis for printing;
- * My family and friends for their encouragement and belief in me;
- * Avril Knott-Craig and Lesley Watson for time and effort to proof read this thesis;
- * My mother for everything she and my late father sacrificed to make possible our education.

Finally: to God be the glory.

ABSTRACT

The pivotal role of the Moravian Church in development in Elim, a mission station situated approximately 170 kilometres southeast of Cape Town, is the central theme of this geographical analysis. The broader debate around Church and rural development serves as a background for this analysis. It is the contention of this thesis that the distinctiveness in the administrative structure of Elim had and will continue to have a profound influence on the development of the settlement.

The theory of State, with specific reference to the role of the State in social transformation, is used as a theoretical framework. Acknowledging the vastness of the broader theory of State this thesis focuses on the structure of the State and its capacity to intervene in development. Max Weber's contention of the importance of an efficient bureaucratic structure is used as analytical tool.



People are deemed as central to the continuous process of development. The empirical study undertaken expresses the perceptions of the people involved with development in Elim. Both quantitative (questionnaires) and qualitative methods (structured interviews) were used to obtain the relevant data, thus overcoming their respective limitations.

The socio-economic context in Elim serves as the background against which the bureaucratic structure operates. This bureaucratic structure distinguishes two levels of government. These are the local government in Elim and the central government of the Moravian Church in Southern Africa respectively. The inter-relationship between these levels of government is explored.

Given the theoretical framework within which this study was undertaken, a restructuring of the bureaucratic structure is deemed as the core around which transformation and development in Elim must be undertaken. This should in turn enhance the socio-economic development of the settlement. The question of a reform of land use on the local level is of great importance to future development in Elim.

Finally, participation by the people remains the core around which development in Elim should revolve.



CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: PUTTING RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN PERSPECTIVE

1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	Geography and rural development	2
1.2.1	Rural development - what does it mean?	2
1.2.2	Space - common ground for geography and rural development	4
1.3	Micro analyses in macro perspective	7
1.3.1	Rural Poverty	7
1.3.2	The question of land	10
1.3.3	Putting Elim in perspective	12
1.4	Church and rural development	17
1.4.1	From modernisation onwards	17
1.4.2	The Church and the poor	19
1.4.3	Society in transformation: where is the Church?	20
1.4.4	People's participation in development	22
1.4.5	Towards a practical theology of rural development	25
1.5	Conclusion	27

CHAPTER 2 : THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1	Introduction	28
2.2	Theory of state	29
2.2.1	Different traditions within the theory of State	30
2.2.2	The State - a working definition	34

2.2.3	The structure of the State and the capacity to intervene in development	38
2.3	Putting theory into practice	41
2.4	Conclusion	43

CHAPTER 3: ELIM - A PLACE IN HISTORY

3.1	Introduction	44
3.2	The founding of the Moravian Church	44
3.3	The era before the missionaries	46
3.4	The influence of the missionaries	48
3.4.1	The origin of mission stations in South Africa	48
3.4.2	The Moravians and the London Missionary Society: A difference in approach to socio-political and economic realities	49
3.4.3	The Boers versus the Missionaries - A question of labour	52
3.4.4	The transformation of economic production	54
3.5	Elim	57
3.5.1	Origin of the settlement	57
3.5.2	Form of government	59
3.5.3	Economic development	62
3.6	Conclusion	66

CHAPTER 4: LET THE PEOPLE SPEAK: PERCEPTIONS ON ELIM

4.1	Introduction	67
4.2	Research methodology	67
4.3	Physical nature of the settlement	71

4.4	Socio-economic activities	72
4.4.1	Employment	72
4.4.2	Horticulture	75
4.4.2.1	The general public	75
4.4.2.2	The vegetable gardeners	77
4.4.3	Commercial farmers	80
4.5	Influence of the church	84
4.6	Form of government	92
4.6.1	Local level: The Opsiensersraad	92
4.6.2	Central Level: The Regional Board	101
4.6	Development policy	109
4.7	From the past through the present to the future	112
4.8	Conclusion	115



CHAPTER 5: THE ROAD AHEAD - RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

5.1	Introduction	116
5.2	The bureaucratic structure	117
5.2.1	The construction of a bureaucratic machinery	120
5.2.2	The organisational capacity and distribution policies of the Church	123
5.2.3	The degree of centralisation and decentralisation of the Church	126
5.3	Reform of land use	129
5.3.1	Commercial farming	129
5.3.2	Horticulture	130
5.3.3	The flower industry	131

5.3.4	Forestry	132
5.4	Tourism	132
5.5	Town planning	135
5.6	Social services	137
5.7	Conclusion	138
	REFERENCES	139
	ADDENDUM 1	145
	ADDENDUM 2A	157
	ADDENDUM 2B	167



LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1:	The South African Economy	9
FIGURE 2:	Proposed New Bureaucratic Structure - Option A	118
FIGURE 3:	Proposed New Bureaucratic Structure - Option B	119



LIST OF MAPS

MAP 1:	Elim - Location Map	13
MAP 2:	Elim - Town Plan	68
MAP 3:	Elim - Land Use	76
MAP 4:	The Overberg Regional Services Council Region	133
MAP 5:	Transport routes	134



LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1:	Reasons for response to physical conditions of the settlement	71
TABLE 2:	Comparitive age structure: Elim and South Africa	73
TABLE 3:	Employment pattern	74
TABLE 4:	Reasons for present state of horticulture	77
TABLE 5:	Problems of vegetable gardeners	79
TABLE 6:	Response to dual role of the minister	85
TABLE 7:	Reasons for the lack of influence of the Church	88
TABLE 8:	The calling of the Church	89
TABLE 9:	Perception of the Church's response to its calling	91
TABLE 10:	Response to government by "Opsienersraad"	93
TABLE 11:	More power to the "Opsienersraad" over development issues or not	96
TABLE 12:	Satisfaction with participation in governing of the community	100
TABLE 13:	Perception of co-operation between "Opsienersraad" and Regional Board	105
TABLE 14:	Role of Regional Board in governing of Elim	106
TABLE 15:	Major problems presently encountered in Elim	113
TABLE 16:	Perception of the future	114

CHAPTER 1

PUTTING RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN PERSPECTIVE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The debate around the development of rural areas has been an extensive one and yet it certainly has not been exhausted. Given the changing circumstances in South Africa there is a need for a re-appraisal of the rural areas constituting the vast majority of land in this country. Land as a finite natural resource, together with the people inhabiting and utilising it, must be recognised as vital cogs in the wheel of development. Rural areas are thus inseparably linked to the direction, tempo and nature of development in any country.

The central theme of this mini-thesis is an analysis of the development of Elim and the pivotal role of the Moravian Church as sole owner of this rural settlement. Given the broader spectrum of rural development, the validity and rationality of such a micro-study may rightfully be questioned. A justifiable answer such as "because people are living there" might indeed be an oversimplification, although the centrality of people in the process of development cannot be denied. Given the specific context of this study, therefore, the motivation of Connell (1973: 34) in choosing the village as a geographically defined area of micro-analysis is very apt when he states: "Villages are at the bottom of a hierarchy in which the benefits tend to move upwards towards urban centres and rich countries. Thus the stress on village studies is related to practical rather than theoretical objectives; concepts of development must relate most closely to the poorest people in the poorest areas. Geographical solutions to the reduction of these problems should be our major contribution to the geography

of development."

This chapter has three objectives. Firstly, it aims to place the study within the broader context of geography and rural development. Secondly, Elim is placed within the broader context of the South African reality regarding rural areas. Lastly, the debate around Church and rural development is addressed.

1.2 GEOGRAPHY AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

1.2.1 Rural development - what does it mean?

In engaging the concept of rural development one cannot but agree with Sterkenburg (1988: 23) that you truly are confronted with a "labyrinth of literature". The only unanimously acceptable conclusion concerning the concept of rural development seems to be that there is no universal consensus on the subject. But then again, formulating the ultimate definition of rural development is not perceived as the *raison d' être* of this study. On the contrary, whilst accepting the importance of theorising as a vital analytical tool, this study seeks to make a practical contribution to the daily lives of the people concerned. Having said this, however, a frame of reference is needed as a point of departure and serving as a general backdrop against which the role of the Church within this context can specifically be analysed.

Geographers might disagree on many aspects, but on one point they surely must agree: that within the geographical realm of space and time nothing remains static forever. Irrespective of the tempo of change, the biosphere and the life it sustains are in a constant process of change. From a geographical perspective Hoggart and Buller (1987: 25) very aptly quote Ball as follows: "Development is a state of becoming. As such it involves change. However,

development is not just the situation at the beginning nor at the end of change. It is instead the ongoing evolutionary transformation that modifies what exists at the beginning to what exists at a later point in time." They (Hoggart and Buller, 1987: 25-26) then continue to contextualise development within the rural sphere by quoting Copp as follows: "I would propose that rural development is a process, through collective efforts, aimed at improving the well-being and self-realisation of people living outside urbanised areas. In other words, I believe that the ultimate target of rural development is people. It is not infrastructure, it is not factories, it is not better education, or housing or even communities. These are only means; if they leave the spirit of man untouched, they are but sound and fury." Given this understanding of rural development, the role of the Church in combining the physical and spiritual spheres of development becomes crucial.

The crux of the matter is thus acknowledging development as a continuous process and putting people back in the centre of it all. Coetzee (1980: 8) very briefly and effectively summarises this by simply stating "Development is about people". Putting people first must therefore be more than merely contributing to the improvement of their living conditions. Accompanying such improvements must be the empowerment of the people involved to take control of these conditions. Therefore "people must, then, be subjects of the development process, not objects of it: they must be the agents of their own development and not merely recipients of development activities". (MacDonald, 1981: 64) A building that collapses once the support structures needed during the building process have been removed, is evidence of an exercise in futility. A community that cannot sustain the improvements to their living conditions once outside support has been removed or minimised surely cannot claim to have undergone successful development.

In acknowledging the improvement of living conditions as an important component in rural development the next step would be exploring the practical implications this process entails.

According to Sterkenburg (1988: 30) it comprises the following:

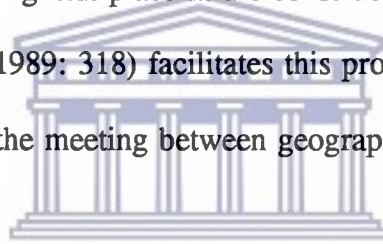
- the growth of production and productivity, and the diversification of production activities within the agricultural sector;
- the increase in complexity and linkages in the rural economy as a result of the expansion of non-agricultural production activities, rural industries in particular;
- the improvement of the employment situation, and the rise of incomes for broad segments of the rural population;
- the expansion and amelioration of agro-support and community services;
- the improvement of environmental conservation as a form of preserving natural resources, which is essential to sustain the process over a longer period of time.

The realization of these aspects together with the empowerment of the people as an integral part of the process will be dealt with within the context of the role of the Church in rural development and find its practical application on the micro-level of the case study.

1.2.2 Space - common ground for geography and rural development

Within geographical thinking and analyses the concept of space is undeniably an integral component. Space as an artery in the body of geographical thought throughout the ages is allocated its rightful place by Sack (1980: 3) when he says: "Since antiquity geographers have explored and analysed the earth's surface from two related perspectives: that of the spatial differentiation and association of phenomena with an emphasis on the meaning of space, spatial relations and place; and that of the relationship between man and his physical environment."

Having said this, however, it is acknowledged that geography is indeed more than merely a descriptive presentation of spatial differentiation of phenomena existing in both the natural and human environment. It is in analysing the processes involved in shaping and changing this environment that geography carves out its niche in the family of social sciences. In doing this geography not only recognises that interdisciplinary barriers are not impregnable, but also actively contributes to opening up the "warm cocoon of intellectual legitimacy" that Kant, according to Soja (1989: 236), wrapped geography in. Bearing this in mind this study endeavours to make a contribution to the removal of what Soja (1989: 333) terms "the intellectual apartheid between geographical and socio-political analysis". The importance of this lies in affording geography its rightful place in the construction of critical social theory. The spatiality of social life (Soja, 1989: 318) facilitates this process. Space thus effectively serves as the common ground for the meeting between geography and rural development.'



Soja (1989: 321) perceives of space, time and being (the spatial, temporal and social orders of human life) as "the three most basic and formative dimensions of human existence". He stresses the importance of a reappraisal of space in critical social theory and observes that Western Marxism has for too long disregarded space in the development of critical social theory, whereas modern geography has largely isolated itself from any major interdisciplinary discourse. A "marxification of geographical analysis" together with "spatializing Marxist theory" over the last few decades is regarded by Soja (1989: 334) as a positive step in the development of critical social theory. In substantiating the duality of space and being in geographical explanation Soja (1989: 334-335) cites Gregory as follows: "The analysis of spatial structure is not derivative and secondary to the analysis of social structure...rather, each requires the other. Spatial structure is not, therefore, merely the arena within which

class conflicts express themselves but also the domain within which - and in part through which - class relations are constituted."

Development patterns and processes are often portrayed in literature as being spatially defined. This is manifested in studies conceptualising distinctive patterns of development within a wide range of theoretical perspectives. The spatial delineation of geographically identifiable entities and the significance thereof in terms of development implications cannot be overlooked. But how is the above-mentioned perspective related to the micro-level of this study? **Elim is a spatially delineated and geographically identifiable entity owned by the Moravian Church in Southern Africa. As such it clearly manifests a distinctiveness in administrative structure. It is the contention of this thesis that the very nature of this distinctiveness has had and will continue to have a profound influence on the development of Elim.** This is the crucial link between the historical perspective, the empirical analyses of the present situation and the projections for the future.

The very nature of this analysis logically embraces the concept of time. Time and space thus become interwoven in our understanding of development in Elim. This is in congruence with Harvey (1989: 201) when he states that "space and time are basic categories of human existence". In analysing the development of Elim in this manner the study thus accepts the necessity to decompartmentalise geographical and historical explanation. At the same time, however, the study seeks to do justice to the spatiality of social life in contrast to the prior historicism ["the primacy of historical versus geographical explanation, the privileging of temporal over spatial forms of critical interpretation and social causality"] (Soja, 1989: 320) in social theory.

In this study the local area of Elim thus becomes the geographical basis for the focal point around which development past and present is analysed and future projections are made. In conjunction with this two important points must be stressed. Firstly, development in Elim cannot be understood in isolation from the broader South African context. Secondly, Elim as a geographical unit is not the prime consideration for any development processes, but the people are.

1.3 MICRO ANALYSES IN MACRO PERSPECTIVE

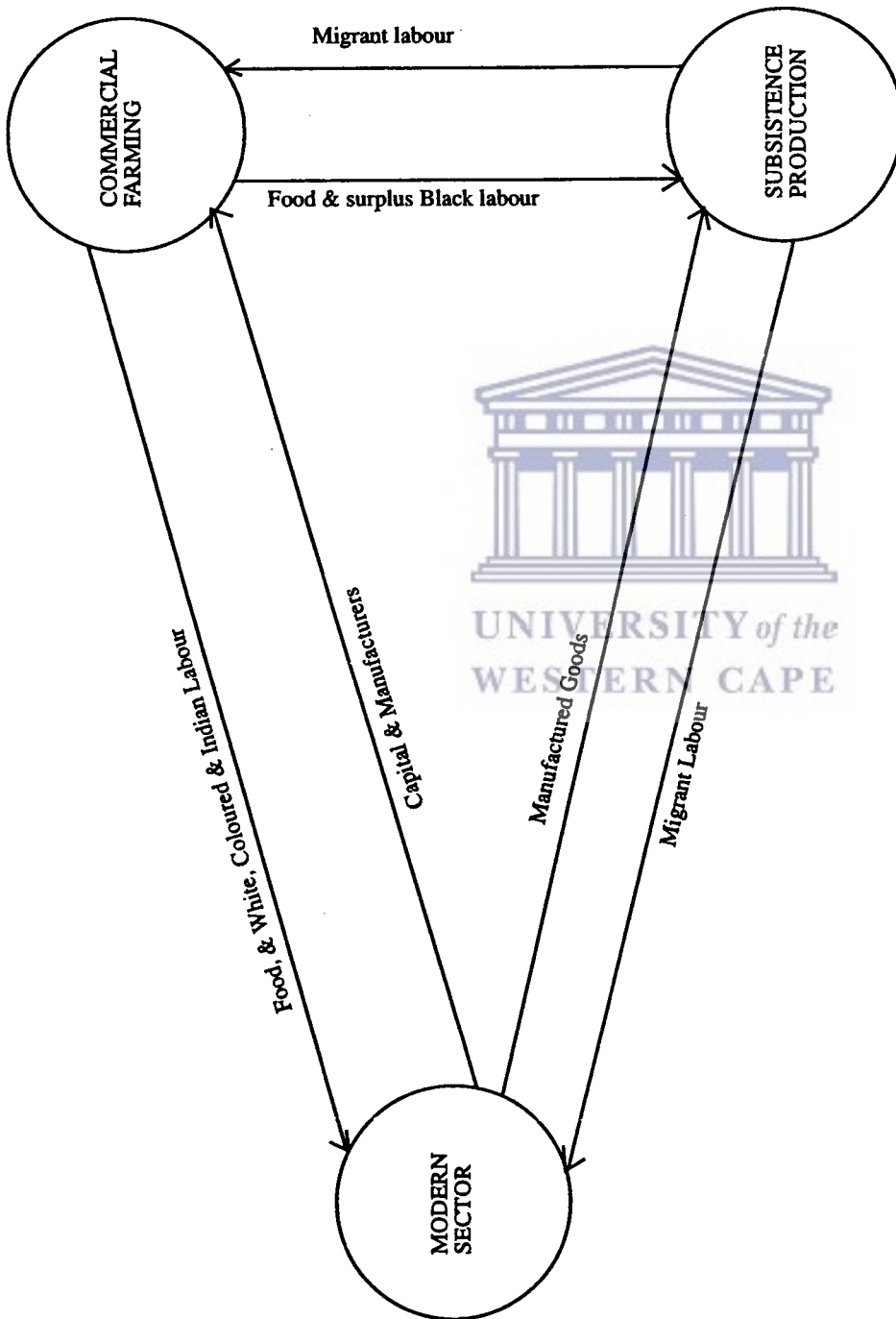
The significance of a study in rural development on the micro-level such as Elim can only be fully comprehended against the background of the macro-level of South Africa as a whole. Elim is not an island on its own, rather it is an integral part of the intricate puzzle constituting the South African reality. As such we need to take cognisance of various vital issues regarding rural development and the importance thereof in South Africa. Two aspects will be briefly touched upon, namely rural poverty and the question of land. It should be borne in mind that although they are discussed separately for the sake of convenience, for all practical purposes they remain undeniably and intricately interlinked.

1.3.1 Rural Poverty

"Rural poverty is not a university subject to be studied like mathematics or chemistry. It is a painful and destructive human condition, largely hidden from those who live in the better-endowed urban areas. It has to do with real people, therefore raises basic questions that are concrete and practical as well as moral and theoretical." (Nash, 1984: 9) Given the fact that rural poverty is part and parcel of the South African reality, it is important to understand the nature of this phenomenon in order to address the situation within the context of rural

development.

It is a common fact that there is a growing gap in living-standards between developed and developing countries as well as between different sectors within developing countries. A major division within developing countries as far as living-standards are concerned is the gap between rural and urban areas. The dualistic economic structure of developing countries as often discussed in development literature normally refers to a rural sector characterised by a subsistence economy that is traditional and labour intensive in contrast to an urban sector characterised by a modern economy that is commercial and capital-intensive. Natrass (1985: 22), however, perceives of the South African space economy as comprising of three distinct, yet interlinking areas of economic interaction. (See Figure 1, p. 9) The modern urban sector by and large contains the secondary, tertiary and quaternary aspects of the economy. The rural sector containing primary aspects of the economy is divided into a commercial-farming sector ("white" rural areas) on the one hand and a sector of subsistence production ("black" rural areas) on the other. In a similar vein Maasdorp (1985: 220) citing Fair also perceives of the South African space economy as being divided into three elements, namely the core (the major metropolitan regions), the inner periphery (rural areas and country towns of "white South Africa") and the outer periphery (the homelands or "black South Africa"). He (Maasdorp, 1985: 228 - 229) does, however, clarify that the boundaries between these elements are flexible at times in the sense that some areas of the outer periphery penetrate the core areas whereas some of the inner periphery lies in extremely remote areas. The way in which these elements are connected are very similar to that expressed by Natrass (1985: 22).



(Source: Natrass, 1985:22)

FIGURE 1: THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY

A geography of ownership and occupation of land in rural areas (and in urban areas) clearly shows the racial division that is a direct result of legislation contained in the multitude of South African racial laws. Of these laws the ones that influenced the development of mission stations more directly were the Mission Station and Communal Reserve Act (1909) and the Coloured Mission Stations and Reserves Act (1949). Even with the repeal of discriminatory legislation as is the case "on the road to a new South Africa", the geographical manifestation of ownership of land, distribution of economic resources, poverty, inequality, etc. created in the "old South Africa" remain intact. Given this, therefore, Soja (1989: 325) in reference to Lefebvre puts his finger on the pulse of the spatiality of social life by stating: "Space has been shaped and moulded from historical and natural elements, but this has been a political process. Space is political and ideological. It is a product literally filled with ideology."

1.3.2 The question of land

The history of South Africa is a history of conflict over land. The crucial importance of the land question is underlined by the pivotal role it assumes presently in the negotiations for a new dispensation in South Africa. "Land is a fundamental component of property relations in every society since it is one of the natural resources essential for social existence. Its distribution is of vital concern to every citizen as it affects their basic human rights. Whoever owns the land controls access to it, determines the use to which it is put, decides the economic, social and political beneficiaries of production on it, and how the wealth below it is to be exploited." (Marcus, 1991: 25) Any discussion on rural development, be it on the macro or micro level, must therefore take cognisance of the issues involved in this debate. Acknowledging the issues at stake within the broader debate forms a logical stepping-stone in the process of analysing the question of land on the micro-level of Elim.

Who owns the land, where do they own it and how did they gain access to the land? Although a comprehensive answer to this question is beyond the scope of this thesis, an understanding of the issues at hand is important. The stark reality is that in over 80% of this country over 80% of the population was until the recent repealing of discriminatory legislation prohibited from owning or leasing land. The result being that we have a geography of land ownership whereby the land is divided into "black" (the homelands) and "white" rural areas respectively. This is the legacy of the racial legislation referred to in the previous section.

Given the present situation, where do we go from here and how do we get there? There certainly are no ready-made answers to such questions. The burning issue is that of land reform. But in the process of transformation permeating the country at present it is an issue that demands careful analyses and planning. Marcus (1991: 27) aptly states: "Land reform to modify relations on the land, is not a prerogative of revolutionary transformation. The experience of many countries testifies that it is as much part of *ancien regime* and ruling class efforts to retain power and ward off far-reaching changes as it is integral to revolutionary strategy to bring about fundamental change."

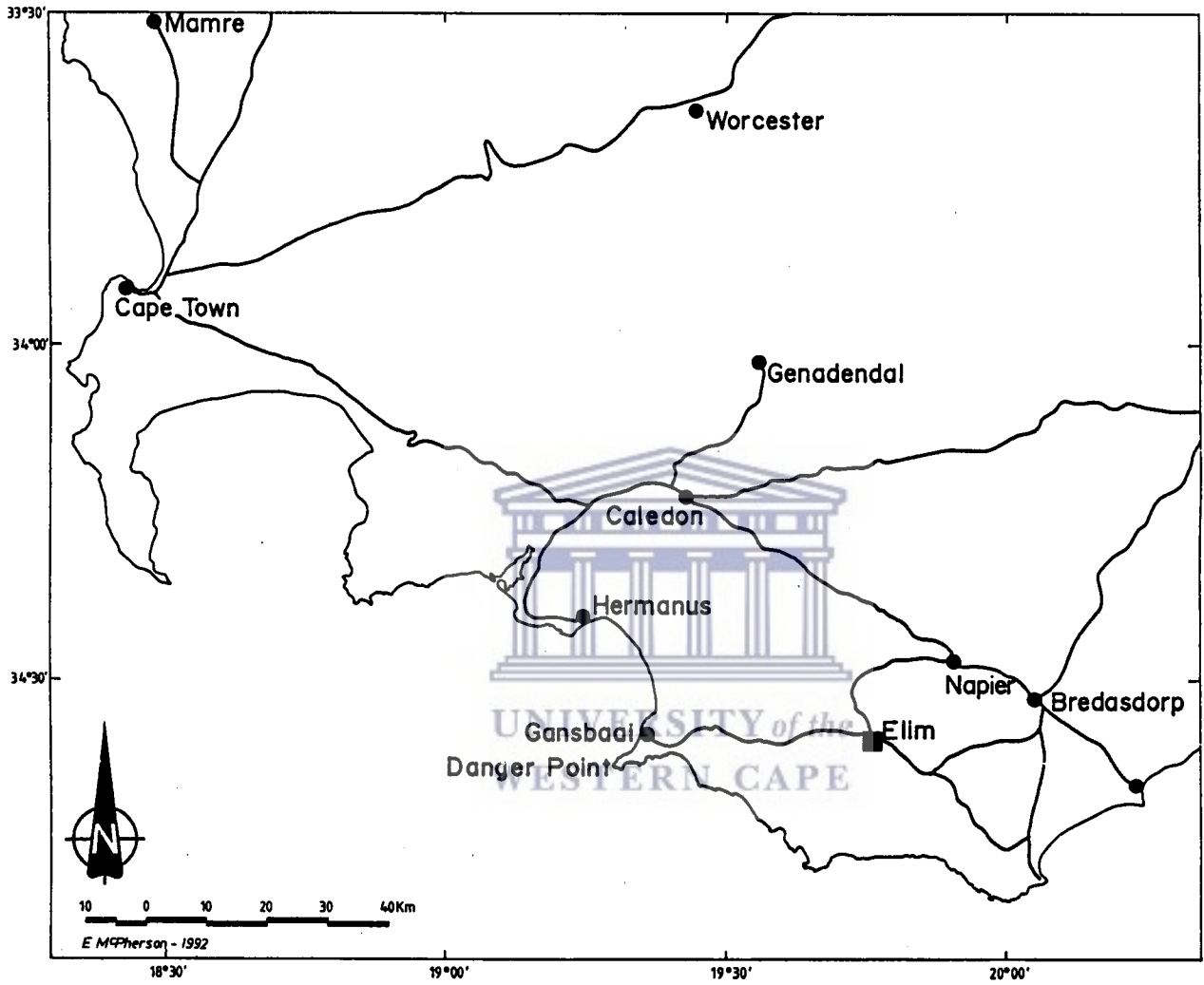
Redressing the physical, social and political dispossession of the majority of the South African population within the realm of ownership and access to land offers a wide and divergent range of options. Possible options are spelled out by De Klerk (1991: 260-273) as the free market approach, 'affirmative action' options (re-allocating state land; additional legal reforms; state aid programmes; limiting large farmers), limited state expropriation (limited expropriation with market-related compensation; limited expropriation with limited compensation), and nationalisation by land tax. He arguably correctly maintains that "the present and future

demand that output from the land be maintained and increased. The challenge is to reconcile these demands. A policy of growth through redistribution appears to offer the means of achieving this." (De Klerk, 1991: 273 - 274)

Irrespective of how one perceives the question of land, increasing pressure will be placed upon the exploitation of land as a resource in the most viable and effective way. Addressing the land question with the aim of satisfying political aspirations at the cost of economic viability is just as foolhardy as attempting to institute a supposedly economically viable option at the cost of acknowledging the political aspirations of the people. It indeed becomes a case of reconciling different sides of the same coin.

1.3.3 Putting Elim in perspective

Given the macro perspective above, where does Elim fit in? Stated differently, within the broader puzzle of the South African reality, why place a small piece such as Elim under the microscope? It would be naive to believe that all development problems of a country can be addressed on a national level. On the other hand, neither can everything be done in isolation on a local level. However, an appreciation of specific physical as well as socio-economic circumstances on the local level is an important component in understanding rural development. Furthermore, given the legacy of disempowerment in this country, the people must be empowered in order to be active participants in the whole process of development. The democratisation of structures on a local level will therefore become a crucial element in enhancing rural development. If rural development is to be a development process of the people, for the people, by the people then surely a study on the micro-level such as Elim is justified.



MAP 1: ELIM - LOCATION MAP

Elim is situated in the Overberg region approximately 170 kilometres from Cape Town, 35 kilometres from Bredasdorp and 29 kilometres from Napier. (See Map 1, p. 13) In terms of the South African space economy Elim can be perceived as part of the inner periphery, yet also exhibiting certain characteristics of the outer periphery. The settlement finds itself in a predominantly "white" commercial farming region. Although Elim itself has over the years sustained a limited number of commercial farmers, the majority of its inhabitants had to find employment elsewhere. In essence then the majority of the economically active population of Elim had to find employment as migrant labourers in some form or other. Employment patterns will be discussed in Chapter 3.

The nature of the labour migration was (and still is) cyclical in that migrants perform wage labour away from Elim but return-migrate periodically. The extent of periods away from Elim always differed according to the form of employment. It thus ranged from days, to weeks, to months. The fact, however, remains that Elim supplies labour to both the surrounding "white" commercial farmers as well as to the modern industrial sector or inner core.

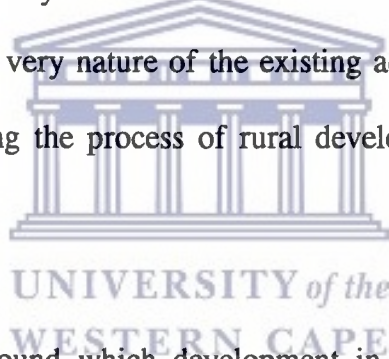
Classifying a community according to the extent of its poverty or affluence remains problematic. Although different levels of socio-economic well-being do exist, it cannot be claimed that extreme poverty exists in Elim. This is substantiated when examining basic needs such as housing, water, sanitation, electricity, employment, etc. The maintenance of such services, however, is important. Attention will be turned to issues such as the extent to which the people are satisfied with these services, how well they are maintained, the need for extension of services in the future, etc. Apart from the infrastructure, employment is

another vital component in combating poverty and the development of any settlement. This is particularly true in rural areas with limited employment opportunities. Creating employment to generate income thereby raising the standard of living and sustaining development is another issue to be dealt with.

The question of land will have to be addressed within the specific context of Elim. Within this context reference will not be made to land reform in the classical sense, but rather to a reform of land use. Be this as it may, it must also be acknowledged that land reform and the reform of land use are not necessarily mutually exclusive concepts. Attention will be focussed on the utilisation, under-utilisation or lack of utilisation of the land. In other words, a reappraisal of the present state of land use in Elim with the aim of assessing how effective it is. How accessible is the land owned by the Church to all the inhabitants of the settlement? What is being produced on the land and are the methods employed ecologically sound and economically viable? What can be done with the land that is under-utilised? These are all questions that need to be answered. Having done this, the next step would entail recommendations for a restructuring of land use should it be deemed necessary. This is to be dealt with in Chapter 5. The areas of land use that are to be concentrated on are the commercial farmers (grain and stock-farming) and the individual garden plots. The garden plots are mainly used for the cultivation of vegetables by individual households. These are the traditional forms of land use. The present use of the available resources must be evaluated in order to plan more effective land use where possible. This should be suited to the development needs of the community.

This whole process must take place within the institutional context of the Church as dominant

social institution and owner of the land. The existing administrative structure of the Church from top to bottom in relation to the development process in Elim must be analysed. As the sole property of the Moravian Church, Elim never resorted under the Mission Station and Communal Reserve Act (1909) or the Coloured Mission Stations and Reserves Act (1949) as was the case with many of the other mission stations. In the absence of these restrictive and prescriptive laws the Church effectively had the ideal opportunity to explore various avenues of rural development that could serve as a testing ground for future forms of land use. Let the history of Elim be the judge of the extent to which this truly materialised. How sensitive are the administrative structures of the Church to the needs of development? To what extent are the structures of the Church truly democratised and are there signs of a meaningful devolution of power? What is the very nature of the existing administrative structures and how effective are they in enhancing the process of rural development? These are crucial questions to be grappled with.

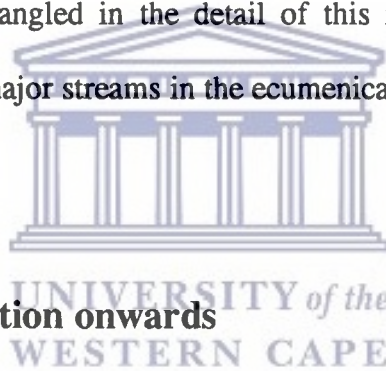


Let us lastly turn to the pivot around which development in Elim must revolve. That component is the people. The history of South Africa attests to the disempowerment of the majority of the people. A people structurally divorced from the mainstream of decision-making concerning the development of this country. To what extent is this true on the local level of Elim? Are the people of Elim actively involved in the development process of the settlement? Stated differently, are the structures of the Church conducive to the empowerment of the people in the development process? And how do the people themselves perceive their situation in Elim? How do they relate to the question of development and the role of the Church in this process? The voice of the people must therefore be heard.

Finally, it must be stated emphatically and unequivocally that in the whole process of research and analyses the ultimate aim is to serve the interests of the whole of the community of Elim within the context of Church and rural development.

1.4 CHURCH AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The aim of this section is to highlight the extensive debate around the Church and rural development within the ecumenical movement. It should be read against the background of the understanding of rural development expounded upon above. The Moravian Church cannot separate itself from its role as a Church within the broader fraternity of churches. Although one must beware of becoming entangled in the detail of this intricate debate, it remains essential to take cognisance of the major streams in the ecumenical debate around Church and rural development.



1.4.1 From modernisation onwards

As the 1960's were the First Development Decade inaugurated by the United Nations it will be used here as a point of departure. This decade was characterised by the modernisation approach to development with the emphasis on quantitative changes focusing on an increase in the Gross National Product (GNP) and largely equating development with economic growth. It was believed that an increase in the GNP would eventually have a trickle-down effect to the whole of the population. Experience showed that this was however not the case. The benefits were limited to the higher income groups and the urban people. Furthermore, these people became skilled in retaining these benefits for themselves. The rural poor, constituting the largest percentage of the population in the newly independent states of Africa, Asia and Latin America, were therefore excluded from the benefits of "development".

The belief in a trickle-down effect was largely shared by the ecumenical movement at the time. As the 1970's approached it became increasingly clear that there was more to development than mere economic growth. Parmar (1974: 43) aptly puts it that "social justice must precede and be considered a necessary precondition for growth. That is the only way by which qualitative attributes will civilize quantitative growth". This failure of the First Development Decade to live up to expectations resulted in a shift in the approach to development.

A triangular formula consisting of economic growth, self-reliance and social justice as interrelated objectives of development was coined at the Montreaux I Consultation on Ecumenical Assistance to Development Projects in 1970. The general trend was thus to move away from the perception that economic growth constituted the alpha and omega of development. The Montreaux Consultation led to the establishment of the Commission on Church's Participation in Development (CCPD).

By the time of Montreaux II in 1974 there had been a further shift towards people's participation in development. This shift in thinking was prompted by the belief that people, especially the poor and marginalised must be the pivot around which development revolves. Dickinson (1983: 48) describes this shift by citing Itty as follows: "development is essentially a people's struggle in which the poor and oppressed should be the main protagonists, the agents and immediate beneficiaries. Therefore, the development process must be seen from the point of view of the poor and oppressed masses who are the subjects and not the objects of development."

It must, however, be stressed that this shift in focus does not mean economic growth is not important. On the contrary, sustained economic growth is vital for overcoming poverty. However, a pursuit of economic growth that fails to promote social justice and self-reliance can never be termed true development. Egalitarian trends are necessary to give people a vested interest in growth. True development can only occur through people's participation, because "by assuring the poor of an adequate share of the social product in the form of essential goods and services, work and educational opportunities and so on, social justice not only increases their ability to contribute more to production, but also their willingness to do so". (Dickinson, 1975: 172)

1.4.2 The Church and the poor

Special emphasis has been placed on the Church and the poor, specifically finding manifestation in the programmes of the CCPD. At the Nairobi Assembly of the WCC in 1975 it was proposed that the CCPD be entrusted with the task in which "it should aid the poor and the oppressed in their struggles, and at the same time help the churches to manifest their solidarity with the poor and to second their efforts for a more just and participatory society". (De Santa Ana, 1979: ix) A result of this was the CCPD trilogy by Julio de Santa Ana, *Good News to the Poor* (1977), *Separation Without Hope* (1978), and *Towards a Church of the Poor* (1979). Literature on the Church and the poor once again reiterates the vastness of this sphere within the greater debate on church and development.

It is not always clear what is meant by "the poor" as unanimity on this issue, as is the case with so many others within the development debate, does not exist. For the sake of clarity, however, poverty in this context is to be understood as "the unfulfillment of basic human

needs required to adequately sustain life free from disease, misery, hunger, pain, suffering, hopelessness and fear, on the one hand, and the condition of defenceless people suffering from structural injustice on the other." (De Santa Ana, 1979: 76)

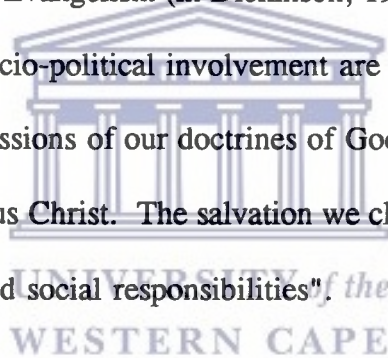
1.4.3 Society in transformation: where is the Church?

The Latin American theologians of liberation moved to an approach in development that calls for a change of the existing socio-political structures. According to this approach development cannot take place within the existing socio-political structures as these structures are responsible for the prevailing poverty. People need to take control of their own destiny and be liberated from existing economic structures. Anything less than this is perceived as "merely painting the prison walls". (Samuel and Sugden, 1981: 23) This view is reiterated by Dickinson (1975: 64-65) when he states that "at the core of this view is the conviction that the present government is incapable of genuine development and social justice; a new political and social structure is the sine qua non for effective political and economic action. Attempts to reform present structures cannot succeed because the basic world view which prompted those structures remains, making every effort to reform a new expression of an old mentality. Reformism leads to palliatives, not change".

At this point it should be stated that development can be either instrumental in perpetuating or changing the status quo. The way in which development is perceived, the base of involvement in development, the method of that involvement and the goal of involvement therefore become of crucial importance to the church. The theology of liberation is geared towards the transformation of a society perceived as unjust to one that is perceived as just. Irrespective of the ideology by which a society is governed, the Church remains called upon

to speak out against any form of injustice and work towards the eradication thereof.

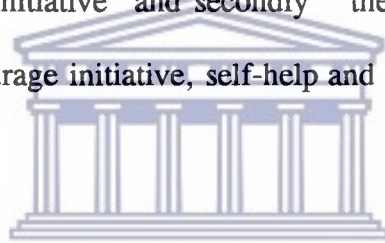
The Church has a twofold task, namely that of proclamation and diaconia. Its ministry should be an integrated one of preaching to the needs of the soul, mind and body. It is hard to love God with all one's soul, mind heart and strength and one's neighbour as oneself, when one is sick, or hungry, has no work, has little hope of overcoming a treadmill of disaster for one's self and one's family. The Church is today being challenged because it is said to have done very little in dismantling oppressive structures in South Africa and exploitative economic structures in the world. This twofold task of the Church was confirmed in August 1974 by the Lausanne World Conference on Evangelism (in Dickinson, 1975: 41) when it was stated, "We affirm that evangelism and socio-political involvement are both parts of our Christian duty. For both are necessary expressions of our doctrines of God and man, our love for our neighbour and our obedience of Jesus Christ. The salvation we claim should be transforming us in the totality of our personal and social responsibilities".



Apart from the spiritual, there are thus social and human dimensions which inevitably involve Christianity in human struggles for social, economic and political emancipation. This Christian involvement must entail an acceptance of people as being equal with the same claims as one's self. It recognizes the basic human rights of all people to freedom and equality. In development terms it is not a relationship between superior and inferior, creating a dependency on the donor and building up their economic wealth. There is no paternalism, because all are equal. People make their own decisions and accept the responsibility thereof. Loving our neighbour means helping to build up humanity in the belief that every person is born free, morally responsible and creative.

1.4.4 People's participation in development

An approach to development that is increasingly receiving attention is that of people's participation. Within the parameters of this study people's participation is also regarded as the core around which any development in Elim should revolve. It must be stressed that this does not imply the participation in development programmes that have been planned by others for the people involved. The people themselves must intrinsically be involved in the decision-making process. Boelaars and De Kuperda (in Middelkoop, 1979: 10) perceive the process of people's participation as essentially consisting of two elements, namely firstly "the participation by the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative" and secondly "the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self-help and mutual help and make these more effective."



UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

* People's participation can however not take place within a vacuum. On the contrary, it always finds expression within a structural environment that can either facilitate and enhance it or on the other hand retard and strangle it. Given the demarcated sphere within the theory of State as applied in this study, the structural environment in Elim finds expression in the bureaucratic structure of the Church together with existing group interests. It will therefore be important to establish whether the structural environment is conducive or not to furthering meaningful people's participation as an integral part of development in Elim. Furthermore, the people's perception of existing group interests in relation to the common good of the community at large will have to be taken into account. The people's participation in development projects will be influenced by their perception of who will be the beneficiaries of that development. These considerations can effectively be addressed within the theory of

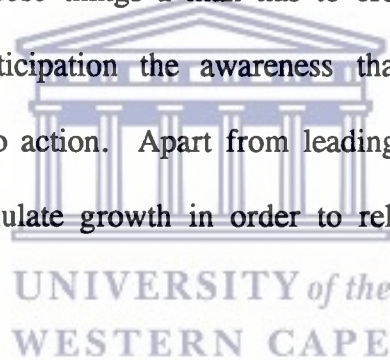
State.

Two guiding principles of the CCDP's work is in harmony with this and of significance to us as it has direct implications for our case study. Firstly, "because the primary responsibility for development programmes and projects rests at the local, national and regional levels, there should be distribution of power in the decision-making process" and the secondly, "there should be a recognition of the importance of maximum participation by the local community in development work and of the potential of the church to stimulate such voluntary efforts." (Middelkoop, 1979: 6 citing Gruber) Once again, how does this relate to the situation in Elim? There can only be distribution of power if the bureaucratic structure of the church is geared towards meaningful participation of the people in the decision-making process. The Church can, therefore, not escape its responsibility in the empowerment of the people. As long as the church denies the people the right to be co-workers in the construction of their future and in the realization of their full potential, it remains an obstacle to, rather than a vehicle for, real development.

People's participation is only possible once the people are aware of their own potential. This awareness is raised through the process of conscientisation. This involves the "practical raising of consciousness in the light of experience and reflection". (Kee, 1974: 93) It is important to help people in understanding the historical processes that led to their present situation, to analyse the present situation and to develop a vision for the future. This vision must emerge out of a new consciousness of the people, and be rooted in a deepened understanding and awareness of their own capacities. It cannot simply be given from the outside, but must grow out of a people's experience as a community. The Church's

involvement should therefore not hinder a broader development, rather it should help the community to see itself as part of the larger socio-political reality.

Conscientisation cannot be effective if there is no participation by the people at the local level. Participation is an important ingredient in structural change and its deeper implication is political. It lays stress on development initiated by the poor and oppressed. The importance of people's participation is stressed by Sider (1981: 32) citing Nyerere as follows: "people cannot be developed, they can only develop themselves. For, while it is possible for an outsider to build a man's house, an outsider cannot give the man pride and self-confidence in himself as a human being. Those things a man has to create in himself by his own actions." Through people's participation the awareness that has been awakened by conscientisation is transformed into action. Apart from leading to a just redistribution of available wealth it must also stimulate growth in order to relieve and finally overcome poverty.



Such an approach to participation by the people can be in contradiction to the interests of the existing structures and will therefore be met with opposition. This type of development has the potential to expose the forces of exploitation and to become the voice of the voiceless. Such an egalitarian community must become a practical example of the possibilities for a just society. It could become a threat to the status quo and provoke resistance. In such a way "safe, micro-level programmes can become seedbeds of struggle". (Dickinson, 1975: 176) This is a means of practically involving the rural community in the quest for social justice.

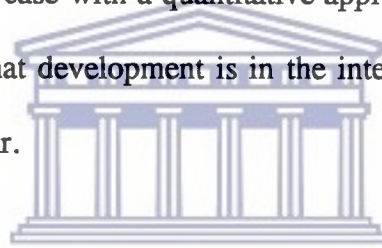
1.4.5 Towards a practical theology of rural development

But of what significance is all this to the Church and rural development in general and also specifically to Elim? The development of self-reliant communities offer great possibilities to the Church for involvement in rural development. This is especially true where the Church is still in possession of the land as is the case with Elim. It is however not suggested that the economic principles of self-reliance as applied during the missionary years should be reintroduced. On the contrary, any movement towards self-reliance should be a practical manifestation of the concept as it is understood above. Our agricultural land is an irreplaceable asset and the greatest care should be taken to assure its proper use and preservation. The opening up and use of land can be controlled and the Church can be instrumental in developing new ways of co-operative, but economically viable farming and gardening. This could enhance a move away from capital-intensive industry to agricultural and labour-intensive, non-industrial methods of production. By this the abolition of large-scale commercial farming enterprises for doctrinaire reasons is not propagated, but merely that participatory forms of control and distribution of profits should be worked out. The Church must first establish whether any change in the present scale of farming would be economically viable, given the specific local circumstances influencing production. The same would apply when contemplating the cultivation of the vegetable garden land of Elim.

Through the Church's involvement in self-reliance and participation it can create employment in rural areas. It can do this by a communal system so that those involved in production receive an adequate share of the social product. Not only is work provided, but also an income deriving from that involvement. The Church can provide essential goods and services (means of production) to maintain the production process in which the people are involved.

The provision of a financial base for such development is of importance, because rural communities are often entangled in a web of poverty. Careful planning needs to be done as to how the means of production could be provided. The Church will have to find the money for such development projects and then help the communities to become self-reliant as development takes place.

It is important that such self-reliance be accompanied by an adequate rate of growth. Here we are again not referring to purely quantitative growth as expressed in the sense of aggregate increase in the GNP. Development must be a process to overcome poverty and not increase inequalities as is often the case with a quantitative approach to growth. The profits of production will be shared, so that development is in the interests of the community as a whole, and of the poor in particular.



Through self-reliance and people's participation the people must come together on communal needs such as water supply, food or vegetable gardens, sanitation, etc. Through their involvement people learn to take responsibility for one another and to respect one another. They share leadership and become more accountable for their actions. They are practically engaged in learning and applying the principles of democracy.

1.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to give insight into rural development, controversial though the concept might be. Rural development was brought into the fold of geographical analysis using space as a common denominator. The rationality behind a micro-level study of this nature was clearly spelled out, though at the same time dually acknowledging the importance

of the broader South African context. Rural poverty and the question of land served as the vehicle to accomplish this. Against this background Elim was placed in perspective. Finally, the major streams within the extensive ecumenical debate around Church and rural development were addressed.

Having dealt with the major concepts deemed necessary to understand Elim within the broader context of Church and rural development, the next chapter spells out the theoretical framework to be used in analysing development in Elim.



CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter expounds the theoretical framework within which the development of Elim will be analysed. The theory of State, with specific reference to the role of the State in social transformation, will be used. As a point of departure it must be emphasised that in applying the theory of State the Church as social institution cannot directly and without qualification be transferred as a substitution for the State. Given the specific prevailing circumstances of Elim, however, it will be shown that the Moravian Church performs certain functions similar to that of the State as manifested within the framework of the theory of State. The theory of State will therefore be applied as analytical tool in gaining an understanding of those functions of the Moravian Church with regard to Elim that are similar to that of the State. The reader must thus understand this analogy between State and the Moravian Church within the framework of the theory of State on these premises.

It will be shown that on the micro-level of Elim the Moravian Church is in fact fulfilling the role of the State as the dominant social institution. For all practical purposes the Church in the execution of its functions in Elim by and large fulfils the role of a local government. The discussion will be restricted to the domestic considerations as they apply to the Moravian Church and Elim. At this point it must be stressed that the theory of State as applied in this analysis cannot be generalised to include all churches as social institutions.

It is noted that there are certain omissions and because of this restriction to specific issues the author therefore abdicated the responsibility for dealing with all the fundamental issues pertaining to the theory of State. This is, however, the price to be paid for focusing the study on the demarcated sphere of the Moravian Church and Elim and doing justice to the issues at hand.

2.2 THEORY OF STATE

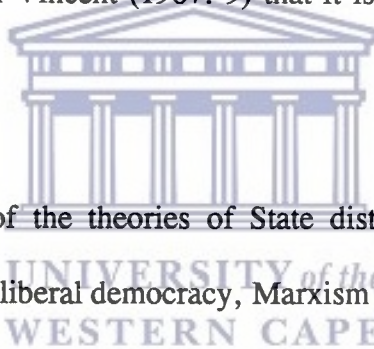
Before we engage ourselves in theoretical analysis it is important to understand the aim of such an exercise. What exactly is a theory and what purpose does it serve? According to Vincent (1987: 40) "a theory is essentially a systematic mesh of interconnected concepts which purports to characterize, describe and explain reality. It is a mental schema which makes sense of the world and may often prescribe courses of action". Theories are thus analytical tools aiding us in understanding the world we live in. Not only can it help us to understand the past, but it has the potential of changing our present social reality and thereby shaping the future.

In using a theory we extract certain elements from the multitude existing in our social reality, thereby delimiting our area of study. By employing specific definitions and concepts we clarify these elements to gain a clearer understanding of exactly what we are dealing with. Instead of a mere narration of facts we attempt to explain the social reality within the parameters of our study. Having delimited, described and explained the social reality of the study the next step would be recommendations, normative assessments and prescriptions in the pursuit of what is believed should be. The use of theory as an analytical tool in gaining a better understanding of our social reality is, therefore, of the utmost importance and fully

justified.

2.2.1 Different traditions within the theory of State

The aim of this section is to serve as a general background against which the specific aspects of theory of State chosen for the purpose of this study must be understood. In dealing with the concept of State it becomes clear that it is not an easy one. The existence of the State might well be a certainty, but theorizing about it is an extremely complex matter. There exist many diverse views on the State making it a contested concept. Even if there are strong similarities between different States, no one specific model is representative of all States. Given this, one can only agree with Vincent (1987: 9) that it is more accurate to talk about "theories of the State".



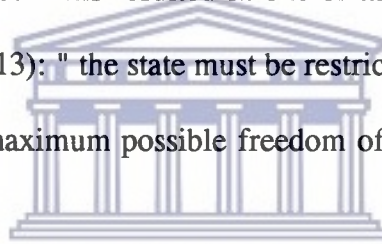
Held (1983: 2-47) in his review of the theories of State distinguishes four traditions of political analysis namely liberalism, liberal democracy, Marxism and political sociology. The next section briefly deals with each of these.

Liberalism signifies "the attempt to define a private sphere independent of the state and thus to redefine the state itself, i.e, the freeing of civil society - personal, family and business life - from political interference and the simultaneous delimitation of the state's authority" (Held, 1983: 3). Thomas Hobbes and John Locke are exponents of the liberalism tradition perceiving the State as a necessary guiding force for society.

A few aspects regarding Hobbes's conception of the State are worth mentioning. The State by and large actively constructs the socio-economic reality i.e. civil society. Because humans

are perceived as inherently self-centred seeking primarily to promote their own interest a powerful State is necessary to counter possible anarchy. The State must be legitimate, thereby ruling by public consent. An all-powerful State, a Leviathan in his terminology, is central to Hobbes's conception of the State (Held, 1983: 4). In essence this is an absolutist State.

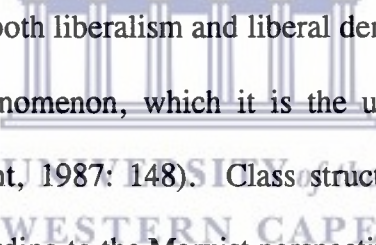
John Locke challenged Hobbes's conception of an all-powerful State. He conceived the State "as an instrument for the defence of the life, liberty and estate of its citizens; that is, the state's *raison d'être* is the protection of individuals' right as laid down by God's will and as enshrined in law" (Held, 1983: 10). It is important that the power of the State be limited and the rights of the individual protected. This resulted in one of the central tenets of European liberalism as stated by Held (1983: 13): "the state must be restricted in scope and constrained in practice in order to ensure the maximum possible freedom of every citizen".



Liberal democracy centres around the establishment of political accountability. Two of its first exponents, Jeremy Bentham and James Mill associated liberal democracy with creating a social institution ensuring that the rulers are accountable to those over whom they rule. This implies a State with minimal intervention in civil society coupled with limited scope and power. Intervention by such a State as a neutral arbiter or referee backed by its coercive powers is perceived as legitimate only when individuals, groups or classes threaten the common good of civil society. Periodic voting and elections would ensure individual participation in the establishment of a legitimate government. Consent of the individuals in civil society thus legitimates the State.

At this point it might be of interest to briefly refer to Jean Jacques Rousseau simultaneously

as critique of liberal democracy and influence on the development of the Marxist tradition. Held (1983: 21) aptly quotes Rousseau on his rejection of both liberalism and liberal democracy: "Sovereignty cannot be represented, for the same reason that it cannot be alienated ... the people's deputies are not, and could not be, its representatives; they are merely agents; and they cannot decide anything finally. Any law which the people has not ratified in person is void; it is not law at all. The English people believes itself to be free; it is gravely mistaken; it is free only during the election of Members of Parliament; as soon as the Members are elected, the people is enslaved; it is nothing." People must ideally participate in making the laws regulating their lives. In essence Rousseau thus advocates a shift from a representative democracy to a participatory or direct democracy.



The Marxist tradition also rejects both liberalism and liberal democracy perceiving the State "as a universal but temporary phenomenon, which it is the ultimate aim of humanity to abandon or do away with" (Vincent, 1987: 148). Class structure is one of the pillars in understanding human relations according to the Marxist perspective. It results when a surplus in production is generated. A section of society gains control of the means of production and thereby becomes the dominating class extracting surplus from the wage-labourers. In essence relations between these classes are exploitative. The State's claim to represent the public interest in the liberal and liberal democratic traditions is seen as a contradiction in Marxist terms, as by doing so the State denies the existence of classes, the exploitative nature of this relationship and the fundamental differences of interest between classes. The State can therefore not be a neutral referee as it would thereby sustain the privileges of the dominant class. Lastly it should be emphasised that in dealing with the wide spectrum of thought on the State within the Marxist tradition one cannot but agree with Held (1983: 34) when he

states: "Contemporary Marxism is in a state of flux. There are now as many differences between Marxists as between liberals or liberal democrats".

Within the tradition of **political sociology** we will touch on some of the ideas of Max Weber. The Marxist conception of the State as a product of the class structure of society was contested by Weber. For him a centralized bureaucratic administration was a necessity and he clearly distinguished between a bureaucratic structure and the control thereof.

The State is perceived as having jurisdiction over a given territory within which it controls order using coercion where necessary. Besides the concepts of territoriality and violence (coercion) Weber considers legitimacy of importance. There must be a belief that State action is justifiable. According to Weber (as quoted by Held, 1983: 112) "the State is a relation of men dominating men, a relation supported by means of legitimate (i.e. considered to be legitimate) violence. If the State is to exist, the dominated must obey the authority claimed by the powers that be."

A large amount of power is vested in bureaucracy and it therefore becomes important how this power is checked. If this power is not checked private interests may be served to the detriment of the nation-state. The emphasis is placed on the well-being of the nation-state.

Clearly, this brief and general overview of theories of State is but the tip of the iceberg of an extensive debate. Given these traditions it must now be stated that this study will largely be focused within the Weberian vein acknowledging the importance of the bureaucratic structure of the State. The existence of group interests and the influence thereof on

development in Elim will also be explored, but it should be pointed out that this will not be done within the framework of the classical Marxist analysis of a class struggle. It is hoped that against this general background we can now move forward to the specifics of the following section.

2.2.2 The State - a working definition

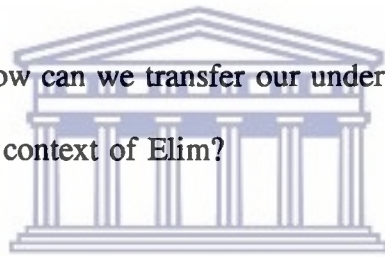
Given the broader background of theory of State the next step is defining our understanding of "State" within the parameters of this study and to establish how this concept can be transferred to the role of the Moravian Church in Elim.

The working definition of the State to be used is that of Rueschmeyer and Evans (1988: 46-7) who consider the state to be "a set of organizations invested with the authority to make binding decisions for people and organizations juridically in a particular territory and to implement these decisions using, if necessary, force". This definition corresponds largely with the formal features that Vincent (1987: 19-21) attributes to the modern state. The State holds jurisdiction over a geographically identifiable area and claims hegemony over all other social institutions within that area. This supremacy within a territory is both *de facto* and *de jura*. Maximum control over resources and force is also characteristic of the State. In order to do this the State must have legitimacy, in other words, it must be recognised as having the authority to carry out actions.

Let us briefly turn to some contradictory tendencies that the state expresses simultaneously. (Rueschmeyer and Evans, 1988: 47-8) The State inevitably is an instrument of domination. A certain degree of domination is inevitable if the State is to implement any binding decisions

on the people within the geographical space over which it has jurisdiction. In order to do this the State has to fulfil its role of corporate actor. In other words, the State must be able to act in a unified way manifesting an existence within its own right and possessing interests of its own. This is not an easy task because any meaningful State apparatus within the life of a society will potentially be an arena of social conflict. Different people or groups will attempt to use the State as a vehicle to realize their own particular interests. The State deals with these divergent forces by presenting itself as the guardian of universal interests. These tendencies of the State are clearly contradictory and cannot come into their own all at once. At certain times specific interests would be dominant.

Given this definition of the state, how can we transfer our understanding of the State to that of the Moravian Church within the context of Elim?



The Moravian Church in Southern Africa (M.C. in S.A.) was until March 1992 divided into two autonomous provinces, namely the M.C. in S.A. (Western Cape Province) and the M.C. in S.A. (Eastern Cape Province). It was, however, always registered as one Church with both national and international ecumenic organizations. Although the M.C. in S.A. has now amalgamated officially into one united Church, the *de facto* situation is that the administration of the past is presently still effectively retained. Each province has a Synod (called the Regional Synod, but which will in future be referred to as a Regional Conference) as the highest governing body. The Synod is called together within a period not extending four years. In the period between two consecutive Synods the Regional Board, consisting of seven members elected by the Synod, governs the province. As such the Regional Board is the executive branch of the Church. Together with the Regional Board there are a number of

institutions responsible for implementing binding decisions within the jurisdiction of the respective provinces. Any significant changes in this present form of administration will only reveal themselves over the next few years. So for all practical purposes the only form of administration that can be analysed is the one presently still in operation.

Some of the terminology in the working definition might at first seem contradictory to the Church. Specifically reference to binding decisions and the implementation thereof, using, if necessary, force, demand further explanation. Elim is juridically located within the territory over which the M.C. in S.A. (Western Cape Province) has the authority to make and implement binding decisions. Because Elim is the property of the M.C. in S.A. all inhabitants must be members of this Church in order to obtain the right to live in Elim. Elim is represented by democratically elected members of the congregation at the highest governing body of the Moravian Church, namely the Synod. All people and organizations in Elim are to a greater or lesser extent subject to the authority of the M.C. in S.A. and the decisions of Synod are thus binding on the people of Elim.

In the implementation of these binding decisions it must be emphasised that secular life and ecclesiastical life within Elim have always been entwined. All inhabitants, in order to obtain the right to live in Elim, must sign an agreement with the Moravian Church acknowledging the Church as owner of the settlement thereby subjecting themselves to the rules and regulations of the Church as local government (See Addendum 1). Signatories of this agreement as members of the Moravian Church acknowledge Jesus Christ as the head of the congregation they belong to. The signing of this contract becomes a pledge before God to obey the rules and regulations of the mission station. This becomes a vital component in our

understanding of the implementation of any binding decisions by the Church. The legitimacy of the Church can therefore be understood as the belief and faith that the members have in the Church as part of the body of Christ on earth. The Church then has what can be termed a divine legitimacy. The use of force in an overt way as might pertain to a secular State is thus largely absent. This absence of a monopoly of violence once again reiterates the fact that the Church within the context of Elim performs the function of a local government rather than that of the State on a national level.

One might gain the impression that the Church is solely an instrument of domination. This is not the case. Through its very involvement within the community the Church has been instrumental in the process of social transformation. It is the very nature of these changes that will ultimately influence the perception of the Church's role in the development of Elim.

Given the above-mentioned working definition of the State the opinion is held that within the context of Elim the M.C. in S.A. is indeed fulfilling the role of the State as the dominant social institution. Continuing in a Weberian vein it is further maintained that any meaningful intervention in the development of Elim is inseparably linked to the bureaucratic structure of the M.C. in S.A. together with the people's participation on grassroot level within that structure. The people's participation in turn will depend on their perception of the Church and their vision for future development. The existence and extent of an arena of social conflict has to be established. Lastly, the way in which the Church presents itself as the guardian of universal interests in order to preserve its unity and capacity for corporate action will again be linked to the people's perception. These aspects will be dealt with extensively in Chapter 4 containing the empirical research.

2.2.3 The structure of the State and the capacity to intervene in development

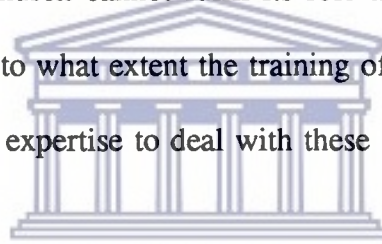
Specific topics within the theory of State will be analyzed with reference to the effectiveness of State intervention in the development of the society over which it has jurisdiction. The analysis will be focused on the structure of the State and its capacity to intervene in development, pursuing Max Weber's argument that an efficient bureaucratic machinery is at the core of effective State intervention. (Rueschmeyer and Evans, 1988: 51) The three aspects of State structure to be deliberated on are: firstly, the constructing of a bureaucratic machinery; secondly, organizational capacity and distribution policies, and thirdly, centralization and decentralization.

The construction of a bureaucratic machinery is a vital component in the State's capacity to intervene in development. Effective institution building coincides with the shaping and reshaping of the core participants' (state elites or state managers) goals, priorities and commitments into a collective formation. This is a long-term process. The capacity for effective intervention may actually only become visible long after the creation of the bureaucratic machinery. On the other hand, in the absence of the required bureaucratic machinery, effective intervention cannot occur even if the will and the resources to do so exist. The bureaucratic machinery thus becomes a vital tool for any State action.

The complex interrelations of socio-economic processes and patterns require the necessary expertise and knowledge by the State elites to bring about effective intervention by the State. The acquiring of sufficient data pertaining to particular socio-economic conditions is linked to the state's surveillance capacity. The State's surveillance capacity includes both the overt

and covert actions of the state agents (Giddens, 1981: 218). Church workers will thus be agents in acquiring such information.

In presenting itself as the guardians of universal interests the state managers' outlook should reflect the long term goals of the State rather than that of any dominant class. The shared training of these managers would generate distinct ideological formulations in terms of the State's universal interests. Such a distinct outlook is critical for the State in realizing its ability to act as a corporate actor. In terms of the Moravian Church this translates into ministers sharing a common vision of the role of the Church in development. In the absence of such a common ideology the Church cannot fulfil its role as a corporate actor. It will therefore be important to establish to what extent the training of ministers is geared towards equipping them with the necessary expertise to deal with these matters.



The organizational capacity and distribution policies of the State are important components in analyzing the allocation of resources by the State. Any restructuring of existing patterns of distribution requires an intervention by the State into the socio-economic processes of the territory under its jurisdiction. The State must therefore become involved in relations between the dominant and subordinate groups. Just as dominant groups may create an obstacle for penetrating state intervention so too might be the bureaucratic capacity of the State. The State cannot function if it does not extract revenue from civil society and therefore the organizational capacity of the State will be developed in the sphere where it is involved in revenue extraction from civil society. Within this sphere the reduction of income inequalities could be addressed. The intervention of the State in the accumulation and equitable distribution of wealth can become very problematic. To a large extent this is dependent upon

factors such as the impact of the dominant interests in society, the existence of a dominant class and the extent of state autonomy.

How does the Moravian Church extract revenue from Elim and what is the influence of this on socio-economic development? What role does the allocation of resources by the Church play in creating a more equitable distribution of wealth within the community? These are some of the questions that will have to be addressed in dealing with the organizational capacity of the Moravian Church to intervene in the development of Elim.

The degree of centralization and decentralization of the State bureaucratic machinery can influence its capacity for effective intervention. The State as an entity consists of different organizational parts. There has to be a degree of coherence and coordination within and among these State organizations in order for the State to respond as a corporate actor. This demands an internal guiding force in the face of various possible outside interests and demands. A certain degree of centralization is therefore necessary.

On the other hand a certain degree of decentralization might be required for maximum efficiency in many types of State intervention. In certain respects the operation of sub-units must be insulated from the control of the central bureaucracy and local leaders must also obtain more autonomy. This enhances the efficient use of information and decision-making on a local level. Decentralization could however also create problems of corporate cohesion and co-ordination resulting in greater possibilities for the creation of an arena of social conflict. To some extent the centralized control of financial resources can effect a degree of co-ordination. The danger in this approach is that the delegation of real decision-making

might be compromised in the process when the execution of such decision-making becomes dependent on centrally controlled financial resources. Effective State intervention therefore needs to combine meaningful decentralization with coherence and effective co-ordination.

2.3 PUTTING THEORY INTO PRACTICE.

Given the parameters of the understanding of theory of State as expounded upon above, how is it to be transposed to the reality of Elim? On a practical level, how can this theoretical framework in the first instance enhance an analysis and understanding of the extent to which the Moravian Church intervened and influenced development in Elim? Secondly, what are the practical implications of this theoretical framework for the future development of the settlement?



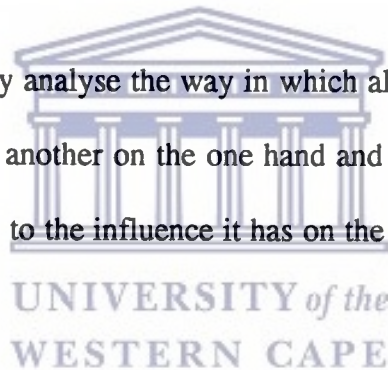
UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Church structures must be such that the needs of the people, especially the poor and underprivileged, are served and not that the people serve the church structures. Within the context of people's participation as stressed in Chapter 1 church structures must enhance the unity and oneness of the Church. Unfortunately, the composition of church decision-making bodies often "tend to reproduce the structures of domination prevailing in society; these are not conducive to participation by the lowest sectors of society". (De Santa Ana, 1979: 174)

Another important aspect to be considered is related to the geographical location of the headquarters of the Church and the influence that has on the power relations within the bureaucratic structure of the Church. The headquarters of the Church are often in the urban areas and one must constantly guard against an urban bias. The Church must live in the midst of the people instead of apart from them and at no time must the structure of the Church

become an obstacle to development. It has happened in the past that projects emanated from the top structure of the Church without prior consultation with the people who should benefit from the project. The people themselves must be allowed to voice their needs, otherwise they will never accept the project as their own. There must be communication and harmony between the structure of the Church, the nature of the project to be undertaken and the community involved. Where funds are made available for development the structure of the Church must be such that the money reaches the people and does not disappear somewhere in a bureaucratic top structure. This is an aspect that needs earnest attention in development planning by Churches.

The empirical study will specifically analyse the way in which all the components within the bureaucratic structure relate to one another on the one hand and to the bureaucracy itself on the other. This must then be related to the influence it has on the development process within Elim.



The hierarchical authority of church structures must serve the needs of the people. If this is not the case then these structures must be addressed and transformed in order to do just that. In the spirit of people's participation MacDonald (1981: 64) addresses this issue when he states that "if allowing people to become more responsible for their lives means certain structural changes, then central authorities must be ready for such change". Any structural changes flowing from the empirical study will be dealt with in Chapter 5.

2.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter attempted to deal with the theory of State as analytical tool to be employed in understanding development in Elim. The first step was to spell out the need for a theoretical framework. In the absence of a singular theory of State four traditions within theories of State were briefly considered. A working definition of the State was put forward to clarify the understanding of State within the context of this study. Given this definition of State it was clearly spelt out how the Moravian Church as dominant social institution fulfils the role of the State within the context of Elim. The structure of the State and its capacity to intervene in development were then deliberated upon using Max Weber's contention of the importance of an efficient bureaucratic machinery. Finally, the means of transposing theory into practice within the parameters of this study were touched upon.

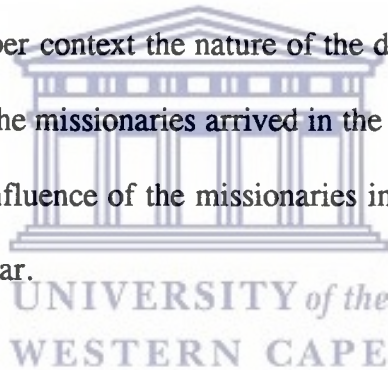
The present cannot be fully comprehended nor can meaningful recommendations for the future be made without understanding the past. The next chapter thus aims at providing an historical perspective on development in Elim.

CHAPTER 3

ELIM - A PLACE IN HISTORY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The establishment and development of Elim as a mission station must be understood within the broader context of mission work and the socio-political and economic realities of South African society. The mission work of the Moravians must also be seen against the background of their origins. This chapter will firstly give a brief overview of the roots of the Moravian Church in order to place in its proper context the nature of the development of their mission stations. Secondly, the era before the missionaries arrived in the Cape will be explored. The third issue to be dealt with is the influence of the missionaries in general before focusing on the Moravians and Elim in particular.



3.2 THE FOUNDING OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH

The Moravian Church, as it is known today, originated in Bohemia and Moravia during the Fifteenth century as an organised group outside the established state church. In the early stages of their existence they called themselves Brethren of the Law of Christ (in Latin, *fratres legis Christi*) which was later abbreviated to *Brethren*. The official name **Unity of the Brethren** (in Latin, *Unitas Fratrum*) was adopted within ten years of the inception of this body. The term **Moravian Church** is used in the English-speaking world and arose under Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf, an Austrian nobleman, in Saxony during the Eighteenth century. The term "Moravian" refers to the geographical origins (Moravia and Bohemia) of many of the early members of the *Unitas Fratrum*.

An interesting feature of the *Unitas Fratrum* of that time was their concept of the church. They (the Brethren) "held that there is no one true church. God has his children in every church." (Weinlick, 1966: 37) As an organised group outside the established State Church in an era before the Reformation, the *Unitas Fratrum* suffered severe persecution and became almost completely extinct during the Thirty Year War (1681-1648).

In 1722 Christian David led the first refugees from Moravia to the estate of Count von Zinzendorf in Saxony. The two of them played a major role in the renewal of the Moravian Church during the eighteenth century. Herrnhut, "the mother community of the Renewed Moravian Church" (Weinlick, 1966: 63) thus started as a refugee settlement. Besides Moravians and Bohemians others from all over Germany joined the settlement. The settlement was quite close to the village of Berthelsdorf. Although forced to worship as Lutherans in the existing Lutheran church at Berthelsdorf, the Herrnhuters organised their own extra-church services, thus retaining their identity as a continuation of the old *Unitas Fratrum*. Life in Herrnhut was guided by a set of rules drafted by Zinzendorf and others. The fact that they were officially classed as Lutherans meant that Herrnhut was actually "a church within a church." (Weinlick, 1966: 71) Herrnhut (meaning "in the Lord's care") became the model for similar Moravian settlements where church, civic and economic life formed an integrated whole.

Mission work became almost synonymous with the Moravian Church. The first missionaries left Herrnhut in 1732 for the island of St. Thomas in the Danish West Indies. Mission work was largely governed by the very specific ideas of Zinzendorf. "He believed it to be essential that the missionaries earn their own living to teach the natives the dignity of work. He

demanding of his personnel strict obedience to both the civil and the ecclesiastical laws of the countries in which they were working. He forbade participation in political affairs or the taking of sides in controversial issues, such as employer-employee relationships." (Weinlick, 1966: 95) It is important to take cognisance of these roots of the Moravian Church as they were direct consequences for the character of their missionary work in South Africa.

3.3 THE ERA BEFORE THE MISSIONARIES

In South Africa, as in most Christian countries in Africa and Latin America, the Church is an important aspect of the community and it has generally developed either directly or indirectly from missionary activities. By and large this missionary activity has gone hand in hand with colonization. Independent from how we interpret the relations between mission and colonialism, "it is self-evident that political expansion and the church's expansion in the world have covered the same ground, geographically and chronologically." (Buhlmann, W. quoted by Sine, 1981: 72) Within a global perspective this can be seen as Africa, and therefore South Africa, being enclosed as a part of the international capitalist economic system. Da Santa Ana (1978: 155) distinguishes two players in this historical process, namely the invaded and the invaders. The Africans were the invaded, whereas the colonialists and the missionaries were the invaders. It would, therefore, be inappropriate to discuss the Christian missionary movement in isolation from the historical context in which it took place.

The Dutch East India Company established a refreshment station at the Cape in 1652. The real purpose was to increase the company's profit and that depended upon their interaction with the indigenous population. The Khoikhoi (meaning 'men of men') inhabited the region that is today the western and southwestern areas of the Cape Province. Let us briefly

examine the economic infrastructure of the Khoikoi society by looking at their production process and means of production. The Khoikhoi were a nomadic people with herds of cattle and sheep. The grazing areas to which they returned during specific seasons were their basic means of production. They did not cultivate the soil, but were essentially stockfarmers. It was these vast herds of cattle and sheep which the colonists needed.

The means of production (the grazing land) were socially owned, i.e. it was the common property of all the members of that society. This was therefore a "primitive community" mode of production. The Khoikhoi did however not retain the means of production after colonial intrusion. The means of production on which they subsisted were expropriated by various means. It is sometimes argued that the Khoikhoi chiefs handed the lands over in return for a payment of some kind. Within a primitive community mode of production a chief would however not have the right to alienate the land of his people in this way as it was communally owned. Another dubious explanation is that the European farmers settled on the land during a period of absence by the khoikhoi. By far the most historically valid theory of this process is to be gained from the perspective afforded us by historical materialism which explains how the economics of capitalist expansionism led to the military subjection of the Khoikhoi by 1658. Having thus been expropriated, they were absorbed into the expanding settlement and became dependent on the farmers. They were considered to be a docile and cheap form of labour. (Regehr, 1979: 111)

The first slaves arrived in the Cape in 1658. This introduced a period of the slavery mode of production where both the means of production and the workers were the property of others (of the capitalists). It is of interest to note that even in those early years

institutionalised religion formed a major criterion of distinction between colonists on the one hand and the Khoikhoi and slaves on the other. Baptised slaves had both social and ecclesiastical status, whereas unbaptised slaves had neither. Also, once the Khoikhoi converted to Christianity their status under the law was the same as that of the settlers. (Regehr, 1979: 106-7)

At the same time the Dutch Reformed Church and the colonists had a close liaison which cannot be separated from colonial interest. The general attitude and practice of the company and colonists guided that of the church rather than the other way round. This could be ascribed to the fact that the company had the first chaplains and clergymen on their payroll. (Regehr, 1979: 111-112)

By the eighteenth century the Khoikhoi had lost their best grazing land and were forced to work for the settlers, keep their cattle on land of poor quality or move beyond the area of white settlement. Many chose the last option and moved to those areas still available to them. The great smallpox outbreak of 1713 vastly reduced their numbers. This was the situation confronting the first missionaries arriving in the Cape.

3.4 THE INFLUENCE OF THE MISSIONARIES

3.4.1 The origin of mission stations in South Africa

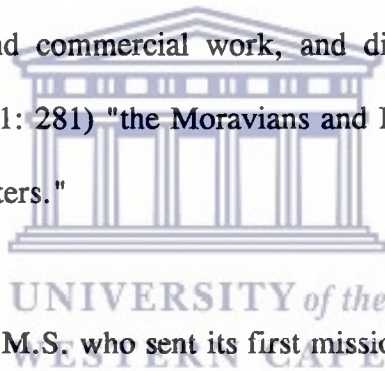
The Moravians were the first missionaries, arriving in 1737. After six years of missionary activity among the Khoikhoi at Genadendal (then named Baviaanskloof), the missionary Georg Schmidt left and the work was resumed in 1792. The Moravians followed a policy whereby mission stations were relatively isolated and their strategy was "the patient, gradual gathering

together of converts who had been thoroughly prepared, genuinely converted, and willing to accept the discipline of living together as a christian community". (Regehr, 1979: 118)

3.4.2 The Moravians and the London Missionary Society:

A difference in approach to socio-political and economic realities

There was a distinct difference between the way in which the Moravians reacted to the socio-political and economic realities existing at the time in the Cape and the way the London Missionary Society (L.M.S) did. The Moravians largely confined their work to the training of the Khoikhoi in agricultural and commercial work, and did not interfere in political matters. According to Lamar (1981: 281) "the Moravians and Lutheran missions tended to quietism in social and political matters."



This was in sharp contrast to the L.M.S. who sent its first missionaries to the Cape in 1799. They tended to be "propagandists of equalitarianism and they had no qualms about taking political action in support of their views". (Roux, 1964: 26) Hallbeck (in Kruger, 1966: 159) noted that "the missionaries of the L.M.S. were on the whole more outspoken towards the authorities than the Moravians with their Lutheran background. Therefore, their relations to the officials were more strained. The Government preferred the Moravians, setting them up as an example. This gave offence to the British missionaries, who complained that the Moravians did not side with them in their struggle for the political rights of the Hottentots."

A Commission of Inquiry sent by the British Government to the Cape in 1823 noted that although the Moravians attributed the plight of the Khoikhoi to political causes they did not

actively work towards changing the status quo. (Kruger, 1966: 165) The reasons for the difference in approach to missionary work between the Moravians and the L.M.S. are to be found in their background and the societies that shaped them. Not only did the Moravians come from absolutist states, but as far as secular affairs were concerned they believed in subservience to the constituted authorities. Being foreigners in the Cape they were even more respectful to the government of the day. In contrast to this the L.M.S. came from countries where it was legitimate and habitual to criticize the government. (Marais, 1968: 142)

Severe criticism has been levelled against missionaries because of their response to the socio-political and economic realities in an era that introduced both western colonialism and the world-wide expansion of the Church through modern Protestant missionary movements. The Moravians and the L.M.S. can surely also not escape the debate over the role of modern missions. The aim here, however, is not to get embroiled in this debate, but rather to merely state in broad terms the two extremes of this debate, specifically with reference to modern Protestant missions, as summarized by Peters (1979: 10-11).

On the one hand he states: "Of them, too, it must be said that they were children of their times and cultures. In many ways they were loyal citizens of their nations, devoted servants of their denominations and home churches. Unavoidably, unashamedly and unhesitatingly, they were bearers not only of the gospel but also of their Western culture. We are embarrassed to realize today how many of them uncritically accepted the expansion of Western commerce and colonialism which almost inevitably followed in its train; how they related themselves to these systems, in many instances allied themselves with them, and in some ways became their

handmaids; how they were moulded much in attitude and more in pattern by them; how dominant and colonial the mission station complex became and how deeply paternalism rooted itself in missions. All this and much more we regret and are penitent about."

On the other hand " ... it still is a fact that missions in many ways ameliorated the sad plight of the subjugated and exploited people, defended them and boldly protested against many colonial evils. They had laws introduced and/or changed to bring about more humane conditions. And again, had it not been for their heroism in faith, sacrifice in love, their living hope of the triumph of our blessed Lord over death and hell, injustice, cruelty and barbarism, their experience of his compassion for a lost and needy world, their unflinching loyalty to Him and unreserved obedience to his last command, there would be no ecumenical church, no Bible for the world, no message of forgiveness of sins and eternal life for most of the world, no fellowship of Christians in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Islands of the Seas, minus a tremendous amount of ministries of compassion and intellectual enlightenment."

Where does this leave us in our understanding of the development of Elim? On the one hand Moravian missionaries were allowed to continue their work because they did not antagonise those in power. White farmers around Elim not only tolerated the missionaries and the people of Elim, but established good relationships with them as will be shown later. This positive attitude towards the people of Elim opened up employment opportunities which in turn were economically beneficial to a community lacking in domestic employment possibilities. On the other hand it resulted in a fairly patriarchal community where those in authority were not

easily questioned and the people were not empowered to take control of their own lives.

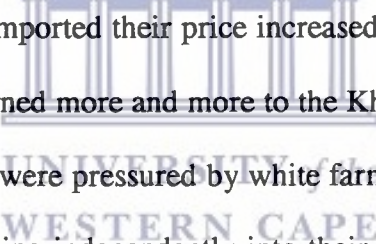
3.4.3 The Boers versus the Missionaries - A question of labour

The relation between farmers and the mission stations must be understood against the broader background of the labour situation in the Colony. By the end of the eighteenth century (when the Moravians resumed their work and the L.M.S. started theirs) the land occupied by the nomadic pastoralist Khoikhoi had been virtually completely expropriated resulting in the Khoikhoi being a landless people. Labour was always a scarce commodity in the Colony and these landless Khoikhoi were an important source of labour.

How did the Boers react to the missionaries? They were hostile because the Khoikhoi were their labour supply and labour had a direct influence on their production and ultimately their profit. What the farmers perceived was a danger to their exploitation of labour. The relationship between the Boers and Khoikhoi was therefore one of capitalist farmer versus landless worker. The Boers changed their opinion of the Moravians and their work at Genadendal, not because of religious convictions, but because the Khoikhoi who had been exposed to life on the mission station conformed to their idea of what the indigeneous people should be. Roux (1964: 25) summarizes this perception to be "industrious, obedient, respectful to the white man and willing to accept without question his inferior position in a patriarchal society".

The L.M.S., however, antagonised the Boers because of their opposition to the socio-political and economic position of the indigenous population. Dr. John Philip was often seen as a humanitarian and emancipationist fighting as a defender of the Khoikhoi.

Slave labour was a vital component of the economic development in the Cape Colony: "Slave labour was virtually an indispensable component in the large grain, wine and cattle-farming undertakings of the western districts. The fact that these farmers did not make increasing use of free labour indicates that they used their slave labour force to the utmost." (Van Aswegen, 1990: 206) The Evangelical movement in Europe led to the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and after that year slaves could no longer be brought into the Colony. This, however, by no means changed the situation of the slaves already within the Colony. The philanthropists only gained enough support in the British Parliament to have the Slavery Abolition Act passed in 1834 whereby the emancipation of the slaves was proclaimed in all British Colonies.



Because slaves could no longer be imported their price increased. This meant that the cost of labour increased and the farmers turned more and more to the Khoikhoi and other indigenous people as a source. The authorities were pressured by white farmers to introduce laws which would bring those Khoikhoi still living independently into their service.

During the second British occupation of the Cape, Governor Caledon passed a law on November 1, 1809 whereby all Khoikhoi had to have a fixed place of residence from where they could only move with written permission (a pass). Pass laws affecting the Khoikhoi were, however, introduced as early as 1797 by the Swellendam Board of Landdrost and Heemraden. (Marais, 1968: 117)

A pass could only be obtained when a worker had a labour agreement with a white farmer. Khoikhoi without passes were considered vagrants and therefore guilty of breaking the law.

Pass laws thus unquestionably served the interests of the farmers in the first instance. Khoikhoi labour was, therefore, not a commodity regulated by labour itself to be sold freely on an open market. On the contrary Khoikhoi without passes were perceived as vagrants and imprisoned as such. They were only released into the custody of an employer. Clearly the economic interests of the white farmers thus dictated the political situation.

3.4.4 The transformation of economic production

The major philosophy that guided mission stations in the beginning all over the world was that of "the Bible and the plough." (De Santa Ana, 1978: 137) The churches showed a readiness to provide the means of production for improving local agriculture. The tilling of the soil was a form of economic activity entirely new to those traditionally being extensive herders of cattle and sheep. The Bantu-speaking African on the eastern frontier of the colony practised a form of agriculture primitive by the standards of the agricultural societies from which the missionaries originated. (The term 'Bantu' is derived from "abantu" meaning 'the people' and refers to the language spoken.) The capitalist intrusion through the missionaries brought radical changes to the Khoikhoi society and among the Bantu-speaking Africans on the eastern frontier of the colony.

These changes in traditional society is summarized by Bundy (1979: 8) as follows: "families were urged to settle; the hunters were pressed to become herders; the herders were taught to cultivate; the cultivators were taught to use a plough and irrigate; and all came into much closer relationship with the outside world." Ironically, the expansion of missionary work was directly linked to the decline in the traditional tribal structures. Sadly this did not result in an egalitarian, non-racial South African society, but rather led to an increasing dependency

of the African on the Whites.

It is, however, debatable whether missionary work was solely or largely responsible for the erosion of traditional tribal structures. Various other economic forces were at work. The introduction of a capitalist mode of production was of far-reaching importance. The influence of the church on agriculture and commerce was however profound. It laid the foundation for a capitalist mode of production where the means of production are the property of a certain section of society, the capitalists, while the workers, who constitute the majority, operate the means of production owned by the capitalists.

The missionary stations could only develop if the indigenous people came to live there. This meant they left their tribal environment and the influence of the tribal structure. The authority of the chief was thus weakened. In time, the acceptance of a new way of life caused the indigenous people to become estranged from their traditional way of life. Ultimately, therefore, it cannot be denied that missionary work was instrumental in cultivating a new world-view amongst the indigenous people that was compatible with a capitalist society. (Bundy, 1979: 37)

The role of the missionary as an agent of capitalist expansion was clearly stated by Dr. John Philips: "While our missionaries are everywhere scattering the seeds of civilization they are extending British interests, British influence and the British empire. Wherever the missionary places this standard among the slave tribe, their prejudices against the colonial government give way, their dependence upon the colony is increased by the creation of artificial wants. Industry, trade and agriculture spring up." (Majeke, 1986: 8)

The missionaries also encouraged rural domestic manufacture, because most of them were actually artisans. They fostered industry and trade as well as agriculture. For example, at Genadendal in 1882 there were blacksmiths, shops for carpenters, wheelwrights and the manufacture of coarse cutlery. The present-day distinction between rural and urban based on agriculture and manufacturing was absent. There can also not be talk of an urban-bias element. This only developed later.

The teaching of the indigenous people of a work ethic in which Christianity and idleness were declared incompatible, formed a stepping-stone for absorbing people into a system of wage-labour. This is in harmony with the work ethic propagated by the modernization approach to development which suggests that advancement on the road to development (development as seen in terms of the stages of economic development the 'first or developed world' has reached) can only be achieved through hard work. Development is thus the reward of hard work and hard work is seen as being in harmony with Christian doctrine. This was in the interest of the economic system which demanded more and more labour.

The government policy concerning the indigenous population was in harmony with this and was clearly stated by Cecil John Rhodes in 1894: "It is the duty of the government to remove these poor children from this life of sloth and laziness and to give them some gentle stimulus to come forth and find out the dignity of labour. We will teach them the dignity of labour and make them contribute to the prosperity of the state." (Majeke, 1986: 19)

3.5 ELIM

3.5.1 Origin of the settlement

During the 1820's the missionaries of the Moravian church were looking for a site to start another mission station in the Western Cape. Genadendal (1737) and Mamre (1808) in the Western Cape and Enon (1818) in the Eastern Cape were the existing mission stations. Furthermore, Genadendal and Mamre (called Groenkloof at the time) experienced a strong influx and their areas were spatially limited. The new mission station preferably had to be close to Genadendal so that people applying for residence at Genadendal could then be sent there.

In 1824 it came to the attention of the Church Board in Genadendal that the owner of the farm Vogelstruyskraal in the Strandveld near Cape Agulhas wanted to sell his property. On 12 May 1824 Hans Peter Hallbeck, the head of missionaries of the Moravian Church, bought the farm on their behalf from Johannes Petrus van Schonke. What was so significant about this? It was the first time that the Moravian Mission **bought** a farm to start a settlement. This was in contrast to Genadendal, Mamre and Enon which had been **entrusted** to the Moravian Mission by the Government. Vogelstruyskraal thus became the sole property of the Church.

Vogelstruyskraal was approximately 3 000 morgen and the following buildings existed: a farmhouse, a new building housing the carpentry workshop and the stable, a watermill, a small blacksmith's workshop, and two kraals. A garden with fruit trees fenced by quin trees was close to the farmhouse. (Elim 1824 - 1924: 4) Furthermore, horses and pigs could be raised and there was excellent gardenground. The Nieuwejaars River, next to which the farm was situated, had enough water throughout the year for irrigation. Although at first it was

thought that the prospects for cattle and wheat farming were not so good it later appeared that this was not true.

The first family to gain permission to settle in Elim came from Genadendal. It should be noted that the first school in Elim was started on 23 August 1824, with four children, in the house of the missionaries. (Elim 1824 - 1924: 10) By the end of 1824 there were 3 communion members, 1 baptised adult and 8 children. (Elim 1824 - 1924: 5)

In general the Moravian settlements followed a twofold development. On the one hand there was the secular settlement. This included houses, a typical square with a church, rectory, school and shop, a village with occupational trades, gardens, livestock, a small mill and all other activities accompanying such a settlement. On the other hand there was a religious church community developed with all the ecclesiastical functions such as church services on Sundays and weekdays with liturgy, hymns, church music, family devotions and pastoral visiting, counselling and holy communion. The ecclesiastical and the worldly were combined in one community. (Schaberg, 1974: 22) Elim was no exception.

As from the first day the ecclesiastical work took the most important place, but a lot of secular affairs had to be carried out as well. A plan was drawn up as to how the settlement was to be laid out with the consideration of the building of a Church. For the development of the settlement Hallbeck (Kruger, 1966: 154) laid down that only proper houses should be built from the beginning, and that every person who did so would receive twenty-five-thaler and the roof timber from the Mission. The people built their houses jointly, one by one, ten by twenty feet in size. It was the beginning of Kerkstraat, which developed into the main

street of the settlement.

On 12 May 1825 the congregation in the settlement was told that as of that day the mission station would be known as Elim, after the oasis in the desert where the Israelites rested among the palm trees and water fountains on their way to the promised land as recorded in Exodus 15:27 and 16:1. (Kruger, 1966: 153)

As time went by more ground was acquired. In November 1831 the bordering farm Platterug was bought from Samson Dyer, adding 3 000 morgen for pasture and grain-farming. In 1854 the government land on which the springs supplying Elim's water are located, was bought.

3.5.2 Form of government

Elim was not a grant station nor was it an old residential area of the Khoikhoi, therefore people moving there knew they were settling on mission property. This created the space for the Moravian Mission to explore new possibilities in developing this settlement. Free from any restrictions that governed the grant stations, the way in which Elim was administered could surely be perceived as a reflection of the Mission's vision of the development of such a settlement.

The first step in this respect can be seen in Hallbeck's drawing up of a new set of regulations for Elim. They were an extension of the regulations of Genadendal, passed in 1816. These new regulations were later, with certain changes, also applied to other Moravian mission stations. These new regulations for the settlement of Elim consisted of 67 paragraphs. Kruger (1966: 152-3) has this to say concerning these regulations:

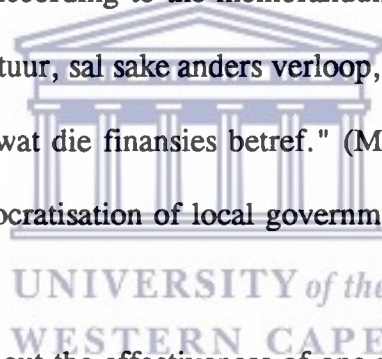
"The fundamental principle is preserved that they represent a brotherly agreement between the inhabitants under the Saviour. Hallbeck stated even specifically that the missionaries derived their authority from the congregation. Evidently, he considered it desirable to counteract the inclination of the inhabitants to devolve every responsibility on their teachers, and the tendency of the missionaries to act in an authoritarian manner. He wanted a brotherly relation of mutual trust between both parties. On the other hand, he stressed the authority of the Lord in all matters."

In theory it therefore seems that Elim created the opportunity for the Church to enable the inhabitants to participate fully in the government of the settlement. In practice, however, this was not the case. Over the years the successive local ministers took control in a fairly autocratic way. One could perhaps argue that the inhabitants were not skilled in participating in a democratic form of local government and therefore an "autocratic" form of government was the most viable option, and in the interests of the development of the settlement. The counter-argument to this would be that through their involvement people learn to take responsibility for one another and to respect one another. They share leadership and become more accountable for their actions. They are practically engaged in learning and applying the principles of democracy. At the same time it is important to note the fact that traditional tribal systems had semblance of democracy.

In spite of the existence of the locally elected Opsienersraad (management/civic council) to see to the secular affairs of the settlement the actual decision-making power still remains concentrated in the hands of the minister. This complicated communication between the Regional Board of the Church and the people at a grassroots level. In effect the people were

thus allowed to serve on a civic council dealing with the secular affairs of the settlement without really empowering them to do what they were elected for. A further complicating factor is the fact that both the ecclesiastical and secular life of the settlement were governed by the same person.

This state of affairs has been a point of heated debate over the years in Elim. As far back as 1963 a deputation from Elim submitted a memorandum to the Regional Church Board (then named the Provincial Board) addressing their grievances concerning the form of local government. They requested a larger degree of participation by the inhabitants in the administration of secular affairs. According to the memorandum "As hulle 'n hand bysit in die verantwoordelikheid van die bestuur, sal sake anders verloop, sal die gemeente ingelig bly en op hoogte van sake wees veral wat die finansies betref." (Memorandum, 1963) This in essence was a demand for the democratisation of local government.



They also expressed their doubts about the effectiveness of one person being responsible for the ecclesiastical wellbeing of the community whilst at the same time governing secular affairs: "Dink die Provinsiale Bestuur werklik dat een man die sosiale aangeleenthede, landbou, veeboerdery, rioleering, sanitasie, gesondheid, reparasie en herstelwerk van eiendomme bo en behalwe sy godsdienstige pligte, administratiewe werk in die kantoor, vrederegter en sieketrooster met welslae kan behartig?" (Memorandum, 1963)

The community of Elim was instrumental in changing the regulations governing the mission station through a democratic process. The draft form of the present regulations governing all property mission stations of the Moravian Church was drawn up by the people of Elim during

the late sixties and submitted to Synod in 1970. The interesting aspect of this is that the community drew up the concept regulations through a democratic process of participation, then accepted and submitted it to Synod in essence a bottom-up approach to government. Certainly a lesson that can be taken from the history of Elim. Of this process of democratising the structure of local government after the missionary era the minister at the time, Rev. J.J. Ulster, had the following to say:

"Dit was 'n lang, pynlike proses, maar ek dink wat vrug afgewerp het, want daardeur het hulle (die inwoners) geleer dat hulle aan die een kant regeer en aan die ander kant regeer word deur hulle self."

(Rev. J.J. Ulster - Interview, August 1992)

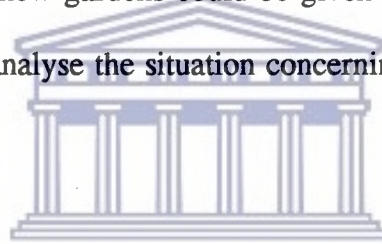


3.5.3 Economic development

Employment opportunities were limited right from the start of the settlement. Apart from the garden plots (for the cultivation of vegetables and fruit) and arable land that they received from the mission there were limited possibilities for income in Elim itself. The value of the soil to the development of Elim was recognised by the missionaries. "The garden-grounds have rich soil and there is plenty of it. Much of the land is fit for corn, but we have not as yet made use of it. There is also good pasture-ground for horses, horned cattle and sheep. Though our two cows have no other food but what they pick up on the common, we have all the year round a sufficient supply of milk and butter. Externally, therefore, we have no cause for complaint." (Periodical Accounts, Sept. 1826: 19)

Historically, the cultivation of the soil has always been important. It becomes very clear that

the gardens played an important role in the supply of fruit and vegetables and the inhabitants were therefore understandably encouraged to cultivate it. "A large plot of land has been cultivated by our inhabitants and converted into fruitful gardens. Another considerable piece of ground has been made arable and most of our people have this year already seen their labours richly rewarded, having gathered in a tolerable harvest. We are glad to assist them as far as we can, especially by supplying them with garden seeds." (Periodical Accounts, Sept. 1836: 519) Over the years attempts were made to enhance the cultivation of these vegetable gardens. In 1909 a new canal was constructed for the Nieuwejaars River with the purpose of protecting the gardens from flooding and at the same time to gaining new areas for gardens. After completion 70 new gardens could be given to the people. (Elim 1824 - 1924: 10) It will be important to analyse the situation concerning the cultivation of the land as it presently exists in Elim.



In order to generate income, however, the inhabitants had to go further afield. The neighbouring farms were a major source of income. This was possible because the neighbouring farmers around Elim were in need of labourers as they had only a few slaves at the time. The missionaries established good relations with the neighbouring farmers through personal visits. These farmers attended the Sunday services with their labourers. Another interesting aspect is that the farmers brought their wheat to the mill in Elim. According to Kruger (1966: 158) the farmers "had opposed the establishment of mission stations at first, because it was in their interest to keep the Hottentots dependent on the farms. Their attitude had improved as a result of the peaceful and enduring labour of the missionaries. But Hallbeck was convinced that their enmity persisted under the surface and could erupt at any time."

To some extent the mission stations were "cities of refuge" (Marais, 1968: 152) for the Khoikhoi. The mission stations provided a permanent place of residence as was demanded by the pass laws and they were therefore not forced into the service of the farmers because they had no place to live. From this "haven" they could then choose between limited options of farm work where possible. On the other hand the mission stations could serve as a reservoir for seasonal labour which farmers could draw on when necessary without having to maintain a workforce throughout the year. Labour was therefore an important aspect of the relationship between Elim and farmers in the surrounding areas.

Elimers also found employment at the salt pan at Springfield. As the sea is about 20km from Elim many of them were fishermen. A missionary (Periodical Accounts, Aug. 1828: 420) reflected as follows on the employment situation: "At present the inhabitants earn their livelihood chiefly by working with farmers. Their flourishing gardens, situated in the valley adjoining our settlement are well cultivated and likewise contribute to their maintenance. From the sea they obtain frequent supplies of fish, and from the salt-pans salt in abundance; and for the surplus, which remains after providing them and their families, they find a ready market."

During those early years this situation never changed drastically. Although in the minority, skilled artisans formed a part of the labour force. "The inhabitants of this place belong for the most part to the class of day-labourers, and many of them must go to a distance of several hours or even a day's journey in order to obtain employment. Those who can do mason's, thatcher's, or carpenter's work are of course better paid. We can hardly expect that the Hottentots will ever attain to affluence: the finest and most fruitful portions of the land of

their fathers have been for more than a century in possession of European settlers. One great advantage which the people in these parts enjoy above those at Enon and Shiloh, is the facility with which they obtain work from the neighbouring colonists." (Periodical Accounts, Dec. 1842: 246) These artisans produced work of a very high standard. For example, the thatchers of Elim developed a reputation for their excellent craftsmanship far beyond the borders of the settlement.

A large number of Elimers also found employment on the railway as the laying of new lines attracted workers. They were employed at the following places: 1876/77 at Worcester, 1889 at Eerste River, 1890 between Kalk Bay and Simonstown, 1902 between Sir Lowry's Pass and Caledon, 1912 between Proteem and Caledon, 1924 between Proteem and Bredasdorp. Many found work when the Government started forestry on a large scale in 1912 at Elgin. Others worked at road building. During the period 1908 to 1912 many went to Namibia (then South West Africa). From as early as 1883 women and children collected straw flowers to sell to the mission store. (Elim 1824 -1924: 10)

As a result of the lack of well-documented historical evidence one cannot help but come to the conclusion that the settlement never provided employment for all or even the majority of its inhabitants. This pattern seems to continue right up until the present. The debatable question is however not whether all people could be employed within the settlement, but rather whether all avenues for job creation have been effectively explored and all natural and human resources utilised to their full extent. This point will be further explored in the following chapter.

3.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to provide a historical perspective on development in Elim focussing on various influences. Firstly, the historical development of the broader Moravian Church was sketched in so far as it influenced the character of the settlement Elim developed into. Secondly, Elim was placed within the broader South African historical context. This was done by distinguishing the era before the coming of the missionaries from the era which followed. Finally, the historical development of Elim itself was dealt with.

Given this historical perspective, the next chapter details the empirical study conducted with the different interest groups involved in the development of Elim.



CHAPTER 4

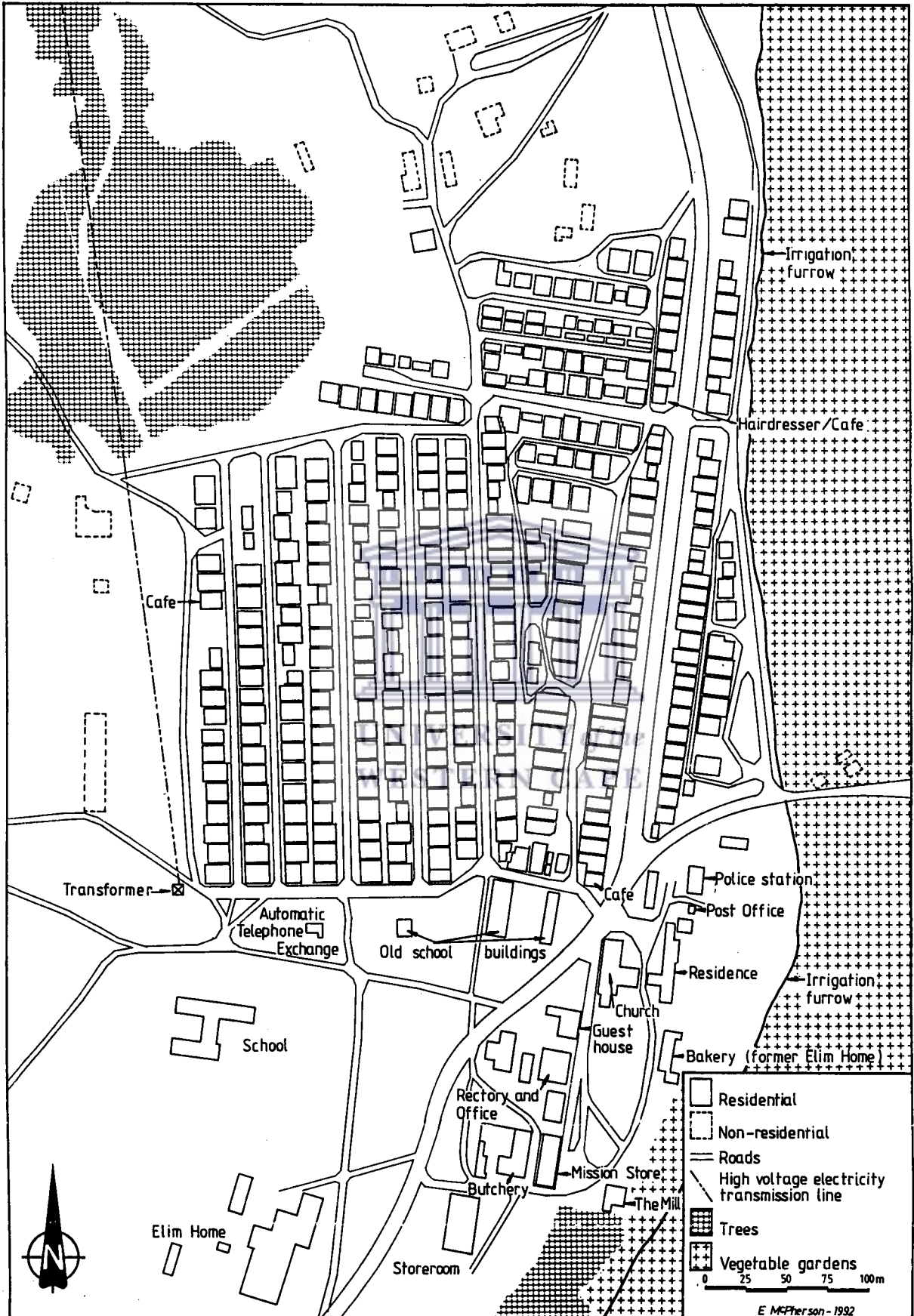
LET THE PEOPLE SPEAK: PERCEPTIONS ON ELIM

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The major thrust of this chapter is to voice the perceptions of the people involved in the development of Elim. In order to do justice to the task at hand an empirical survey was undertaken, the findings of which are discussed against the background of the theoretical discourse deliberated upon in the preceding chapters.

4.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The gathering of the empirical data was undertaken in different phases using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitative information was collected by means of two sets of questionnaires. The target groups were, firstly, the households of the permanently inhabited dwellings in Elim (See Addendum 2A) and, secondly, the vegetable gardeners (See Addendum 2B). This survey was undertaken during December 1991. A random sample of 30% was drawn of 273 inhabited dwellings giving a sample of 82. The 98 uninhabited dwellings were, of course, not included in the universe. A town plan of Elim (See Map 2, p. 68) was used to draw the sample. In the case of the vegetable gardeners the records showed that 71 people lease vegetable gardens from the Church, resulting in a sample of 21. It should be noted that one person can be allotted as many vegetable gardens as is made available to him/her. This could possibly lead to a concentration of vegetable gardens (of which there are a recorded 579) in the hands of a few individuals resulting in a possible arena of social conflict.



MAP 2: ELIM - TOWN PLAN

This is presently not the case as there is no demand for vegetable gardens. This is substantiated by the fact that the regulation, stating that if a vegetable garden is not cultivated for two consecutive years the inhabitant loses the right to it irrespective of payment, is not enforced any more. The reason being that there are no other people interested in leasing these vegetable gardens.

The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) at the computer centre of the University of the Western Cape was used to computerise the data of the questionnaires. With open-ended questions in both sets of questionnaires respondents could offer more than one response in answering the questions. This is an option which was often exercised. It explains why the total responses for open-ended questions in the majority of cases exceed the sample interviewed. Responses were then categorised and tabularised. Responses which could not be grouped within the categories identified were then grouped as "diverse responses".

Structured interviews were conducted to gain qualitative insights. A tape recorder was used in this process. Various groups of people were interviewed over a period of time from January 1992 to August 1992. Structured interviews were conducted with those respondents who were available and conceded to interviews and no claim is made to them being the result of a statistically reliable sample.

The Regional Board of the M.C. in S.A. (West) consists of 7 members, 4 of whom were interviewed. After the German missionaries the first indigenous minister started in Elim in 1964. Between 1964 and August 1992 there were 5 different ministers ("eerste leraars") in control of the settlement, 4 of whom were interviewed. Interviews were also conducted with

4 of the 12 elected members of the Opsienersraad (Management Board) of Elim. The term "Opsienersraad" is retained to avoid any connotation pertaining to Management Councils as constituted within the bureaucratic structure of the South African government. Of the 7 bona fide commercial farmers leasing land from the Church, 4 were interviewed. The other people interviewed were the manager of the Mission Store who also heads EGO (Elim Gemeenskap-Ontwikkelingskommittee) and a consultant of the Overberg Regional Services Council in Bredasdorp.

The use of direct quotations within this chapter is deemed of significant importance in so far as it allows the respondents to truly speak for themselves. Such quotations are, therefore, employed as often and as freely as possible.

It should be pointed out that August 1992 was the cut-off point for the research and that the proceedings of the 11th Synod of the M.C. in S.A. (Western Cape Province) held in September 1992 were not considered. The reason for this cut-off point being that respondents could self-evidently only respond to presently existing structures. Furthermore, cognisance was taken of the Town Commission (Dorpskommissie) appointed by the Synod of 1988 to investigate future planning and development of the mission stations. The report of their findings will be presented to the Synod in September 1992. Members of this commission were not at liberty to discuss their report as it first had to be submitted to the Synod. All findings and recommendations contained within Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 are thus the result of independent research undertaken by the researcher.

4.3 PHYSICAL NATURE OF THE SETTLEMENT

The geographical realm in which people live must be acknowledged in a study such as this.

The physical appearance of the settlement dominates the first visual contact of the visitor to

Elim and it cannot be ignored by the inhabitants either.

The mere fact that 75,6% of the respondents expressed dissatisfaction with the present physical conditions of the settlement compels one to look again. There is, however, more than meets the eye behind the reasons in Table 1 for the dissatisfaction with the physical conditions of the settlement.

TABLE 1: REASONS FOR RESPONSE TO PHYSICAL CONDITIONS OF THE SETTLEMENT

REASONS	(n)	%
Dirty water along streets causes bad odours	24	18,8
The settlement is dirty	23	18
Houses are neglected and there is a shortage of houses	20	15,6
Accept situation as it is	18	14,1
Poor maintenance of streets	16	12,5
Unsatisfactory sanitation	14	10,9
General deterioration of settlement	10	7,8
Lack of recreational facilities	2	1,6
Better than in the past	1	0,8
TOTAL	128	100

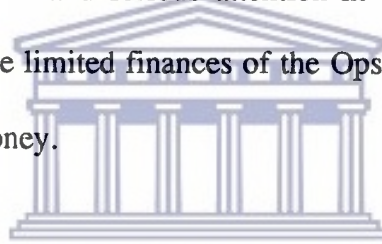
Owing to the lack of a sewerage system, water from kitchens and bathrooms is allowed to flow freely into the streets. In places where the gradient is negligible water stagnates along streets and in the narrow passages between houses. The Opsiensersraad admits that this is

indeed a problem:

"Die water, die afvalwater is jare reeds 'n probleem. Hulle moes nooit, nooit badkamers hier toegelaat het nie alvorens nie eers 'n rioolstelsel ingevoer is nie."

(Member of Opsienersraad)

Added to this is the bucket system of sanitation that is still in operation. The major complaints in this regard being that the removal does not always take place during the night and that it remains by no means an odourless operation. Sanitary conditions are thus an aspect of town planning that will demand serious attention in the immediate future. The major obstacle to be overcome is the limited finances of the Opsienersraad as such a project requires a substantial amount of money.



The opinion is often expressed that the settlement was never in this state of neglect in years gone by when there was still a system of communal work whereby the inhabitants volunteered their services at specific times to clean up the settlement. Inhabitants now pay a fee and the general maintenance of the settlement is the responsibility of the Opsienersraad.

4.4 SOCIO-ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

4.4.1 Employment

Before employment patterns are addressed it is deemed necessary to know more about the composition of the population involved as illustrated in Table 2.

TABLE 2: COMPARITIVE AGE STRUCTURE: ELIM AND SOUTH AFRICA

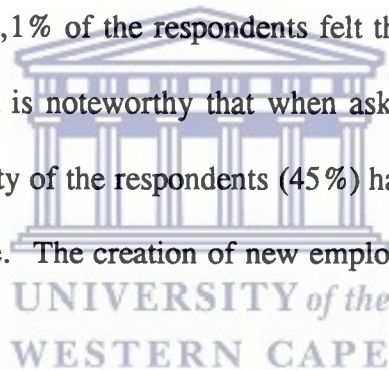
AGE GROUP	ELIM			SOUTH AFRICA		
	MALE %	FEMALE %	TOTAL %	MALE %	FEMALE %	TOTAL %
0 - 9	21,8	12,5	17,2	22,0	20,8	21,4
10 - 19	21,2	16,2	18,7	21,4	21,0	21,2
20 - 29	17,1	17,3	17,2	18,8	19,1	19,0
30 - 39	7,1	13,2	10,2	15,5	14,6	15,1
40 - 49	7,6	7,2	7,4	10,2	9,6	10,0
50 - 59	7,6	11,4	9,5	6,2	6,3	6,3
60 - 69	9,4	9,0	9,2	3,5	4,9	4,2
70 & +	8,2	13,2	10,7	2,4	3,5	3,0
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 2 clearly illustrates the distorted age structure of Elim when compared to that of South Africa (Population Census 1991) as a whole. It was found that the age group between 20 and 60 years constitutes 44,3% of the population, whereas it is 50,4% for South Africa. This age group normally contains the bulk of the economically active population. 35,9% of the population are younger than 20 years, whereas 19,9% are 60 and above. In the case of South Africa these age groups represent 42,6% and 7,2% respectively. The age group between 30 and 50 years normally contains the people who have established themselves careerwise and are economically stable. This group contains a mere 17,6% of the population in contrast to the 25,1% for South Africa. These deviations from the pattern for the South African population as a whole have distinct implications for development in Elim.

TABLE 3: EMPLOYMENT PATTERN

AREA OF EMPLOYMENT	(n)	%
Locally employed	51	42,9
Employed elsewhere	68	57,1
TOTAL	119	100

Table 3 reiterates the employment pattern of the past as expounded upon in Chapter 3, i.e. the majority of the working population is employed outside of Elim. It should also be noted that unemployment does exist although in very limited numbers. Respondents from the sample indicated 11 people to be unemployed. Given the employment pattern in Table 3 it is, therefore, not surprising that 95,1% of the respondents felt that there is a need for more job opportunities in Elim itself. It is noteworthy that when asked to suggest possible new employment possibilities the majority of the respondents (45%) had difficulty in doing so and could not suggest anything concrete. The creation of new employment opportunities will be taken up in Chapter 5.



An important community organisation involved in an attempt to create job opportunities is the Elim Gemeenskap-Ontwikkelingskommittee (EGO) that has been in operation since 1989. EGO presently employs 11 people full-time with a fluctuating number of part-time employees. The projects in operation are a bakery, the clay works, the mill and a small vegetable garden project. A clothing factory employing four people had to be closed down because of internal problems. These projects are funded through donations from various sources such as foreign embassies.

There is no co-operation between the Regional Board and EGO concerning development

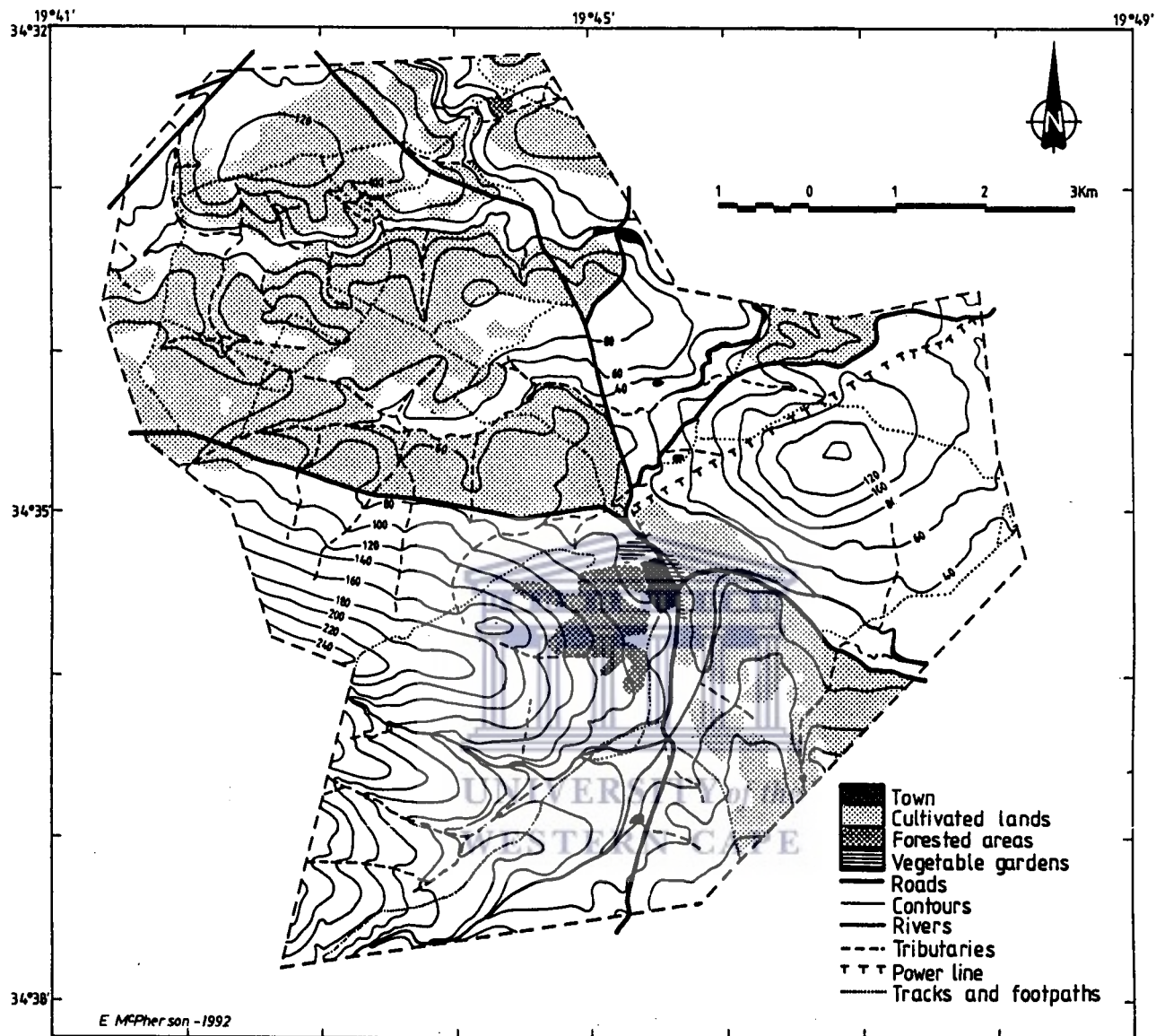
projects in Elim. Both parties blamed the other for the absence of effective and constructive communication. EGO also operates entirely independently of both the Opsiensraad and Church Council. This has resulted in a strained relationship between these parties at the local level. The co-ordinator of EGO admitted that this state of affairs needs to be urgently addressed. A greater degree of coherence and co-ordination among these organisational components is vital to allow effective intervention in the development process. Diverging interests and demands can be counteracted through an internal guiding force resulting from a degree of centralisation on the local level. This in turn could insulate these sub-units from control of the central bureaucracy.

4.4.2 Horticulture

4.4.2.1 The general public

Horticulture has always been an important economic activity in Elim. Inhabitants regularly made reference to the pride with which each and every vegetable garden was cultivated in the past. Today the situation is different although all the existing vegetable gardens are still leased by the inhabitants from the Church. (See Map 3, p. 76) The fact that 96,4% of the respondents are of the opinion that the vegetable gardens are poorly cultivated is cause for alarm. Given the present economic climate prevailing in this country and the emphasis on effective utilisation of natural resources such a situation is indeed unacceptable. This is a point of view shared by the Regional Board:

"Ons onself is bekommerd oor die swak benutting van grond op landstasies in 'n opset waar in Suid-Afrika, in die wêreld, in Afrika mense honger lei ... dat die grond nie beter benut word nie."



MAP 3: ELIM - LAND USE

But what are the reasons for this shift from intensive cultivation in the past to under-utilisation at present? Table 4 provides the answer to this question.

TABLE 4: REASONS FOR PRESENT STATE OF HORTICULTURE

REASONS SUPPLIED	(n)	%
Most vegetable gardens are uncultivated	50	36,8
Most gardens now camps for livestock	46	33,6
No interest in horticulture, especially the youth	25	18,4
Mainly retired people working the gardens	13	9,6
Diverse responses	2	1,4
TOTAL	136	100

Presently the majority of the vegetable gardens are indeed uncultivated or used as camps for livestock such as cattle and donkeys. The fact that horticulture is practised mainly by retired people re-affirms the lack of interest by the younger generation.

4.4.2.2 The vegetable gardeners

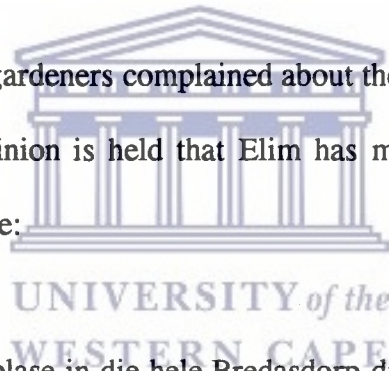
But what do the gardeners themselves think about the present state of horticulture? Their views by and large coincided with that of the general public. Yet, although all of them are convinced that there is a greater need for vegetable production for the local market, 90,5% acknowledged that there was no increase in their production over the past three years. The major reason for this being that they are too old and cannot plant enough to meet the demand. Furthermore, none of them introduced any innovations in cultivation over the past five years. The underlying reason for this could probably be found in the fact that none of them made use of extension services for horticulture whilst 90,5% are not interested in such a service.

Given the fact that this is a relatively small and closed community, it is therefore astonishing that there is no formal form of co-operation between the gardeners. They cite the fact, that this has always been the case and that each gardener knows what to do, as the major reasons for this. The following statement clearly expresses this sentiment:

"Maar die mense wil nie in 'n groep bymekaar staan en die werk saam doen nie. So die mense is maar hier so 'n bietjie aan die selfstandige kant. Hulle wil maar enkel mense vat. Die tuinboer wil maar by hom eie wees en nie saam iets aanpak nie."

(Member of Opsienersraad)

It should be noted that none of the gardeners complained about the availability of water or soil fertility. On the contrary, the opinion is held that Elim has more than enough water and fertile soil for intensive horticulture:



"Elim is seker een van die plase in die hele Bredasdorp distrik wat die volopste water van Januarie tot Januarie het."

(Member of Opsienersraad)

On the aspect of soil as a natural resource it is alarming that none of the gardeners practises any form of soil conservation. This can again be related to the absence of adequate information.

The problems that the gardeners encounter (Table 5) are far from insurmountable. On the contrary, these problems can be addressed relatively easily. Chapter 5 will look more closely

at these issues.

TABLE 5: PROBLEMS OF VEGETABLE GARDENERS

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED	(n)	%
Canals not properly cleaned	13	36,1
Weeds	11	30,6
Insects	6	16,4
Diverse responses	4	11,1
Uncultivated gardens located between those cultivated	2	5,6
TOTAL	36	100

The canals are of cardinal importance as they are used for irrigation in the absence of a more modern system. The fact that they are not properly maintained means that irrigation is impaired and flooding can occur during the rainy season. This regretful state of affairs was expressed as follows:



"Die slote is so verval. Dertig jaar se verval. Daar is nie meer 'n ordentlike sloot nie en as dit begin reën dan is al die grond onder water"

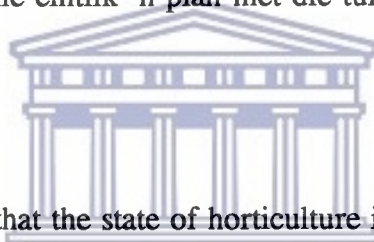
(Member of Opsiensraad)

According to the gardeners the future of horticulture in Elim is bleak. All the respondents acknowledge that changes have occurred over the past ten to twenty years and describe them as major changes. The crux of the matter, however, is that these changes are perceived as the deterioration of horticulture. Contrary to the past, most gardens are not cultivated anymore (64,3%) and previously cultivated gardens are now used as camps for livestock (7,1%). Furthermore, the youth are not interested in horticulture (10,7%) and there is overall

a general deterioration in horticulture (17,9%). A firm warning is sounded by the gardeners in that 81,8% hold the opinion that at the present rate everything will fall into a state of decay if something constructively is not undertaken to revitalise horticulture.

Given this acknowledgement that horticulture in Elim is a far cry from what it used to be, what plans do the Opsienersraad have in this regard? Sadly, there are no definite plans for the immediate future, in spite of the fact that they are fully aware of the situation:

"Die Opsienersraad weet natuurlik dit gaan een of ander tyd 'n kopseer vir hom wees met die tuine; nou hy het nie eintlik 'n plan met die tuine nie."



(Member of Opsienersraad)

On the contrary, it is crystal clear that the state of horticulture is already a headache for the Opsienersraad and that if nothing constructive is done it might very well develop into a migraine.

4.4.3 Commercial farmers

Presently there are seven bona fide commercial farmers leasing land from the Church. According to the church office in Elim the area leased amounts to 2 283ha. (See Map 3, p. 76) On the rest of the land the inhabitants have communal grazing rights. Apart from the farmers this land is mainly used by inhabitants who have a small number of cattle or donkeys.

The response of the inhabitants to the present state of agriculture is fairly uncomplicated. 48,8% are of the opinion that it is good mainly citing the fact that farmers are doing well for

themselves as the reason. 43,9% are unsure with the majority of these acknowledging ignorance as far as the cultivation of land is concerned. The remaining 7,3% thought the land was poorly cultivated. Reasons for this included the fact that implements are expensive, not all the land is cultivated as before and there are merely a few farmers remaining.

The real crux of the matter concerning the commercial farmers has been the dispute over the signing of a lease with the Regional Board. This is a clearly identifiable arena of social conflict. At the Synod of 1984 a binding decision was taken that commercial farmers leasing land from the Church will sign a lease with the Regional Board and pay the rent directly to them. The Regional Board, as executive branch of the Church, had to implement this binding decision. This was in contrast to the system whereby farmers previously paid the rent to the Opsienersraad. The Opsienersraad then paid this money to the Regional Board which in turn allocated money to the Opsienersraad according to a budget submitted by the Opsienersraad for the maintenance and development of Elim. The farmers of Elim refused to sign such a lease with the Regional Board up until August 1992. The farmers in essence challenged the means of extracting revenue from civil society by the Church. They did not refuse to pay rent, but refused to pay rent directly to the Regional Board opting to continue paying it to the Opsienersraad. How did the Regional Board react to this in order to enforce the binding decision of the 1984 Synod? At the end of 1991 all the farmers received lawyer's letters from the Regional Board concerning the signing of a lease. According to the Regional Board one farmer then signed the lease whilst the rest still refused. After joint meetings between the Regional Board, the Opsienersraad and the farmers, this dispute was finally settled in August 1992 with the farmers undertaking to sign the lease. The nature of this dispute will be dwelled upon only in so far as it sheds light on the bureaucratic structure of government of

the Church.

Revenue from agricultural land is the major source of income received by the Regional Board from Elim. Given this the farmers were of the opinion that nothing was being done by the Regional Board to protect and enhance the value of this asset. This is an opinion shared by members of the Opsienersraad who justified keeping this revenue in Elim in the first instance to enhance the maintenance and development of the settlement. This tendency by the people to put Elim first before anything else was deliberated upon by a member of the Regional Board in the following way:

"Die Elimer het amper, kan 'n mens sê, 'n eie identiteit. En daar is, somtyds kan 'n mens tot hul voordeel dit noem, maar ander tye is dit seker ook nadelig, die feit dat hulle as een kan saamspan, kan saamstaan en daarteen waak dat Elim seergemaak word."



(Member of Regional Board)

Another major complaint of the farmers was that the Regional Board never visited Elim in order to gain sufficient first-hand knowledge of the situation pertaining to agricultural land. Consequently, the farmers challenged the capacity of the Regional Board to make informed decisions upon which intervention in the socio-economic processes, of which farming is one, is based. There is thus a demand for the direct involvement of the Regional Board themselves in obtaining relevant information. They also expressed dissatisfaction with the situation whereby they had contact only with individual members of the Regional Board demanding meetings with the entire Board. The drawing up of the lease and the increase in tariff were

not done in consultation with them and they felt the Regional Board was out of touch with the reality of farming in Elim. This specifically pertained to the cost per ha involved in cultivating grain. Reference was made to the necessity for the use of fertiliser and the spraying of crops which is very cost prohibitive. The effect of this high cost is manifested in the fact that farmers now concentrate on sheep farming, whereas vast tracks of land were traditionally used for grain farming.

In response to the commercial farmers, the Regional Board had to fulfil its role as corporate actor presenting itself as the guardian of universal interests. The Regional Board presented itself as corporate actor in guarding the interests of the broader Church first and foremost. This was done as follows: Firstly, the Regional Board holds that the farmers failed to comply with the binding decision of the 1984 Synod and were therefore at fault. Secondly, the land belongs to the Church and the Regional Board thus has the right to extract revenue from the farmers in the interest of the broader Church:

"Die sendingstasie is daar as bate vir die breë Kerk en nie net vir die Elimer self nie. Opbrengste moet 'n mens verstaan in my siening, moet gedeel word ... Dat die gelde nie net daar moet bly nie, dit is 'n feit, want ons is 'n Broederkerk en ons glo tog dat ons almal dra mekaar se laste."

(Minister)

Thirdly, the opinion is held that certain individual farmers accumulated wealth whilst the community of Elim and the broader Church did not benefit sufficiently from the land belonging to the Church. This is perceived as a totally unacceptable state of affairs and in

order to restructure such a pattern of distribution the Regional Board has to intervene in the process of accumulation and redistribution.

In turn the farmers acknowledged that farming on Church land enabled them to make a good living, but rejected any claim of exploitation and self-enrichment on their part at the expense of the Elim community or the broader Church. Furthermore, the past decade proved to be a trying period for the farmers, so much so that their future is perceived as bleak with little hope of new farmers entering the arena:

"Ek wat daarin is sien 'n berg voor my. Dat daar jong boere sal opstaan, daai is verby."



(Farmer)

The problematic nature of communication between the Regional Board, the farmers and the Opsienersraad is hard to deny. The value of the meetings between the parties involved which finally resulted in resolving the situation without legal action was candidly admitted by a member of the Regional Board. Suffice it here to say that putting all the mutual accusations of the parties involved on paper could at this stage probably do more harm than good. Preventing history from repeating itself would seem a much more meaningful exercise.

4.5 INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH

The fact that all inhabitants of Elim must be congregants of the Moravian Church leads one to believe that the Church must influence life in Elim. The extent and nature of this influence, however, is by no means self-evident.

A logical point of departure is the local minister who has the dual responsibility of ecclesiastical as well as secular leader of the community. This being the case, it is therefore significant to note that 67,1% of the respondents are against this dual role of the minister. The reasons for this response are reflected in Table 6.

TABLE 6: RESPONSE TO DUAL ROLE OF MINISTER

RESPONSE	(n)	%
It is too much work for one person	47	47
Minister should be in charge of everything	15	15
It has always been this way	11	11
Minister does not do home visits	11	11
Minister must only do spiritual work	10	10
Minister does a good job	3	3
Diverse responses	3	3
TOTAL	100	100

NB
The major concern is that the minister cannot cope with the work-load. The problems pertaining to this dual role of the minister have been expressed as follows:

"Dit is seker maar 'n kopseer, want dis seker daar waar baie van die werk somtyds tot stilstand kom. Hy kan nie orals by wees en orals sy aandag gee nie. Een kant moet skade lei, geestelik of die stasie self. En dit is wat gebeur het in die verlede. Baic."

(Member of Opsienersraad)

It is interesting to note that only 15% are of the opinion that the minister should be in charge of everything, whereas 11% believe the status quo must be retained simply because it has

always been that way.

All the ministers are of the opinion that it is indeed very difficult to do justice to this task. One minister saw that the positive side of this was that he could often mediate difficult secular situations by relying on his pastoral training and by referring to the Scripture. On the other hand, however, he admitted:

"Menslik gesproke was dit nie goed nie, want dit was 'n oorbelasting van kragte, van tyd en dit was vanselfsprekend dat op een of ander tyd sou mens een of ander van die pligte 'n bietjie moes afskeep wat nie bevorderlik was nie."

(Minister)

It should be noted that all ministers saw the spiritual enrichment of the community as their primary task, although they still acknowledged their secular responsibilities. The fact that this created a dilemma for the minister is underlined by the following statement:

"Dit is 'n baie moeilike taak om regverdigheid te laat geskied aan beide. Jou hoof rol is die geestelike bearbeiding van die gemeente en daarom is dit nodig dat jy aandag gee aan die siel van die mens. Maar op die anderkant is daar die administrasie van die hele gemeenskap, die uiterlike lewe wat ook belangrik is. En die vraag is altyd: "Waar trek 'n mens die lyn, wat weeg die swaarste?" Dit kon ek in my tyd nie oplos nie."

(Minister)

Ministers form part of the core participants (state elites) in the Church bureaucracy and as such their training should create a distinct outlook and equip them with the necessary expertise to further the ideological formulations of the Moravian Church in terms of the development of mission stations such as Elim. All the ministers were of the opinion that their training did not prepare them for this dual role and that it would be best if they were entrusted solely with the task of spiritual guidance.

All except one of the members of the Regional Board interviewed agreed that the dual role of the minister on the mission station must be changed. The concept of phasing out this dual role was accepted at the previous Synod in 1988 although it has not yet materialised in practice. The idea is to appoint an administrative official in charge of secular affairs leaving the minister to concentrate on his/her spiritual calling.



Given the fact that Elim is a mission station it is astounding that a mere 15,9% perceive of the Church as having a big influence in the daily lives of the inhabitants, whereas 59,8% perceive it as small and 3,6% as very small. 20,7% are unsure of the nature of this influence. The significance of this perception points to an inability of the Church to present itself as the guardian of universal interests. This in turn could influence the people's perception of the legitimacy of the Church. The reasons for this perception on the lack of influence of the Church are reflected in Table 7.

TABLE 7: REASONS FOR THE LACK OF INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH

REASONS	(n)	%
Decrease or lack of attendance in church services	40	44,4
Spiritual deterioration of community	10	11,1
People still attend Church	8	8,9
Church only influences certain people	8	8,9
Authority of the Church not acknowledged	6	6,7
Do not know / cannot say	5	5,6
Lack of house visits	5	5,6
Church in charge of everything	4	4,4
Church does not do enough for community	2	2,2
Diverse responses	2	2,2
TOTAL	90	100

The bulk of the respondents cite a decline in attendance to Church services as an indication of the small influence of the Church in the daily lives of the people of Elim. According to one respondent:

" (daar is) te veel banke in die kerk."

(Respondent: Household)

Given the above-mentioned reasons, what do the respondents feel ought to be the most important calling of the Church in Elim? Table 8 provides the answer to this question.

TABLE 8: THE CALLING OF THE CHURCH

RESPONSE	(n)	%
Ministering	62	72,1
Visitation by minister	13	15,1
Provision in the physical needs of the congregation	6	7
Do not know	3	3,3
Diverse responses	2	2,3
TOTAL	86	100

It is clear that the vast majority (87,2%) of the respondents regard the spiritual needs and guidance of the people as the highest priority of the Church. The ministers of Elim as well as the Regional Board are in agreement that the ministering of the community is the primary calling of the Church. A member of the Regional Board perceives of the mission station as:

"Die tuin waar die diep geestelike inslag gelê kan word."

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE (Member of Regional Board)

On the other hand there is full acknowledgement that this is not enough. The development of the person as a complete and complex human being was stressed throughout. Within the context of life on the mission station this was expressed as follows:

"Die Morawiërs van meet aan het as beleid gehad nie net die geestelike belange van mense nie, maar ook die tydelike, materiële belange van mense. Daarom is die sendingstasies aangelê. Maar is dit aangelê om 'n alternatiewe soort van gemeenskap voor te staan in die sin dat mense volgens Bybelse grondslag en beginsels vir mekaar moes omgee en vir mekaar moes sorg. En daarom was Kerk en gemeenskap op die

sendingstasie altyd een. Gemeenskap is geskoei op die Christelike beginsels."

(Member of Regional Board)

Given this interpretation of a mission station reflecting a specific character of community life, the cultivation of an "island mentality" of exclusiveness untouched by the rest of society should be guarded against. This need for a community such as Elim to acknowledge itself as part of the broader society was verbalised as follows:

"Elim kan nie meer as 'n vakuum gesien word nie - ek in my klein hoekie en jy in joune. Dis deel van 'n wye wêreld en ook 'n politieke inset wat van elke inwoner vra die nodige agtergrond, die nodige "awareness" om te kan oordeel wat is in belang van myself, wat is in belang van die gemeenskap ... Die neiging om myself te sien net so ver as die grense van Elim moet verbreed word."



UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

(Minister)

But how well does the Church perform its calling in Elim? A mere 12,2% of the respondents regard the task of spiritual guidance as being performed well by the Church. 15,8% are unsure whereas 72% think the Church is not doing well at all. The reasons for this (See Table 9) fit into a definite pattern when seen in conjunction with Table 7 and Table 8.

TABLE 9: PERCEPTION OF CHURCH'S RESPONSE TO ITS CALLING

RESPONSE	(n)	%
Lack of visitation	34	39,1
Inadequate ministering	16	18,4
Minister does his duty	9	10,3
Attempts are made, but not always successfully	7	8
Diverse responses	6	6,9
No comment	5	5,7
Church does not see to the physical needs of the community	4	4,6
People live only for themselves	2	2,3
Too much emphasis on traditions	2	2,3
Low attendance of Church services	2	2,3
TOTAL	87	100

Once again the emphasis is on the lack of visitation (39,1%) and inadequate ministering (18,4%). The general trend is therefore an emphasis on the ministering and visitation by the minister in fulfilling the calling of the Church. These are then also the areas perceived as being the most neglected. This perception is further reiterated by the fact that 81,8% of those who disagreed with the dual role of the minister were of the opinion that the minister should be responsible solely for ministering.

A minority group acknowledge that the Church does have a social responsibility towards the community. This is an opinion shared by the ministers:

"Dit is Jakobus wat sê, dit baat nie dat jy die mens die Evangelie bring en hy is dood van die honger nie. Jy moet tog die mens in sy totaliteit ontwikkel."

(Minister)

Finally, it is noteworthy that a fair percentage of the respondents were unsure and could not offer an opinion about the Church's influence on everyday life (20,7%) or the extent to which the Church fulfils its calling in Elim (15,9%).

4.6 FORM OF GOVERNMENT

For all practical purposes the preceding part of this chapter can be perceived as the background against which the bureaucratic structure of government operates. The bureaucratic structure will be analysed on two levels, namely the local level of the Opsienersraad and the central level of the Regional Board. It must be stressed that the inter-relationship between these levels is of crucial importance to this study.

4.6.1 Local level: The Opsienersraad

The Opsienersraad is in charge of all secular affairs and on the local level it is, therefore, a powerful body. Even though it is a form of government that has become institutionalised over the years, there is a great deal of dissatisfaction with the way in which the Opsienersraad governs the settlement. Whilst 25,6% of the respondents are satisfied with the Opsienersraad, 6,1% are unsure, 63,4% are dissatisfied and 4,9% very dissatisfied. The reasons for this are reflected in Table 10.

TABLE 10: RESPONSE TO GOVERNMENT BY OPSIENERSRAAD

RESPONSE	(n)	%
Do not always fulfil their duties	33	35,9
Fulfil their duties	21	22,8
Advance their own interests	9	9,8
Everybody not treated equally	7	7,6
Not enough is being done for the community	7	7,6
Diverse responses	5	5,4
No contact with the Opsienersraad	4	4,3
Autocratic behaviour	4	4,3
Do not move with the times	2	2,2
TOTAL	92	100

Although the majority of the respondents (35,9%) are of the opinion that the Opsienersraad does not fulfil its duties, there are two other responses that demand closer attention irrespective of their lower statistical value. These are that the Opsienersraad promotes its own interests (9,8%) and that everybody is not treated equally (7,6%). This opinion was repeated when inhabitants were asked whether the Opsienersraad governs to the advantage of the whole community. 70,7% replied negatively. The major reason (53,6%) for this being that the economically advantaged are perceived to be favoured whereas the disadvantaged are being left behind without adequate assistance. This perception was verbalised as follows:

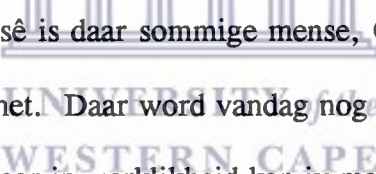
"Sommige moet maar die krummels eet".

(Respondent - Household)

Furthermore, 13,3% felt that the Opsienersraad advances its own interests rather than those

of the community. This is an opinion strongly expressed by the Regional Board. There was agreement that certain factions within the Opsienersraad had abused their position of authority to further their own aims at the expense of the community. Specific reference was made to the issue of the bona fide farmers who in the past refused to sign a lease with the Regional Board. A conflict of interest was perceived in terms of the role of the bona fide farmers as members of the Opsienersraad and their economic aspirations as farmers. Stated differently, they were identified as a dominant interest group using the Church apparatus (Opsienersraad) as a vehicle to realize their own particular interests.

When confronted with this perception i.e. members of the Opsienersraad furthering their own interest at the expense of the community, it was denied with the following specification:



"In die verlede sou ek ook sê is daar sommige mense, Opsienersraadlede, wat maar baie in sy eie guns gewerk het. Daar word vandag nog baie daarvoor gepraat met die jongste raad wat daar is. Maar in werklikheid kan jy maar notules naslaan en met die dominee gaan gesels. En vandat ek daar is, was daar nog nooit sulke dinge gewees nie."

(Member of Opsienersraad)

The perception clearly exists that there are different interest groups in Elim. A major distinction is being drawn between the economically advantaged as opposed to the economically disadvantaged. Ministers acknowledged this, but were not prepared to go on record regarding the underlying factors causing this distinction or the conflict resulting from it. Locally the following perception of the community in this regard was expressed:

"Ons sit mos nou met 'n gemeenskap wat baie... ek sal maar sê daar is nie een graad mense nie. Hier is eintlik, jy kan noem drie vlakke van mense. Hier is mense wat hulself kan help, hier is mense wat ook ander kan help, maar hier is ook mense wat hulself nie kan help nie. Hier is ook mense wat hul nie wil self help nie. Met die soort tipe probleme is jy eintlik doenig."

(Member of Opsienersraad)

In spite of the fact that the Opsienersraad is perceived by some as promoting its own interests rather than those of the community 62,2% of respondents indicated a need for the Opsienersraad to have more power concerning development in Elim as opposed to the 37,8% against it. Although this might seem to be a contradiction it is easily explained. No dissatisfaction was expressed with the Opsienersraad as a component of the bureaucratic structure. On the contrary, people felt a need for a more effective Opsienersraad. The dissatisfaction stems from the ineffective way the Opsienersraad operates and the perceived self-interest of its members.

The reasons for a perceived need to increase the power of the Opsienersraad over development issues are indicated in Table 11.

TABLE 11: MORE POWER TO THE OPSIENERSRAAD OVER DEVELOPMENT ISSUES OR NOT

RESPONSE	(n)	%
YES	(51)	(62,2)
Will then be able to react faster and do more for the community	22	26,8
Too much under control of Regional Board	18	22
Stricter application of regulations possible	6	7,3
Diverse responses	5	6,1
NO	(31)	(37,8)
Enough power - not used to the advantage of everybody	23	28
People themselves must have greater degree of participation	4	4,9
Good the way it always was	3	3,7
Involve themselves too much in people's affairs	1	1,2
TOTAL	82	100

It is felt that more power will enable the Opsienersraad to react faster and do more for the community (26,8%) and that it is presently too much under the control of the Regional Board (22%). This is an expression of dissatisfaction with the hierarchy of the bureaucracy of government in terms of the decentralisation of decision-making. It is a demand for greater autonomy and insulation from the control of the Regional Board (central government).

The general feeling amongst the ministers of Elim was that the Opsienersraad has enough power on the local level, but that there is a need for a reappraisal of the means for effective execution of this power. According to them the regulations clearly allow extensive power to the Opsienersraad, but this power is not properly applied. Interestingly, local ministers observe that the execution of decisions by the Opsienersraad is more often than not left to the minister in charge. This is a situation that they feel is detrimental to the authority of the

Opsienersraad. The following opinion was expressed by one such minister:

"Die manne meen gewoonlik jy as voorstaander, jy is die man wat die klippe moet kou. Hulle besluit vandag in 'n sitting sekere dinge en by die uitvoering daarvan moet jy as voorstaander daaraan uitvoering gee."

(Minister)

This is effectively a call for a greater degree of people's participation. The people are directly challenged to take charge of their own circumstances:

"Die mense moet begin besluit wat hulle wil hê en wat hulle sien en wat hulle verlang. Die ou stelsel van die leraar doen dit in die sendingstasie, dit is lank verby."

(Minister)



From the side of the Regional Board there is an acknowledgement that more power could be ascribed to the Opsienersraad:

"Ons lewe in 'n tyd van devolusie van mag. Mens wil dit afskaal tot op die plaaslike vlak, want myns insiens kan die sendingstasie net effektief, of in 'n hoë mate effektief bestuur word as jy meer erkenning gee en outonomieit aan die plaaslike bestuursliggaam - dis die Opsienersraad."

(Member of Regional Board)

The exercise of any such power, however, is clearly defined in terms of its benefitting not

only the local community but also the broader Church in general:

"So sekerlik sien ek dat die Opsienersraad meer gesag moet kry, meer reg moet kry om die sendingstasie te bestuur ten beste van die hele Kerk. Maar daarby kom ook dat dit net ten beste van die hele Kerk kan wees as dit Elim se belange in die eerste plek dien. Maar nie op so 'n manier dat die Kerk nie daardeur bevorder word nie."

(Member of Regional Board)

The reference to the stricter application of regulations is interesting. There is a general agreement that although the laws governing the settlement are clearly defined they are not adhered to by the inhabitants as before, nor are they executed to their full extent by the Opsienersraad. This is in contrast to the German missionaries of whom it is said:

"Hulle was streng-gedissiplineerde mense. Hulle ja was ja en hulle nee was nee. Hulle het tug en wet uitgeoefen na die letter."

(Minister)

The perception is that the respect and power that the Opsienersraad enjoyed in the past have slowly but surely been eroded over the years. Respondents often referred to the time when people listened when members of the Opsienersraad reprimanded them or when the Opsienersraad was called in to help resolve household disputes. This is not the case anymore. On the one hand the blame is laid at the door of the Opsienersraad themselves for not fulfilling their duties and enforcing the regulations:

"Dit is natuurlik die raad se eie skuld ook dat dit nie meer so volledig uitgevoer word nie omdat ... ons is maar almal 'n bietjie laks en ons is natuurlik bang vir aanstoot ook"

(Member of Opsienersraad)

Members of the Opsienersraad are however also of the opinion that times have changed to such an extent that they dare not interfere in the domestic affairs of households as was common practice in the past when they were called in to do so. Their reluctance to involve themselves nowadays, in contrast to the past, was described by a retired member of the Opsienersraad as follows:

"Ek bly maar in my nes dan bly ek ongekwas."

(Retired member of Opsienersraad)



Restoring this situation to what the Opsienersraad would like it to be is not perceived as an easy task:

"As 'n mens nou kyk, dis eintlik 'n bietjie van 'n probleem, nê? Hoe gaan 'n mens weer red wat verlore gegaan het? As dit 'n gebou is, kan jy sê: "Ek kan hom restureer". Maar hoe gaan jy 'n mens weer terug bring om hom weer by die ou wette, by die mooiheid van die sendingstasie by te voeg, nê? Dit is 'n probleem."

(Member of Opsienersraad)

The way in which the Opsienersraad uses its power has implications for any possible changes

to be undertaken. Again there is a recurrence of the opinion that power is not used to the advantage of everybody (28%). A mere 4,9% indicated a need for greater participation by the people themselves in this instance. However, when asked directly whether they are satisfied with their participation in the governing of the community 47,6% were positive and 52,4% negative, which is basically a split down the middle. Table 12 reflects the reasons for this.

TABLE 12: SATISFACTION WITH PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNING OF COMMUNITY

RESPONSE	(n)	%
YES	(39)	(47,6)
Meetings are held where inputs can be made	29	35,4
Satisfied - accept governing of the Opsienersraad	7	8,5
Not interested in the form of government	3	3,7
NO	(43)	(52,4)
Not enough meetings held	25	30,5
Autocratic decision-making	16	19,5
Diverse responses	2	2,4
TOTAL	82	100

The 3,7% who responded yes and were not interested in the form of government were of the opinion that the present situation could continue as it was immaterial to them. Another interesting point is that 30,5% are dissatisfied with the frequency of meetings held with the community, whereas 35,4% are satisfied with the number of meetings. 19,5% feel that decision-making takes place in an autocratic manner. Even when meetings are held it is felt that they are merely there to inform the inhabitants of decisions rather than to consult with them. There is a desire for greater meaningful participation by the people in the decision-

making process of government.

What is the perception of possible problems of the Opsienersraad in the execution of its duties? An astonishing 43,5% of the respondents had no response to this. On the other hand, this might not be so surprising given the complaint that not enough meetings are being held. People cannot be expected to comprehend any possible problems if they are not informed about them. The major problems identified were that people did not listen to the Opsienersraad any more (27,1%), internal council problems (10,6%) and the fact that the members of the Opsienersraad are not trained for the task (3,5%).

4.6.2 Central Level: The Regional Board

The Opsienersraad is subject to the authority of the Regional Board. Any malfunction of these two, separately or together, will obstruct development in Elim. On the other hand it is just as important that they do not become grinding stones between which the people of Elim are caught.

How do these two levels of government perceive co-operation and communication between them? There is a significant difference of opinion concerning this matter. The feeling from the side of the Opsienersraad was stated unequivocally:

"Die skakeling is van die swakste wat daar is ... Dit lyk nie of die Streekbestuur baie belangstel in die stasie nie."

(Member of Opsienersraad)

"Hulle is hemelsbreed uit mekaar uit."

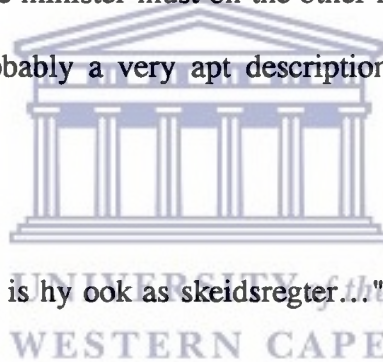
(Member of Opsienersraad)

In essence the Opsienersraad is of the opinion that communication is non-existent. The Opsienersraad also accuses the Regional Board of failing to respond to correspondence and requests to meet with them. They are not satisfied with the meetings held between them and individual representatives of the Regional Board, but demanded to meet the entire Regional Board. Once again there was no dissatisfaction expressed with the legitimacy of a Regional Board as an element within the bureaucratic structure of the Church. The issue of contention is the strained relationship between individual members of these two levels of government. Members of both levels of government, however, refrained from going on record as to the extent of these differences. It is significant to note that all the members of the Opsienersraad interviewed acknowledged the Regional Board as the legitimate highest level of authority, apart from Synod, within the bureaucracy of the Church. In this sense the legitimacy of the Regional Board was therefore not challenged.

The Regional Board on the other hand vehemently denies any such accusations. On the contrary, they are of the opinion that since the last Synod in 1988 they have spent more time and energy dealing with Elim than with any other mission station. According to them, the line of communication has always been open from their side and during their last meeting in August 1992 they could produce correspondence to prove this. Having said this, however, it cannot be denied that the structural relationship between these two levels of government has been far from satisfactory and effective. Ineffective communication is a manifestation of this strained structural relationship. The fact that the issue of the signing of leases between the

Regional Board and the bona fide farmers, as discussed above, could only be finalised in August 1992, in spite of the resolution concerning the matter being passed two Synods prior in 1984, proves this point.

A vital third component in the co-operation between the Regional Board and the Opsienersraad is the local minister. The local minister is called by the Regional Board to serve the community of Elim as its representative. The minister thus receives his/her job description from the Regional Board. As ipso facto chairperson of the Opsienersraad all contact with the Regional Board is subject to the endorsement of the local minister. As chairperson of the Opsienersraad the minister must on the other hand also take cognisance of the needs of the community. Probably a very apt description of this role was given as follows:



"Hy is nou as regter en dan is hy ook as skeidsregter..."

(Member of Opsienersraad)

How do ministers perceive their role within the bureaucratic structure? All are of the opinion that it is indeed a difficult position to be in. On the one hand they represent the Regional Board and the broader Church:

"Hy is daar om die belange van die hele Kerk, nie net van Elim nie, maar van die hele Kerk voor te staan soos dit aan hom opgedra word deur die Streekbestuur."

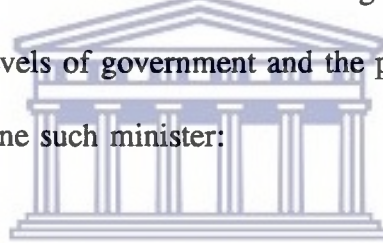
(Minister)

On the other hand they acknowledge the perspective and insight resulting from their life and work within the community:

"Om daar te woon en saam die probleme in die gesig te staar, is anders as om in die stad te woon en nou en dan te kom inkyk hoe lyk dit hier, hoe lyk dit daar en dan is ek weer weg."

(Minister)

Local ministers did complain that there was often a delay in response from the Regional Board concerning matters of secular affairs in Elim. An enlightening comment concerning the relationship between the two levels of government and the position of the local minister in this regard was spelled out by one such minister:



"Dit is interessant dat wanneer die leraar voor my tyd of na my tyd nie op die Streekbestuur was nie daar dikwels spanninge gekom het, wat te betreur is, maar wat vanselfsprekend daar was omdat dit alles deur briefwisseling moes gaan en daardie persoonlike kontak en verklaring waarom die Streekbestuur dit of dat nie kon toestaan nie, nie daar was nie."

(Minister)

It becomes clear that the local minister is a vital component of the central government's capacity to gather information at the local level. Equally important seems to be the means of transferring the acquired information between the two levels of government.

What do the people think of the co-operation between these two levels of government? It must be cause for concern that 72% of respondents are unsure about this issue. This could be an indication of ignorance as to what is happening in the bureaucratic structure as a result of inefficient communication between Opsienersraad and community. The reasons given by the respondents for their perception of co-operation between Opsienersraad and Regional Board (Table 13) support this assumption.

TABLE 13: PERCEPTION OF CO-OPERATION BETWEEN OPSIENERSRAAD AND REGIONAL BOARD

RESPONSE	(n)	%
Have no knowledge	59	68,6
Regional Board has too little time for Elim	13	15,1
Regional Board and Opsienersraad do not consult each other in decision-making	6	7
Many differences between Regional Board and Opsienersraad	5	5,8
Diverse responses	3	3,5
TOTAL	86	100

The vast majority (68,6%) have no knowledge of the nature of co-operation between these two levels of government. The importance of the 15,1% perceiving the Regional Board as having too little time for Elim is reiterated in Table 14.

TABLE 14: ROLE OF REGIONAL BOARD IN GOVERNING OF ELIM

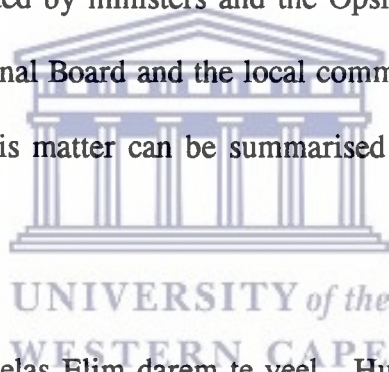
RESPONSE	(n)	%
Visit community and hold public meetings	55	52,9
No comment	23	22,1
Consult with Opsienersraad	9	8,7
Only observing capacity	8	7,7
No involvement	4	3,8
Diverse responses	3	2,9
Financial support for development	2	1,9
TOTAL	104	100

The importance the people attach to the physical presence of the Regional Board and public meetings is stressed by more than half of the respondents. The response of the Regional Board to this issue is that it is not their policy to hold public meetings with the community, but only with the Opsienersraad and the Church Council. The feeling is that public meetings with the community is the task of the Opsienersraad. Only in cases of an appeal by the Opsienersraad and the community would such a public meeting be convened. This has in effect been done in the case of another mission station.

As in some other instances it is a worrying factor that there is a significant percentage (22,1%) of respondents who have no opinion on the issue. Although few in number, it is important to note that there are people of the opinion that the Regional Board should merely be involved in an observing capacity (7,7%) or on the other hand not be involved at all (3,8%). This demand for greater local autonomy in governing Elim is strengthened by the response to the control of revenue extracted from the community. 78,9% of the respondents feel that the Opsienersraad must have control over revenue from Elim. The reason cited for

this is that the Opsienersraad is locally in charge and the money is needed for the governing and developing of the settlement. Presently the income from the agricultural land (the largest source of income) must go directly to the Regional Board. Only 5,3% feel that the Regional Board should have control over the revenue whereas 15,9% ascribe this task to the Church Council. The Church Council is the highest authority in Elim and the Opsienersraad is in actual fact subject to the authority of the Church Council. This effectively means that 94,8% of the respondents hold the opinion that all revenue must be locally controlled.

The issue of the extraction of revenue from Elim and the lack of finances for local maintenance and development is cited by ministers and the Opsienersraad as a major arena of social conflict between the Regional Board and the local community. The general feeling of the Opsienersraad concerning this matter can be summarised in the words of one of its members:



"Hulle (die Streekbestuur) belas Elim darem te veel. Hulle onttrek te veel uit Elim uit. Hulle maak van Elim 'n goudmyntjie, maar hy kan leeg ook raak ... Hulle wil te veel hê en te min vir die dorp self doen."

(Member of Opsienersraad)

The Regional Board rejects this perspective and sees itself as the custodian of all the assets of the Moravian Church. In accordance with their task as prescribed by Synod the Regional Board is to govern all assets to the benefit of the broader Moravian Church. Elim is seen as part of this broader Church and will not be taxed at its own expense. Local ministers were of the same opinion.

The broader Church cannot function if the Regional Board does not extract revenue from mission stations such as Elim which are its major assets. Based on the perception of the Elim community conflict arises from an unacceptable imbalance between the revenue extracted and its redistribution for the needs of Elim. Furthermore, no mention was made about the Church effecting or attempting to effect a more equitable distribution of wealth, given the acceptance that there exists different levels of socio-economic development in Elim.

The Regional Board basically agrees that a devolution of power and a greater degree of democratisation at the local level is inevitable. This implies a greater measure of autonomy for the Opsienersraad and the local community in the decision-making process. A member of the Regional Board candidly admitted that presently the power structure of the Church is still dominated by a "top-down" approach although there is a conscious effort to transform this in order to facilitate a greater degree of people's participation on grassroot level. Their (the Regional Board) role would then basically become more that of a supervisory body ensuring that the best interests of the Elim community are served in conjunction with the broader Church. They would guard against individuals in Elim enriching themselves at the expense of the community as a whole. Also, development in Elim would have to take place in a spirit of sharing its assets with the broader M.C. in S.A.

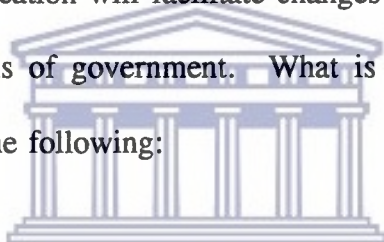
It is clear that the road towards this goal will not be entirely easy and effortless. The present rift that exists between the community of Elim and the Regional Board can in part be ascribed to the legacy of the missionary era. Ministers repeatedly made reference to the fact that the local settlement was divided into the "dorp" where the people lived and the "heer se werf" where the missionaries lived. Also, there was a distinction made between the Mission and

the people of Elim. This legacy was summarised as follows:

"Mense het natuurlik so groot geword met ons se belange en die Sending se belange. En die ding, kan ek nou sê, sielkundig spook dit nog by sekere mense alhoewel die tye al radikaal verander het. En miskien is die Kerkbestuur ook nie heeltemal vry in gesindheid, op die oomblik nog nie, van "baas" nie."

(Member of Regional Board)

On a more positive note it must be said that there is agreement between Regional Board and Opsienersraad that better communication will facilitate changes in attitude and enhance co-operation between these two levels of government. What is needed, in the words of a member of the Opsienersraad, is the following:



"Om eerlikwaar te sê, hulle (die Streekbestuur) moet 'n slag net Elim toe kom. Kyk, dat ons kan gesels. Kyk, ons moet om 'n tafel kan sit en gesels en dinge kan uitstryk wat daar is."

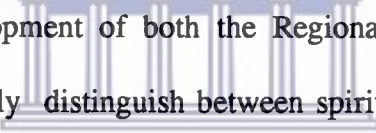
(Member of Opsienersraad)

The truth of this statement was vindicated by the result of the meetings held between the Regional Board and the Opsienersraad during July and August 1992 where differences which had existed since the 1984 Synod were resolved.

4.6 DEVELOPMENT POLICY

What is the policy of the Moravian Church concerning the development of the mission stations

it owns such as Elim? This question touches upon the very core of this study and demands to be answered. The development policy must form the backbone of a common vision by the state elite of the role of the Church in development. Furthermore, it would aid them in presenting the Church as the guardian of universal interests and enhance the legitimacy of the Church bureaucracy. The truth of the matter, however, is that the Moravian Church does not have a common policy pertaining to the role of the Church in the development of its mission stations. The Regional Board as well as the ministers interviewed had similar ideas as to what development should entail, but a policy document on development is non-existent. This clouds the establishment of a common vision by state elites and puts a brake on the mechanisms turning the wheel of development in Elim.



The general perspective on development of both the Regional Board and the individual ministers was that one should clearly distinguish between spiritual development and socio-economic development. Spiritual development would entail the moral and ethical upliftment of the people within the context of Elim as a community based on Christian doctrine. It was felt that there is a need to preserve and nurture the distinctive character of the mission station on which it was originally based. This is seen as the spiritual task of the Church. The socio-economic development would focus on the secular needs of the community:

"Die Kerk wil vir alle mense in die sendingstasie die basiese geriewe daarstel wat vir hulle 'n menswaardige bestaan sal verseker. Met ander woorde, die Kerk wil vir hulle huisvesting hê, die Kerk wil vir hulle strate daarstel, die Kerk wil vir hulle water voorsien, higiëniese omstandighede daarstel, elektrisiteit daarstel."

(Member of Regional Board)

Another factor stressed throughout was job-creation through the optimum utilisation of all natural resources available in Elim. Specific reference was made to resources such as the abundance of water and fertile soil, the availability of clay for brickwork and pottery (the Elim Home for physically and mentally handicapped children was entirely built with bricks locally manufactured from the indigenous clay) and wild flowers, especially proteas, which are presently exported only on a limited scale.

Given the need for development as acknowledged by the church bureaucracy and the people of Elim, a reappraisal of the present situation becomes crucial. The need for a policy-document guiding the future development of mission stations can no longer be denied. The Synod of 1988 addressed this situation by appointing a Town Commission to research the mission stations and submit a report on future development to the Synod in September 1992. As mentioned before, the members of this committee were not at liberty to discuss their findings with the researcher as their report had to be submitted to Synod. Unfortunately, none of the members of the Opsienersraad of Elim interviewed had any first-hand knowledge of this commission or had had any contact with it. In the words of one of the members of the Opsienersraad:

"Ek weet nie presies wat hulle werk is en wat hulle doen nie."

(Member of Opsienersraad)

In the context of people's participation in development planning this is unacceptable and will have to be addressed in the immediate future.

4.7 FROM THE PAST THROUGH THE PRESENT TO THE FUTURE

What vision of the future do the people of Elim have, when reflecting on the past. According to one minister:

"... hulle bou meer op die verlede en sien meer die verlede raak. En wil ek eerlik sê, hulle hou vas, vertroetel dit eintlik en in dieselfde oomblik vergeet hulle dat daardie verlede is maar net 'n goeie fondament waarop die hede en die toekoms gebou moet word. En dikwels word die verlede so aangegryp dat hulle met die rug gekeer staan na die toekoms en dat hulle nie werklik dink ook ons het 'n bydrae om te lewer ten einde Elim te laat oorlewe nie."



(Minister)

But what about the people themselves? 96,3% of the respondents felt that changes have occurred during the past ten to twenty years, whereas 3,7% felt it had remained the same. The major changes observed can broadly be divided into two categories. Firstly, the negative changes including the neglect of the settlement (17,1%), social decline of the community (16,4%) and the fact that people only live for themselves and not as a community as before. Secondly, the positive changes include the provision of electricity (16,4%), the projects of EGO (10%) and the provision of better services in general (8,6%).

The major problems experienced by the community are reflected in Table 15.

TABLE 15: MAJOR PROBLEMS PRESENTLY ENCOUNTERED IN ELIM

RESPONSE	(n)	%
Abuse of liquor	41	41
Do not know	12	12
Diverse responses	12	12
Dagga / drugs	8	8
Social decline of the youth	6	6
Sanitation system and dirty water in the streets	5	5
People stray from the Church	4	4
Disregard for the laws of Elim	4	4
Sense of community has disappeared	4	4
Assaults	2	2
General physical neglect of the settlement	2	2
TOTAL	100	100

The abuse of liquor is perceived as one of the most serious problems. This was stated in no uncertain terms:

"Elim is naweke 'n dronk Elim."

(Respondent - Household)

For the most part the problems can be related to a perceived disintegration of the social fabric of the community. A reasonable percentage (12%) of the respondents could not identify the major problems facing the community.

And the future? Table 16 indicates that the majority of the respondents do not have a positive vision of the future.

TABLE 16: PERCEPTION OF THE FUTURE

RESPONSE	(n)	%
Future seems dark / little hope for the future	32	38,1
Have hope for the future	24	28,6
Only a future provided certain changes occur	13	15,5
Very unsure about the future	7	8,3
Will wait and see	3	3,6
Diverse responses	3	3,6
Elim will only be a place to retire	2	2,4
TOTAL	84	100

The negative feeling about the future, felt by the majority of the respondents (38,1%) is a disturbing fact. This can be ascribed to the fact that many of the changes over the past ten to twenty years are perceived as negative. Therefore, the following opinion is not surprising:

"My kinders en kleinkinders sal bitter brood eet op Elim."

(Respondent - Household)

On the brighter side there are people (28,6%) who have hope for the future. There are also those (15,5%) who foresee a future subject to certain changes being introduced. These changes depend largely on the community themselves taking responsibility for the future:

"Die toekoms kom nie vanself nie - mense moet dit bewerkstellig."

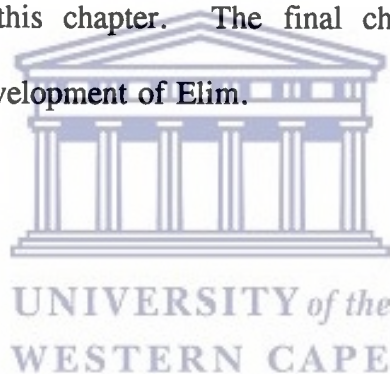
(Respondent - Household)

In essence, therefore, the people themselves cannot deny their own responsibilities in shaping

the future of Elim.

4.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to deal with the responses of the various interest groups involved in the development of Elim regarding a wide range of development issues. It should be noted that the majority of the people do have an opinion, and it is, therefore, important to consult them as the subjects of development in any future planning. That there are differences, between and even amongst members of these interest groups, is clear. The differences and problems encountered are, however, not insurmountable. The remaining task is how to address the issues identified in this chapter. The final chapter attempts to provide recommendations for the future development of Elim.



CHAPTER 5

THE ROAD AHEAD - RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This final chapter attempts to give some direction to the road ahead for development in Elim. This direction stems from the voice of the people involved as well as the researcher's understanding of the empirical data analysed within the theoretical framework.

The crucial role-players in the process of development in Elim must come to terms with the fact that they are inseparable links in the chain of development. Furthermore, this chain can only be as strong as the weakest link. The role-players must accept their responsibility to the future of development in Elim as well as their accountability to each other. This interaction is clearly expressed as follows:

"Die Kerk is in so 'n mate in beheer dat, ek wil amper sê, niemand buite die Moraviese gemeenskap kan enigiets omtrent ontwikkeling doen of genereer in Elim behalwe die mense wat self betrokke is of die Moraviese Kerk."

(Consultant - ORSC)

Given the theoretical framework, a restructuring of the bureaucratic structure is seen as the core around which transformation and development in Elim must be undertaken within the

context of people's participation. Finally, some practical considerations arising from the empirical study will be put forward to accommodate other aspects inherent to development needs in Elim.

5.2 THE BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURE

Accepting Max Weber's argument of the centrality of an efficient bureaucratic structure in the State's capacity to intervene in development, this is a logical point of departure in suggesting certain recommendations for future development in Elim.

Figure 2 (See p. 118) and Figure 3 (See p. 119) illustrate two possible options for a new bureaucratic structure to be discussed in the sections that follow. These options could be submitted to the Church and the community of Elim to serve as guidelines for deliberation. Consultation between everybody involved in development in Elim would be the next logical step. A new bureaucratic structure that would be the result of people's participation and democratic decision-making could evolve from such consultation. The aim is to move away from a top-down approach to structural transformation and put the people involved back in the centre of the development process.

It must be emphasised that for this bureaucratic structure to function effectively, the Church as dominant social institution has to redefine its legitimacy within both the spheres of proclamation and diaconia. In acknowledging the perception that spiritual guidance of the people is the highest priority of the Church and acting upon it, the Church can reach out to people on a level different from other secular development organisations. At the same time the Church cannot escape its social responsibility to the people.

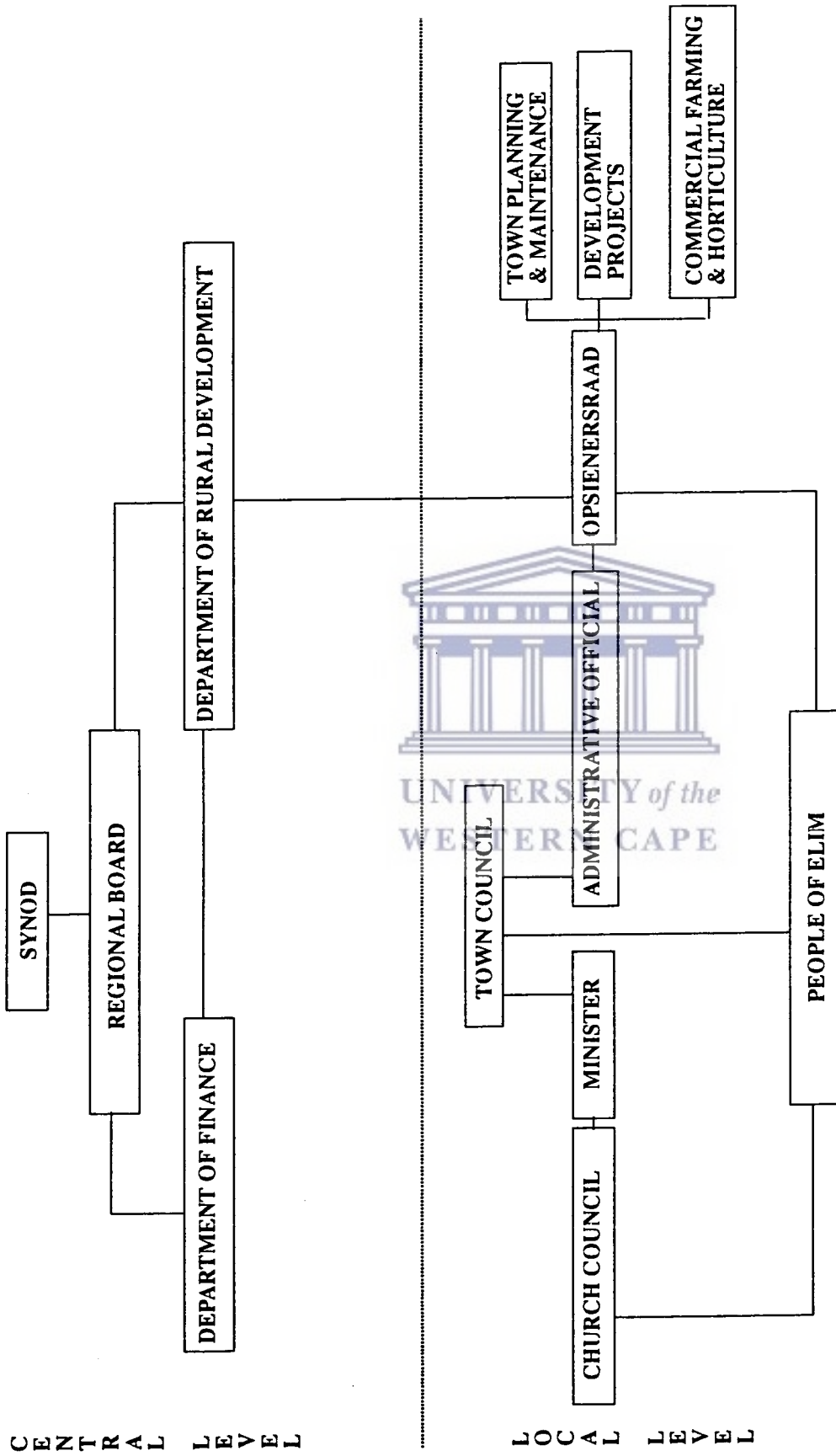


FIGURE 2: PROPOSED NEW BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURE - OPTION A

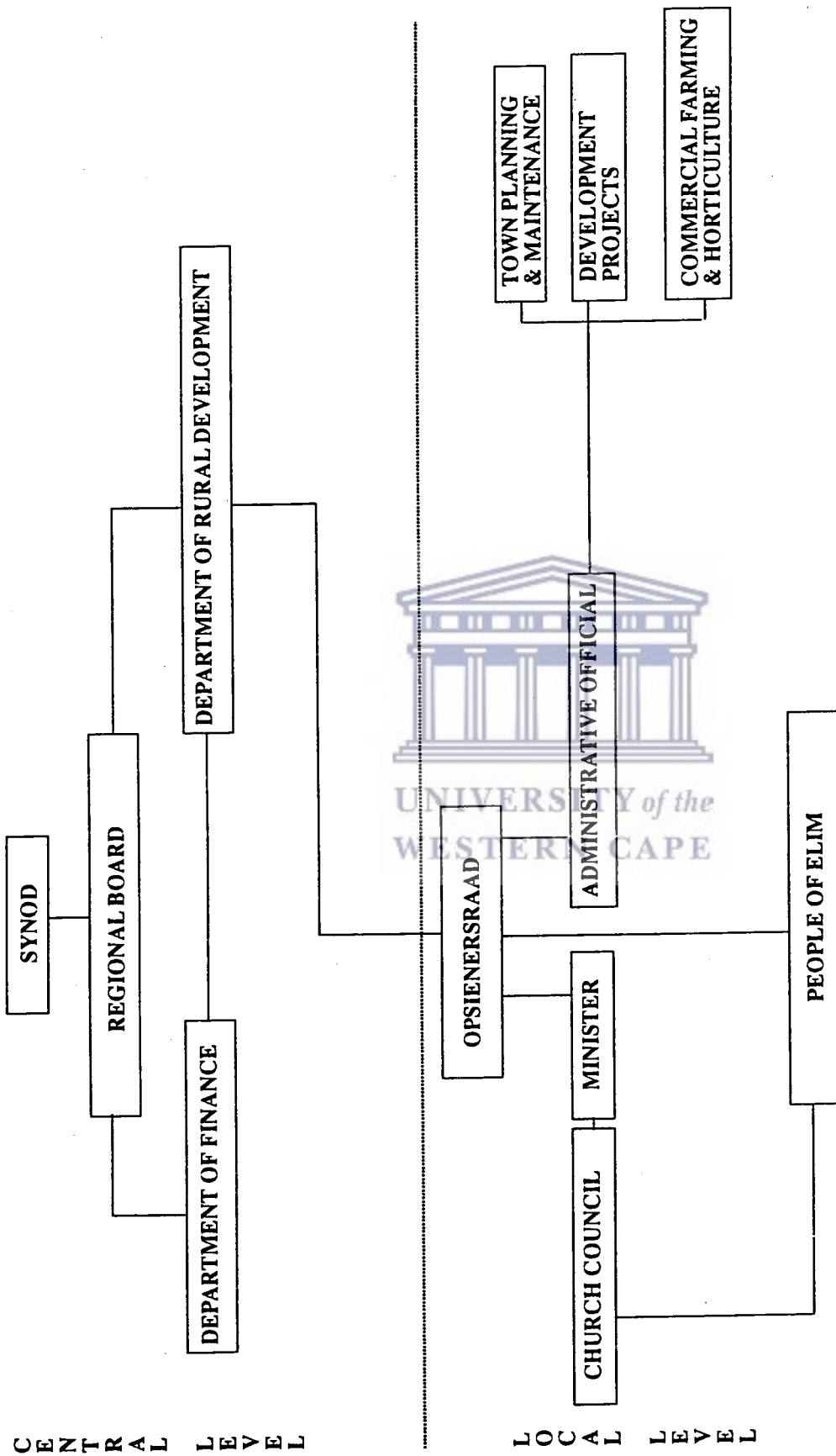


FIGURE 3: PROPOSED NEW BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURE - OPTION B

The order of change introduced to achieve structural changes is debatable, but it is believed that following a chronological order from top to bottom or vice versa is not practically implementable. Let the various prevailing conditions and inputs from all concerned be the guiding force directing transformation rather than letting a pre-conceived plan dictate change.

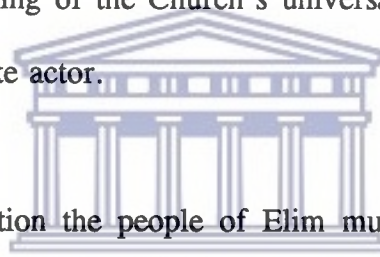
The three aspects of State structure deliberated upon in Chapter 2 will form the pillars around which this new proposed bureaucratic structure is to be built i.e. firstly, the construction of a bureaucratic machinery, secondly, organisational capacity and distribution policies, and thirdly, the degree of centralisation and decentralisation.

5.2.1 The construction of a bureaucratic machinery

The main aim of restructuring the existing bureaucratic machinery is to create the structural capacity for effective intervention in development. Suggesting such a structure is obviously much easier than the actual implementation. The degree of success will largely be dependent upon the interaction between the structural components and an openness to necessary adjustment over time. Furthermore, the people must be actively involved for the structure to function effectively.

On the **local level of government** the first step is to phase out the dual role of the minister and to appoint an administrative official to work with the Opsienersraad. The minister will then concentrate on the ecclesiastical duties and be assisted by the church council. Heeding the people's demand for a Church with the spiritual needs and guidance of the people as its highest priority, will re-establish the divine legitimacy of the Church. In turn this would facilitate the ability of the Church to present itself as the guardian of universal interests.

In order to do this the core participants' goals, priorities and commitments must be shaped into a collective formation. Although seemingly idealistic, the aim is to create a common vision of development shared by the majority (if not all) of the ministers and administrative officials, irrespective of the geographical location where they find themselves. This will not be an easy task as people's perception cannot be changed overnight. One possibility is to introduce a course in the training of ministers and administrative officials to foster a common vision of the Church's role in development. Workshops could be held with practicing ministers. Another possibility would be to enable as many ministers as possible to gain first-hand experience of life on mission stations such as Elim. Generating such distinct ideological formulations is vital in the furthering of the Church's universal interests and enabling the Church to fulfil its role as corporate actor.



In the spirit of people's participation the people of Elim must be the foundation of the structure. In order to facilitate this it is recommended that the election procedure of the Opsienersraad be changed. Presently the existing Opsienersraad nominates new candidates for election. The community then votes for the nominated candidates of its choice. In essence, therefore, the process is not truly democratic. The community themselves must nominate candidates for election. A truly democratically elected Opsienersraad must then see to the strict implementation of the regulations governing the community.

It is further recommended that the people of Elim revise the regulations governing the settlement (Addendum 1). This revision and acceptance of the new regulations by the people through a democratic process will facilitate the implementation of binding decisions by the Opsienersraad. The strict implementation of the regulations is presently lacking.

An administrative official must be appointed to assist the Opsienersraad in the secular affairs of the community. This should be a full-time position and the administrative official must take charge of the day to day affairs. The financing of such an appointment might provide a problem. A possible solution would be that the central government subsidises the salary paid by the local government. The exact way in which this is to be done should be negotiated between the local and central levels of government.

The Opsienersraad is to be restructured and existing committees should be meaningfully integrated into the new system. The three existing committees are the town, agriculture and horticulture committees. The present Elim Gemeenskap-Ontwikkelingskommittee (EGO) could be transformed into a development project's committee under the control of the Opsienersraad. Such a change is acceptable to the present EGO. The other two committees could be town planning and maintenance on the one hand and agriculture and horticulture on the other. The functions of each committee will have to be spelled out clearly and each will be held accountable to the community who democratically elect them. The effective functioning of these committees will demand thorough research and planning. The required research and planning could be done by experts from outside the community in consultation with the local people. The necessary information will be crucial in order to make informed decisions about, as well as within, these committees. Workshops on aspects relating to management skills in general and the different committees in particular are thus a strong recommendation. A lack of skills and expertise in local government are undoubtedly partly responsible for the ineffective operation of the present Opsienersraad.

On the **central level of government** the major addition to the present structure is the

introduction of a department of rural development (DRD) with executive power independent of the Regional Board. The DRD will be linked to a department of finance to co-ordinate development projects in deliberation with the local level of government. All the property mission stations of the Church will fall under this department.

The Regional Board remains the executive branch of the Church in the period between Synods. It is, however, clear that the Regional Board does not have the capacity to manage all the affairs of the broader Church as it is presently expected to do. The management of the mission stations is, therefore, to be transferred to the DRD. This is an attempt to decentralise decision-making even on the central level of government and to move away from a concentration of power in the hands of the Regional Board.

The Synod remains the highest governing body of the Church. It is accepted that Elim is part of the broader Church and as such, major decisions concerning the property of the Church must be sanctioned by, or carried out on behalf of, Synod.

5.2.2 The organisational capacity and distribution policies of the Church

The allocation of resources is a vital issue that must be seriously addressed. Elim remains the property of the Church and as such revenue could be extracted from the civil society of Elim in order to support the broader Church. This statement must, however, be qualified. The importance of building mechanisms into the system to curtail an urban bias in the decision-making process must be stressed. The existence of an urban bias was clearly stated by a minister:

"Die stem van die sendingstasie se manne is somtyds 'n stem in die woestyn ... Jy's jammer om dit te sê dat die mense vergeet somtyds dat daar is nog mense op die platteland ook. Die man in die stad het al die dienste en ontsê somtyds die sendingstasie sonder dat hy bewus is daarvan, van dieselfde geriewe wat hy het."

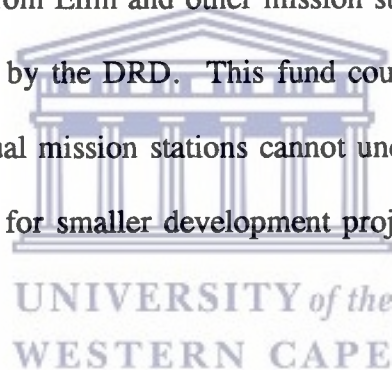
(Minister)

The DRD could possibly counteract elements of urban bias present in the existing bureaucratic structure. It would be responsible for all secular matters pertaining to property mission stations and receive funding from the finance department. The finance department will thus not be directly involved in the planning and development of mission stations. The money extracted from the congregation as general Church funds on a quota system can still fall under the department of finance as is presently the case. Locally this is controlled by the Church Council. The point to be reiterated is that revenue extracted from The inhabitants of Elim must be directly controlled by the DRD and not the department of finance.

Presently all financial matters of the entire Church are controlled by the department of finance. This include investments, trust funds, general Church funds, fixed assets, development projects, congregational commitments, loans, and administrative expenses. Development projects include, amongst others, five Moravian Mission Stores, four water schemes and six electricity schemes. Elim, as a rural settlement, can never be expected to develop to its full potential given the present structure of the allocation of resources centralised within a single department of finance. The present structure of centralised control, whereby a single department of finance has the ultimate control over the allocation of resources of the entire Church, is simply unacceptable.

Given the argument that centralised control of financial resources could enhance an equitable distribution of resources throughout the broader Church, it should however, not compromise the decentralisation of real decision-making to the local level of government. Stated differently, the central control of financial resources must not be allowed to hold at ransom the democratic process at the local level. The Opsiensersraad must obtain more local autonomy in financial matters.

The extraction of revenue from Elim must take into account the financial limitations as well as the development needs of the local community. Developing a formula for this will not be an easy task. Revenue received from Elim and other mission stations could be used to start a development fund administrated by the DRD. This fund could then be used to subsidise development projects that individual mission stations cannot undertake by themselves. The Opsiensersraad will be responsible for smaller development projects and the maintenance of the mission station.



Cognisance must be taken of the fact that living on Church land protects the economically less fortunate from economic burdens such as high property taxes. Services such as the provision of water and sanitation are presently also relatively inexpensive. Furthermore, a differentiated system of revenue collection from the inhabitants of Elim could address the issue of equitable distribution of wealth at the local level. Presently there is a unitary system of revenue collection from individual households irrespective of their socio-economic circumstances. A system of progressive rates of tax payment could be explored. This is to be done through negotiation between the local and central levels of government in consultation with the inhabitants.

5.2.3 The degree of centralisation and decentralisation of the Church

A degree of coherence and co-ordination between the different organisational parts of the bureaucratic structure illustrated in Figure 2 and Figure 3 is necessary for effective development in Elim. This can be achieved through a degree of centralisation fostering an internal guiding force in the face of possible outside interests and demands. How can this be effected?

A policy-document on future development planning is essential. The short, medium and long term goals of the Church in regard to the development of mission stations must be clearly spelt out. To do this a commission could be appointed by the DRD to assess the situation on each of the individual mission stations belonging to the Church. Planning must be done in consultation with the people and not for them. Inputs from both the central and local levels of government will also be crucial. A draft policy-document must then be submitted to the different levels of government as well as to the people for approval and/or possible changes. The final policy-document can then be drawn up to act as a guide for future development.

Effective intervention into the development process demands a certain degree of decentralisation. The sub-units on the local level must provide a greater degree of autonomy to local leaders.

The major difference between Figure 2 and Figure 3 is to be found in the organisational parts of the structure on the local level. In Figure 2 (See p. 118) a town council is introduced into the system as the highest authority regarding civil matters in Elim. In Figure 3 (See p.

119) the Opsienersraad retains the highest authority in the absence of a town council.

Why the introduction of a town council? The primary function of the town council would be that of conflict resolution between interest groups and it would act as a safe-guard against the entrenchment of group interests. No structure presently exists to counteract the development of group interests as perceived in Elim. On the one hand, the Opsienersraad is perceived as not treating all inhabitants in the same way, whilst on the other hand, it is said that that members further their own interests. With the new structure, members of the Opsienersraad will be accountable to the town council. If members of the community perceive any interest group to advance itself at the expense of the broader community, complaints could be lodged with the town council. The town council could hold public meetings biennially with the option of calling special meetings when and if the need should arise. In order to broaden the base of people's participation on grassroots level in local government, the town council is to be democratically elected by the community. These elections are to be held biannually and members could be re-elected for a consecutive term after which they have to stand down for a minimum period of one term. The minister and the administrative official will be *ex officio* members of the town council without voting power. In the event of a dispute, the town council would retain the right to consult with the interest groups involved.

There are certain possible problems related to the town council. Firstly, it might result in a local bureaucracy that is too cumbersome. Secondly, given the Church Council and the Opsienersraad, it might prove difficult to find people to serve on the town council. In the event of the same people being elected on these bodies it would effectively defeat the purpose of broadening the base of people's participation in local government. Thirdly, there is no

guarantee that all interest groups will be neutralised. There is even the possibility that a town council might result in new conflict as the Opsienersraad has traditionally been in charge of civil matters in Elim. The relationship between town council and Opsienersraad might therefore be a problematic one.

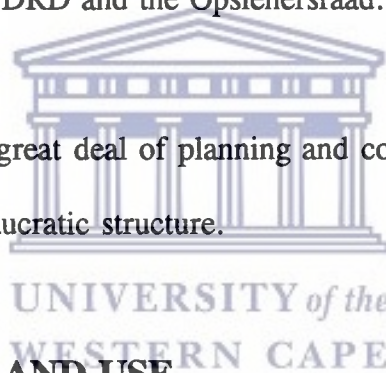
This brings us to Figure 3. In this instance the proposed town council in Figure 2 is replaced by the Opsienersraad as the highest local authority on civil matters. The minister and the administrative official will serve as *ex officio* members on the Opsienersraad without voting power. As is the case with the town council, only the democratically elected office bearers have voting power. In the absence of an arbitrary body the option of a referendum could be built into the system as a safeguard against group interests or unsatisfactory leadership. In the event of discontent within the community, a referendum could be called if a minimum of 20% of the registered inhabitants submit a petition to the Opsienersraad. Registered inhabitants are all those who signed the agreement with the Church (See Addendum 1) enabling them to reside in Elim. A two-thirds majority in such a referendum would effect the implementation of the issue voted upon. Regular election of the Opsienersraad is to be held biannually with the specification that members cannot serve longer than two consecutive terms without first vacating office for a minimum period of one term. Presently this election takes place every three years.

The possible advantage of this structure is that it does not become too elaborate or over-extend the human resources in the process. A possible problem could be that the suggested structure would be very similar to the present one with the inherent problems of the present structure as spelled out in the previous chapter. The referendum option would have to be

built into the system to make it work effectively. The community will have to be well-informed about how exactly the system is to function.

The recommendation in both options is clearly towards greater local autonomy and power sharing. The structural relationship between local and central government is of great importance in order to resolve any possible problems of corporate cohesion and co-ordination. Regular contact between the DRD and the Opsienersraad would thus be crucial. In Figure 2 the town council would have the option of consulting with the DRD in facilitating conflict resolution, but the major structural link between the central and local level of government would remain the one between the DRD and the Opsienersraad.

Finally, it must be stressed that a great deal of planning and consultation must precede the transformation of the present bureaucratic structure.



5.3 REFORM OF LAND USE

It is important to reiterate that a reform of land use is to be dealt with rather than land reform in the classical sense.

5.3.1 Commercial farming

The major concern would be to stabilise the delicate understanding reached between the bona fide farmers and the Regional Board. Once the leases have been signed it would be important that both sides not only hold themselves to it but also maintain an open line of communication to prevent a stale-mate situation characteristic of the past few years. It is hoped that the establishment of the DRD on the central level of government would facilitate this and enhance

a better structural relationship within the hierarchy as is the wish of the farmers.

5.3.2 Horticulture

The present situation of horticulture in Elim demands drastic changes. The first step would be to make horticulture a viable proposition. Effectively this would entail enabling interested inhabitants to increase productivity for their own consumption. In order to do this it is suggested that the irrigation canals are properly restored, cleaned and maintained by the Opsienersraad in conjunction with the gardeners. Gardeners producing for their own consumption must be grouped in an agreed upon section. This would eliminate the problem of uncultivated areas interspersing the cultivated gardens. The whole area designated for this purpose can be fenced in and machinery such as tractors and ploughs could be utilised to prepare the ground properly for the gardeners. The Opsienersraad would have to buy such machinery from funds generated locally, eg. the leasing of vegetable gardens. The system of leasing land for horticulture and the rent involved will have to be looked at in depth.

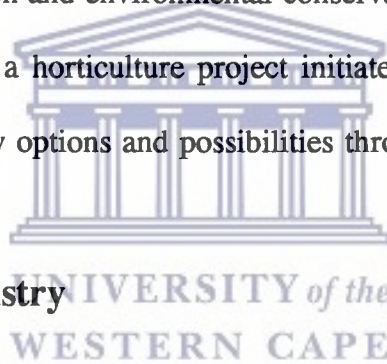
The remaining gardens presently used as camps for livestock must also be prepared for horticulture. This could be leased to people who are interested in commercial horticulture even if it means leasing to people from outside Elim. A possible provision could be that the inhabitants of Elim should be used as the primary source of labour if they are interested in such employment opportunities. There is the possibility of planting orchards which would also create seasonal employment.

Another possibility would be an intensive horticulture project by the Opsienersraad. Implements could then be supplied by the Opsienersraad so limited number of jobs could be

created. A vegetable market could then be started in Elim, where there is certainly a demand for it.

The important point is to facilitate the cultivation of the soil. The Opsiensersraad, through the suggested committee for agriculture and horticulture, should take the initiative and consult with the people about viable needs. Land must be leased subject to the condition that it is cultivated and this regulation should be enforced. This is not presently the case.

Another important measure would be to supply people with an extension service regarding more modern methods of cultivation and environmental conservation. The feasibility of this could be practically illustrated by a horticulture project initiated by the Opsiensersraad. It would be a case of illustrating new options and possibilities through concrete examples.



5.3.3 The flower industry

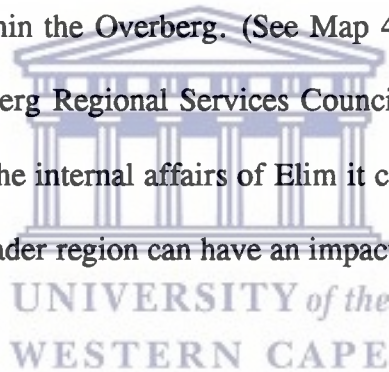
Presently only six people are being employed full-time within this industry. Elim has vast tracks of land that are unsuitable for agriculture, but the habitat for indigenous plants such as the much sought-after protea. These flowers have a vibrant market which is presently totally under-utilised by the industry in Elim. The flowers could be actively cultivated thereby increasing employment possibilities. Another branch of the industry would be dried flowers. It is important to stress that this natural resource would to be utilised in order to enhance its conservation. It is a renewable natural resource that can be simultaneously utilised and preserved when used discerningly.

5.3.4 Forestry

The possibility of forestry should be explored given the hilly character of certain sections of the territory and the restrictions this topography places on the utilisation of the soil. (See Map 3, p. 76) A balance could be found between forestry and the flower industry and they should not necessarily be mutually exclusive. Forestry would be a long-term project and this necessitates a clear vision for future development. It could hold vast employment opportunities as well as open up new avenues for subsidiary industries.

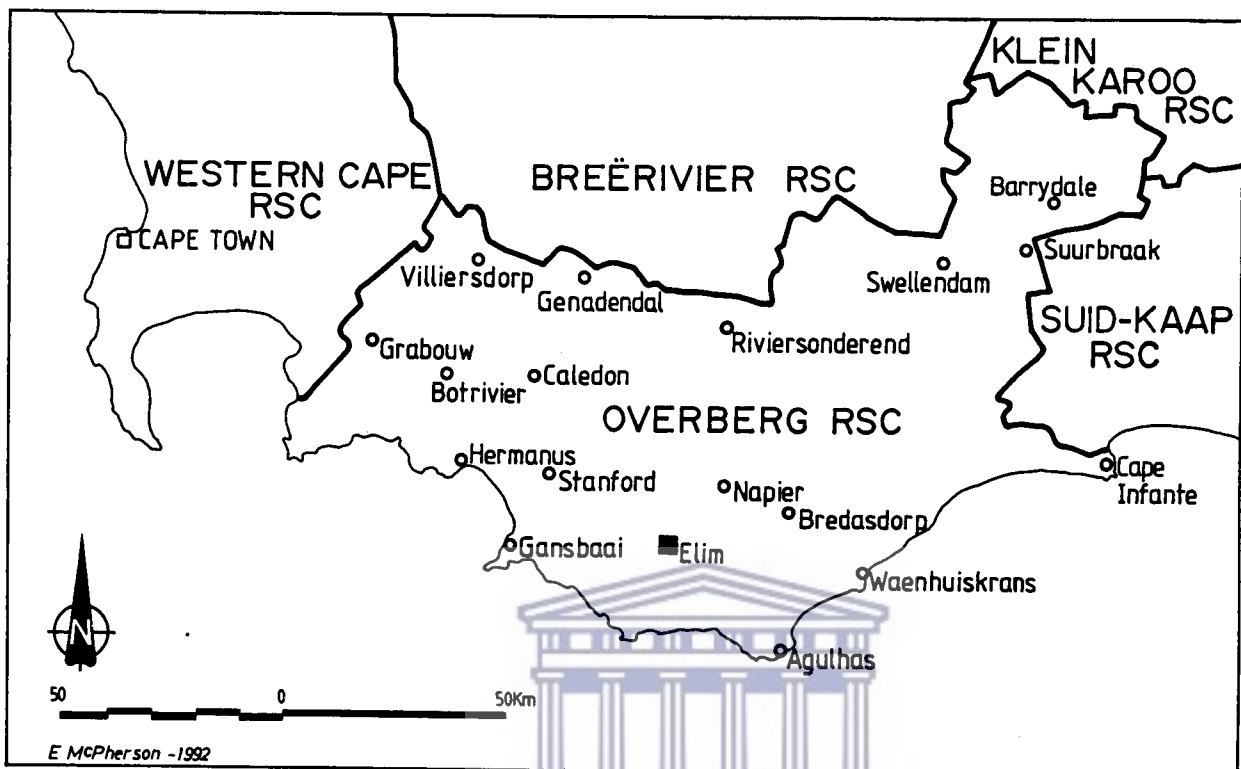
5.4 TOURISM

Elim is geographically located within the Overberg. (See Map 4, p. 133) This region falls under the jurisdiction of the Overberg Regional Services Council (ORSC) and although this council is not directly involved in the internal affairs of Elim it can influence development in Elim. Development within the broader region can have an impact on the community of Elim.



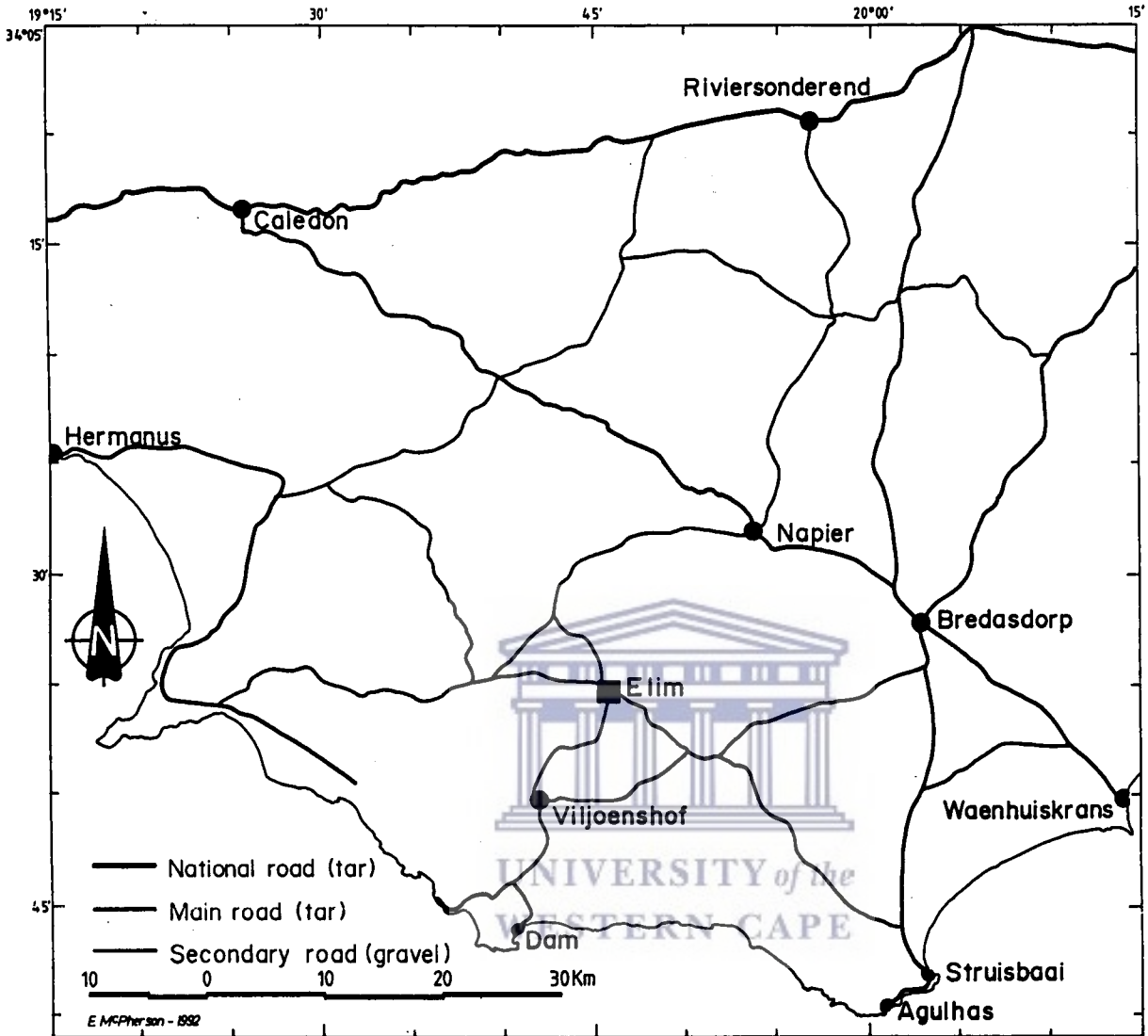
Unfortunately, a consultant for the ORSC does not foresee any development within the Overberg that could supply work to the inhabitants of Elim. The only development within this region is perceived within the tourism industry:

"My gevoel is dat die Overbergstreek op die oomblik toerisme beplanning of uitbreiding of ontwikkeling wat spesifiek op die toerisme mark gemik is, soort van eerste prioriteit stel." (Consultant - ORSC)



MAP 4: THE OVERBERG REGIONAL SERVICES COUNCIL REGION

How can Elim capitalise on this? At least three aspects need to be addressed in this regard. The first point to be made is that the accessibility of Elim to prospective tourists is of crucial importance. The close proximity of Cape Agulhas (the southern tip of the African continent) and the picturesque fishing village of Waenhuiskrans (the subject of numerous paintings) means nothing if Elim cannot easily be reached from these tourist attractions. Presently all roads leading directly to Elim are gravel roads. (See Map 5, p. 134)



MAP 5: TRANSPORT ROUTES

This could negatively influence prospective tourists. Accessibility is subject to the plans of the ORSC as they are responsible for the maintenance and development of roads. Unfortunately, the money allocated for the maintenance and improvement of roads in the Overberg region has been reduced. The problem of accessibility must, however, be addressed as the development of tourism in Elim cannot be separated from the regional context.

The second point to be made is the importance of advertising Elim as a tourist attraction. People must know that Elim exists and should be given good reasons why they should visit it. There is presently contact with the tourism office in Bredasdorp, but an active advertising campaign is necessary. The biannual flower festival in Elim is advertised through the Bredasdorp office, but much more can be done to aid tourism in the future.

The third point to be made is that tourists must be invited to spend their money in Elim. The obvious question is how to facilitate such a process. There are various ways of achieving this. One possibility is the sale of products manufactured locally by home industries. Such home industries could create new employment opportunities resulting in an increased local circulation of money. Examples can include bread baked from flour produced locally at the mill, handicrafts, etc. Wool-farming is characteristic of this region and a weaving industry could be a viable possibility. The local clay can be processed and used to manufacture pottery locally.

5.5 TOWN PLANNING

Town planning will definitely demand urgent attention in the immediate future. The most pressing problem is that of sanitation and dirty water stagnating along the streets. This is

acknowledged by the inhabitants, the Opsienersraad, the Church authorities and the ORSC. Even though the financial cost of such a project is cited as the major constraint, the problem demands serious attention. This is a project that could be undertaken jointly by the Opsienersraad and the DRD. Such a project would be a definite improvement in the social infrastructure of the settlement. The improvement of the quality of life of the community is important and the financial burden of installing a new sanitation system must not be allowed to prevent this. Not only is the present situation aesthetically unacceptable, it could indeed develop into a health risk.

A change in the system of sanitation would necessitate a change in the provision of water to the individual households. A study, initiated by the Opsienersraad and the DRD will have to investigate the details of such a project and devise a financial budget in consultation with the inhabitants. This will be a major project involving the community.

The issue of general maintenance of the settlement must to be addressed. Presently inhabitants pay a fee and the Opsienersraad is responsible for general maintenance, however this is ineffectual. The system of communal work by the inhabitants used in years gone by, can only be effectively re-instated if everybody gives full co-operation. The inhabitants who work outside of Elim will have to agree to participate fully in such a venture as the majority of the resident population is concentrated in the higher age group. The best approach would be to bring this to the attention of the whole community and to devise an effective system which is economically viable and acceptable to the majority.

Serious consideration must also be given to the architectural character of the settlement.

Maintaining the historical architectural character of the settlement will become difficult. The maintenance of the thatched roofs is expensive as reeds no longer last. One way of generating income could be the restoration of some of the unoccupied houses for use as guest houses. The funding of such a project might presently prove to be a problem, but it should be considered given the possibility of increased tourism in the Overberg region.

5.6 SOCIAL SERVICES

Certain measures should be taken in order to ensure the social well-being of the community. The major problem of alcohol abuse should be addressed. The community needs the services of a social worker who can also deal with other social problems. The creation of recreation facilities, totally lacking at present, would help to address the deviant behaviour of the youth. The youth themselves should be involved in the creation of such recreation facilities. Thought should also be given to the development of a project with the unemployed and the possibility of a public work's programme could be investigated to address this problem.

Given the large percentage of aged, social services for this section of the population should be well-developed. Presently, a club for senior citizens (65 and older) run by voluntary workers offer meals three times a week. This facility could be increased to extend the meal service, include excursions from time to time, and provide a regular health service.

Restoring a sense of community well-being should be a priority in any future development programme.

5.7 CONCLUSION

In the light of this research it is clear that the development process in Elim will require hard work. The proposed structural changes to the existing bureaucratic structure are deemed essential in this process of transformation. The people of Elim must, however, be at the very centre of these changes. If development is to be democratic, then the inhabitants of Elim must themselves become involved. As the subjects of development they cannot escape the responsibility of taking the future of Elim into their own hands.

In the midst of all this, the Church as dominant social institution, remains. Ideally, the role of the Church in any future development in Elim, will reflect the old Chinese parable:

(Rafam'Andrianjafy, 1981:1)

I go to the people,

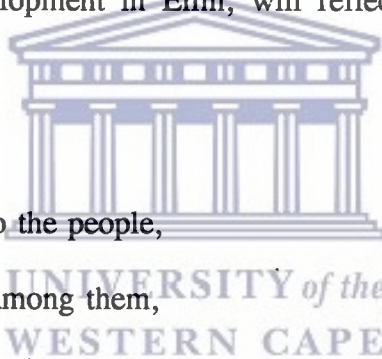
Live among them,

Work with them,

And when the task is done

They will say:

We did it ourselves.



REFERENCES

BUNDY C. 1979. *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry.* Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., London.

COETZEE, J.F. 1980. *Development models in the Third World.* Pretoria. Academica.

CONNELL, J. *The geography of development or the development of geography.* Antipode, Vol. 5. No. 2, May 1973.

DE SANTA ANA, J. 1977. *Good News to the Poor.* WCC, Geneva.

DE SANTA ANA, J. 1978. *Separation Without Hope.* WCC, Geneva.

DE SANTA ANA, J. (Ed.) 1979. *Towards a church of the poor.* WCC, Geneva.

DE KLERK, M. 1991. *Issues and options for land reform.* (In: De Klerk, M (Ed.). 1991. *A harvest of discontent. The land question in South Africa.* Idasa, Cape Town).

DICKINSON, R.D.N. 1983. *Poor, yet making many rich.* WCC, Geneva.

DICKINSON, R.D.N. 1975. *To Set at Liberty the Oppressed.* WCC, Geneva.

ELIM 1824 - 1924. 1924. *Een korte kroniek van de Zendingstatie Elim, Kaap-Provincie.* Genadendal Printing Works, Genadendal.

GIDDENS, A. 1981. *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism, Vol. 1: Power, Property and the State.* University of California Press, Berkeley.

HARVEY, D. 1989. *The condition of postmodernity.* Basil Blackwell, Inc., Oxford.

HELD, D. 1983. Introduction: Central perspectives on the modern State. (In: Held, D. Ed. 1983. *States and Societies.* Martin Robertson & Company Ltd., Oxford.)

HOGGART, K and BULLER, H. 1987. *Rural development: A geographical perspective.* Croom Helm, London.

KEE, A. (Ed.) 1974. *A Reader in Political Theology.* SCM Press Ltd., London.

KRUGER, B. 1966. *The Pear Tree Blossoms.* Genadendal Printing Works, Genadendal.

LAMAR, H. 1981. *The Frontier in History.* Yale University Press.

MAASDORP, G. 1985. Co-ordinated development: hope for the Good Hope proposals?. (In: Giliomee, H and L. Schlemmer. Eds. 1985. *Up against the fences - Poverty, passes and privilege in South Africa.* David Philip, Claremont, S.A.)

MACDONALD, J. J. 1981. *The Theory and Practice of Integrated Rural Development.* Manchester Monographs. University of Manchester.

- MAJEKE, N.** 1984. *The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest.* APDUSA, Cape Town.
- MARAIS, J.S.** 1968. *The Cape Coloured People.* Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg.
- MARCUS, T.** 1991. National, class and gender issues in land reform. (In: De Klerk, M. Ed. *A harvest of discontent. The land question in South Africa.* Idasa, Cape Town.)
- MEMORANDUM.** Memorandum van deputasie na Provinsiale Bestuur. 2 April, 1963. Moravian Archives. Heideveld, Cape Town.
- MIDDELKOOP, P.R.** People's participation in development as a basic need. *Exchange* 24, 1-30. 1979.
- NASH, M. (Ed.)** 1984. *Rural Poverty Challenges the Church.* SACC, Johannesburg.
- NATTRASS, J.** 1985. The dynamics of black rural poverty in South Africa. (In: Giliomee, H and L. Schlemmer. Eds. 1985. *Up against the fences - Poverty, passes and privilege in South Africa.* David Philip, Claremont, S.A.)
- PARMAR, S.L.** The limits-to-growth debate in Asian perspective. *Ecumenical Review* 1974/1, pp. 33-54.



PERIODICAL ACCOUNTS. Report of the work of the Moravian Missions, September, 1836. Trust Society for the furthering of the Gospel (Inc.), Muswell Hill, London.

PERIODICAL ACCOUNTS. Report of the work of the Moravian Missions, August, 1828. Trust Society for the furthering of the Gospel (Inc.), Muswell Hill, London.

PERIODICAL ACCOUNTS. Report of the work of the Moravian Missions, December, 1844. Trust Society for the furthering of the Gospel (Inc.), Muswell Hill, London.

PERIODICAL ACCOUNTS. Report of the work of the Moravian Missions, September, 1826. Trust Society for the furthering of the Gospel (Inc.), Muswell Hill, London.

PETERS, P. 1979. The Church and development: A historical view. (In: Hancock, R.L. Ed. 1979. The ministry of development in evangelical perspective. William Carey Library, Pasadena, California.)

POPULATION CENSUS 1991. Summarised results before adjustment for undercount. Central Statistical Services. Government Printer, Pretoria.

RAFAM'ANDRIANJAFY, M. The effects of church structure on development work. (In: Communication and Development, Exhibit 4.2. Lutheran World Federation papers for the CDS/DOC consultation Limuru, Kenya. Sept./Oct. 1986.)

REGEHR, E. 1979. Perceptions of Apartheid. Herald Press, Scottsdale, U.S.A.

ROUX, E. 1964. Time Longer than Rope. University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin.

RUESCHMEYER, P.B. & EVANS, D. 1988. "The State and Economic Transformation: Toward an analysis of the Conditions underlying Effective Intervention." (In: Evans, D, P.B. Rueschmeyer & T. Skocpol. Eds. Bringing the State back in. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, England.)

SACK, R.D. 1980. Conceptions of space in social thought. A geographic perspective. Macmillan Press Ltd, London.

SAMUEL, V. & SUGDEN, C. 1981. Theology of development: A guide to the debate. (In: Sider, R. Ed. Evangelicals and development: Towards a Theology of Social Change. Oxford University Press, Cape Town.)

SCHABERG, P.W. 1974. Moraviese nedersettings; die wêreldwye patroon waarna Elim ontwikkel het. (In: Ulster, J.J. Ed. 1974. Daar is maar èn Elim. Genadendal Drukkery, Genadendal.

SIDER, R. (Ed.) 1981. Evangelicals and development: Towards a Theology of Social Change. Oxford University Press, Cape Town.

SINE, T. 1981. Development: Its secular past and its uncertain future. (In: Sider, R. Ed. Evangelicals and development: Towards a Theology of Social Change. Oxford University Press, Cape Town.)

SOJA, E. 1989. Modern geography, Western Marxism, and the restructuring of critical social theory. (In: Peet, R and N. Thrift. Eds. 1989. New Models in Geography, Vol. 2, Unwin Hyman Ltd., London.)

STERKENBURG, J. 1988. Views on rural development and rural development policy. (In: Hinderink, J and E. Szulc-dadrowiecka. Eds. Successful rural development in third world countries. Geografisch Instituut Rijksuniversiteit, Utrecht.)

VAN ASWEGEN, H. J. 1990. History of South Africa to 1854. Academica, Pretoria.

VINCENT, A. 1987. Theories of the State. Basil Blackwell Ltd. Oxford.

WEINLICK, J.R. 1966. The Moravian Church through the ages. Comenius Press. Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

ADDENDUM 1

ORDENINGE VAN SENDINGSTASIE ELIM

REËLS EN WETTE AANGAANDE DIE PLAASLIKE ORDE

DIE BESTUUR

Algemeen

Art. 1 ELIM is 'n gemeente van die Evangeliese Broederkerk in die Westelike Kaapprovinsie. Elke inwoner van die nedersetting, hierna genoem Sendingstasie, is 'n lid van 'n gemeente van die Broederkerk. Alle lede van die gemeente soos alle gemeentes van die Broederkerk is lede van die een liggaam waarvan Jesus Christus die Hoof is. Die orde van die Sendingstasie is dus 'n deel van die orde van die Kerk, soos neergelê in die Kerkorde van die Evangeliese Broederkerk.

Die lede van die gemeente staan onder die belofte en vermaning van ons Here Jesus: "Kyk, Ek is met julle al die dae tot aan die voleinding van die wêreld". Die lewe in die gemeente, die orde en toesig, die betrekking tot die Kerk as 'n geheel en tot die owerheid sowel as die Here, staan onder Sy oë.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Die Voorstaander

Art. 2 Die plaaslike bestuur berus by die Evangeliese Broederkerk in die Westelike Kaapprovinsie, en wel sy Sinode of Streekbestuur. Die bestuur word in opdrag van die Broederkerk deur die verantwoordelike leraar of ander amptenaar deur die Streekbestuur aangestel as Voorstaander waargeneem. Hy tree in belang van die Sendingstasie op, in geval van onderhandeling met Regeringsdepartemente, openbare liggame en bure na voorafgaande konsultasie met die Streekbestuur.

Die Opsienersraad

Art. 3 Die Voorstaander word in die bestuur van die sendingstasie deur die Opsienersraad (O.R.) bygestaan. Hy is die voorsitter van die Raad en belê die vergaderinge.

Art. 4

4.1 Die ledetal van die O.R. word deur die Streekbestuur bepaal.

4.2 Die ampstyd van elke Opsienersraad duur 3 jaar. Elke jaar tree een-derde van die

goedgekeurde ledetal af. Afgetrede lede kan weer as kandidate dien.

4.3 **Verkiesing**

- 4.3.1 Die verkiesing vind nie later as 31 Mei van elke kalenderjaar plaas nie. Stemgeregtig is elke inwoner aan wie inwonerreg toegeken is.
- 4.3.2 As lid van die O.R. kan elke inwoner aan wie 'n beboude perseel toegeken is, wat sy volle kerklike en plaaslike pligte vir die voorafgaande boekjaar nagekom het, wat oor 21 jaar oud is, en bereid is om sy werk in geestelike verantwoordelikheid te doen, gekies word.
- 4.3.3 Die lys van kandidate vir die O.R. verkiesing word deur die O.R. opgestel. Hierdie lys moet twee name meer as die aantal vakatures wat gevul moet word, bevat.
- 4.3.4 Die lys van kandidate, die plek en datum van die verkiesing soos deur die O.R. besluit, moet by die erediens op drie agtereenvolgende Sondae voor die datum van verkiesing, bekend gemaak word.
- 4.3.5 Die Voorstaander is die Verkiesingsbeampte.
- 4.3.6 Oor die verrigtinge van die kiesvergadering word notule gehou. Die notule word deur die voorsitter en twee stemopnemers onderteken.
- 4.3.7 Alleen kiesers wat teenwoordig is, mag stem.
- 4.3.8 Die stemming geskied skriftelik.
- 4.3.9 Die stemme word getel deur twee stemopnemers wat deur die O.R. benoem is. Indien die stemme gelykop is, moet weer gestem word.
- 4.3.10 Na afloop van die verkiesing word die name van die kandidate gerangskik volgens die aantal stemme wat elke kandidaat verwerf het. Indien slegs een lid gekies moet word, word die een met die meeste stemme verkose verklaar. Indien daar twee gekies moet word, word die twee met die meeste stemme verkose verklaar, ens.
- 4.3.11 Die uitslag van die verkiesing word dadelik aan die kiesvergadering bekend gemaak en daarna aan die gemeente by die eerste moontlike geleentheid.
- 4.3.12 Die nuutgekose lede word aan die begin van hulle dienstyd in 'n kerkdiens aan die gemeente voorgestel en die aftredende lede bedank.
- 4.4 Vakatures word deur die tussen-verkiesing gevul. Die prosedure van die tussenverkiesings sal geskied volgens Art. 4.3
- 4.5 Indien 'n Opsier sonder skriftelike verskonings drie agtereenvolgende sittings afwesig is, verbeur hy die setel op die O.R.

Art. 5 Die O.R. sal ten minste een keer elke twee maande ontmoet. Buitengewone sittings kan na gelang van behoefte te eniger tyd deur die Voorstaander byeengeroep word. Buitengewone vergaderinge kan ook deur skriftelike aansoek deur 2/3 van die Raad aangevra word. Kworum is 1 meer as die helfte.

Art. 6

6.1 Die O.R. kies uit haar geledere een as Sekretaris. Hy is verantwoordelik vir die notule van vergaderinge, uitstuur van kennisgewings en alle take soos opgedra deur die Voorstaander of O.R.

6.2 Die O.R. kies uit haar geledere een as Kassier. Hy is verantwoordelik, onderleiding en opdrag van die Voorstaander, vir die boekhouding, verslaggewings van finansiële sake en opstel van begroting vir oorweging van die O.R., soos vervat in Art. 77 (6) van die Kerkorde.

6.3 Die finansiële jaar eindig op die laaste dag van Februarie elke jaar.

6.4 Elke jaar nie later as 90 dae na die laaste dag van Februarie word aan die inwoners tydens 'n openbare vergadering 'n skriftelike verslag van die plaaslike kas soos deur die O.R. goedgekeur voorgelê; terselfdertyd word die begroting vir die volgende jaar, soos deur die Streekbestuur goedgekeur, aan die vergadering voorgelê.

Art. 7 Aan die O.R. is o.a. opgedra:

7.1 Toesig oor die uiterlike orde van die plaas.

7.2 Goedkeuring en herroeping van woonreg.

7.3 Indeling van erwe, kampe, saailande en tuine.

7.4 Toesig oor algemene werk, en of insameling van vergoeding daarvoor.

7.5 Instandhouding van "algemene" heinings en paaie.

7.6 Toesig oor water, leivore, bos, veld en grense.

7.7 Bestuur van plaaslike kas.

7.8 Plaaslike regulasies in verband met water, landbou bv. (weiregte) en gesondheidsaangeleenthede bv. (sanitasie) op te stel.

7.9 Die Voorstaander in kennis te stel van enige onreëlmatighede of gevaar wat die

Sendingstasie en sy bewoners benadeel.

7.10 Om die Voorstaander by te staan deur advies en die uitvoering van opdragte.

7.11 Aanbevelings aan die Streekbestuur vir die korttermyn of langtermyn beplanning vir ontwikkeling voor te lê.

Art. 8 Die plaaslike kas ontvang alle heffings vir plaaslike regte van die inwoners en ander plaaslike inkomste en betaal alle plaaslike uitgawes, en 'n bedrag aan A.K.K. volgens begroting. Alle uitbetalings geskied sover moontlik per tjek.

Art. 9 Die O.R. behou die reg om sub-komitees of Kommissies aan testel om spesifieke take namens die O.R. te behartig. Die O.R. bepaal die aantal lede, die werkstermyn en gee spesifieke riglyne wat die doel en metode van die opdrag duidelik sal omskryf. Sulke sub-komitees gee gereeld verslag aan die O.R. of wanneer so versoek.

Art. 10 Die O.R. kan vergaderinge van volwasse inwoners byeenroep, om publieke aangeleenthede te bespreek. Die O.R. bepaal wie dit mag bywoon. Die voorsitter van die O.R. tree op as voorsitter en die sekretaris van die O.R. neem notule en gee verslag van die besprekings aan 'n daaropvolgende vergadering van die O.R.

Art. 11 **DIE GRONDBESIT**

11.1 Die grondbesit is op die Evangeliese Broederkerk in die Westelike Kaapprovinsie getranspoteer. Die transportakte word deur die Streekbestuur bewaar.

11.2 Die grond is ingedeel in erwe (wworeg), kampe, weilande, tuine.

11.3 Die werf, pastorie, die winkel, slaghuis, tuin en bos van die werf asook enige grond en/of gebou (bv. Polisiestasie, Poskantoor) wat volgens 'n ooreenkoms deur die Streekbestuur verhuur word [Sien Art. 77 (6) (4)] staan direk onder toesig van die Streekbestuur (Kerk, skool en begraafplaas staan onder toesig van die Kerkraad)

Art. 12 Die Kerkraad en Streekbestuur betaal geen belasting vir eiendom wat deur die Kerkraad od Streekbestuur bestuur word en waarvoor die Afdelingsraad of ander owerheid geen belasting van die O.R. invorder nie.

Art. 13 Die O.R. hersien jaarliks die heffings wat betaal moet word in die lig van die

waarde van die erwe (wwoonreg) tuine, lande, kampe, weivelde soos bepaal deur die plaaslike owerheid (Streeksdiensteraad) en in die lig van ontwikkelingsbehoefte.

Art. 14 INWONERS: REGTE EN PLIGTE

INWONER

'n Inwoner is 'n persoon oor 21 jaar aan wie die O.R. deur 'n formele besluit in 'n Opsienersvergadering, inwoonreg toegestaan het en wie die Ooreenkoms (Sien Art. 44) onderteken het.

INWOONREG

- 14.1 Die O.R. bepaal die voorwaardes vir woonreg/inwoonreg met dien verstande dat slegs lidmate van die Evangeliese Broederkerk woonreg en inwoonreg toegestaan mag word.
- 14.2 Kinders van inwoners het aanspraak op die inwoonreg deur geboorte. Hulle aanvaar die regte en pligte wat daarmee verbonde is, deurdat hulle na hulle 21ste verjaarsdag die ordeninge onderteken. Hulle verbeur dit as hulle nie binne 1 jaar na bereiking van die 21ste verjaarsdag aansoek doen nie, of as dit vir hulle weens oortreding van die ordeninge deur die O.R. ontsê word.
- 14.3 Minderjariges is onder die sorg en toesig van die ouers wat woonreg het, en woon op die Sendingstasie onder die voorregte en verpligtinge van hul ouers slegs tot hul 21ste verjaarsdag. Indien minderjariges deur die O.R. van wangedrag beskuldig word, kan O.R. na waarskuwing aan ouers en minderjariges, dissiplinêre stappe teen ouers en/of minderjariges neem.
- 14.4 Inwoners wat voor 21ste lewensjaar in die huwelik tree, mag inwoonreg toegestaan word.
- 14.5 Die O.R. behou die reg om tuine, lande, kampe, en/of weidingsregte toe te ken aan persone bo 18 jaar ook as nog geen huisperseel vir woonreg toegeken is teen 'n heffing soos van tyd tot tyd bepaal.
- 14.6 Persone van elders aan wie inwoonreg toegestaan word, betaal 'n inkomregfooi soos deur die O.R. vasgestel. (Waar van toepassing) Sulke persone of gesinne moet vooraf van 'n woning verseker wees.
- Art. 15** 'n Persoon van elders wat met 'n inwoner in die huwelik tree nadat hy/sy lid van die gemeente geword het, mag inwoonreg verkry indien sy/haar aansoek deur die O.R. toegestaan word, en die ordeninge onderteken is.

- Art. 16** Persone en families van elders kan op dieselfde manier (sien Art. 15) inwoners word: Hulle onmondige kinders verkry daarmee aanspraak op die inwoonreg. Mondige persone moet apart daarvoor aansoek doen.
- Art. 17** Die erwe vir woonhuise word deur die O.R. aangewys. Slegs sulke huise wat deur die plaaslike owerheid (Streeksdiensteraad) goedgekeur is, word toegelaat. Bouplanne moet deur die inwoner voordat hy begin bou in drievoud aan die Voorstaander oorhandig word. Hy dien die planne by die plaaslike owerheid in. Binne 3 jaar vanaf toekenning van 'n erf moet 'n woonhuis daarop gebou word, anders verval die toekenning. Inwoners aan wie 'n woonperseel toegeken is, betaal heffing soos deur die O.R. bepaal.
- Art. 18**
- 18.1 Elke huisgesin moet 'n afsonderlike woning bewoon.
- 18.2 In uitsonderlike gevalle kan skriftelike toestemming vir 'n bepaalde tyd deur die O.R. of deur die Voorstaander toegestaan word.
- Art. 19**
- 19.1 Wie permanent die sendingstasie verlaat, verkoop sy huis met toestemming van die O.R. aan 'n inwoner mits hy die Ordeninge onderteken het en inwoonreg deur die O.R. toegeken is.
- 19.2 'n Inwoner aan wie woonreg met huis toegeken is, en tydelik elders woon, stel 'n goedgekeurde inwoner voorlopig as opsigter daarvoor aan wat in sy plek verantwoordelik is.
- Art. 20** As 'n huisvader sterf, neem sy weduwee die regte en die pligte van die erf oor. Ouers kan die geboue aan een van hul kinders wat inwoonreg het, deur skriftelike testament bemaak.
- Art. 21** Die huise en omheining van persele moet deur die eienaars in 'n goeie toestand van reparasie tot tevredenheid van die O.R. gehou word. Rondom die huise moet skoon gehou word.
- Art. 22** **TYDELIKE VERBLYFREG**
- 21.1 Die Voorstaander van O.R. mag 'n tydelike verblyfreg uitreik. Sulke toestemming word aan 'n volgende O.R. vergadering voorgelê vir goedkeuring, kanselering of verlenging. Die O.R. bepaal watter geldelike verpligtinge hulle

het.

- 22.2 Geen inwoner mag vreemdelinge (nie-inwoners) huisves sonder toestemming van die O.R. of Voorstaander nie. (sien Art. 37)
- 22.3 Hierdie Sendingstasie is nie 'n skuilplek vir wetsoortreders, leegleërs en werkskuwes nie.

Art. 23 KAMPE

- 23.1 Kampe, tuine en saailande word deur die O.R. aan inwoners op jaarlikse basis verhuur.
- 23.2 Landbougrond mag egter vir langer as 'n jaar op 'n kontrak verhuur word. 'n Huurder wat sy verpligtinge tot tevredenheid van die O.R. nakom, mag vernuwing of verlenging vir 'n verdere termyn verkry. Inwoners moet hulle kampe omhein en die omheining tot tevredenheid van die O.R. in stand hou. Wie sy kamp se slote nie tot tevredenheid van die O.R. behou nie, verbeur sy reg daarvoor.

Art. 24 TUINE

- 24.1 Slote van tuine moet skoongemaak word tot tevredenheid van die O.R. Huurders van tuine awt 2 jaar die tuin onbewerk laat, verbeur dit. Die O.R. kan deur die Voorstaander huurders kennis gee om binne bepaalde tyd heinings, walle en slote in orde te bring. By versuim verbeur hul dit.

Art. 25 WEIVELDE

- 25.1 Die O.R. bepaal in samewerking met die Departement van Landbou en Tegniese Dienste watter vee en hoeveel stuk op die algemene weiveld toegelaat word, asook watter dele van die veld daarvoor oopgestel word (wisselweiding).
- 25.2 Elkeen moet sorg dat hekke behoorlik toegemaak word en sy vee onder toesig is. Elkeen wat skuldig is deur hekke oop te laat, mag beboet word. Elkeen is vir skade wat deur sy vee ontstaan, verantwoordelik. Skadevergoeding word deur die O.R. bepaal.
- 25.3 Die vee word snags in veilige stalle, krale of kampe gehou. Varke word altyd ophok gehou. Huurders wat vee nie tot tevredenheid van die O.R. oppas nei kan kort kennis gegee word om vee van grond te verwyder of kan weireg ontsê word.
- 25.4 Niemand mag vreemde vee op die Sendingstasie aanhou sonder toestemming van die O.R. nie.

25.5 Die veld mag net met toestemming en onder toesig van die O.R. gebrand word.

Art. 26 DIERE, PLUIMVEE EN VOËLS

26.1 Honde mag net met permit aangehou word. Hierdie permit kan deur die Voorstaander met kennisgewing van 24 uur gekanselleer word.

26.2 Die O.R. behou die reg om pluimvee en duiwe te beperk.

Art. 27 BOME

27.1 Die bos is 'n waardevolle aanwys van die plaas. Dit is in die belang van almal dat dit bewaar en uitgebrei word. Droë vuurhout (op onverhuurde grond) is tot vrye gebruik van almal, maar die kap of breek van groen hout word deur die O.R. kontroleer.

27.2 Die reg om te jag en die aanhou van byeneste vereis die toestemming van die O.R.

27.3 Die liefde vir die natuur word aangemoedig.

27.4 Veldblomme mag net met permit van die Voorstaandert gepluk word.

Art. 28 WATER

Die voorsiening van drinkwater en leiwatervoorraad word deur die O.R. beheer en gereël. Dit is in die besondere belang van die Sendingstasie dat voorskrifte in verband daarmee deur almal stiptelik nagekom word. (sien regulasie oor landbou).

Art 29 HEFFINGS

O.R. bepaal hoeveel vir die woonreg, die erf, die water, die huur van landbougrond, weiregte, die kap van hout, sanitasie-dienste, ens. betaal word. Hierdie heffings moet stiptelik jaarliks betaal word voor 28 Februarie van die jaar tensy O.R. anders bepaal. Wie daarmee agter raak, kan sy regte as inwoner gedeeltelik of geheel deur die O.R. ontnem word. Die O.R. behou die reg om rente te vra vir agterstallige bedrae.

Art. 30 HANDELSREGTE

Slegs die Streekbestuur het die reg om handelsregte van enige soort toe te ken.

Art. 31 VOORSKRIFTE VAN STAATSDEPARTEMENTE

Elke huurder van grond is vir sy deel verantwoordelik om voorskrifte van staatsdepartemente, soos bv. aangaande sanitêre maatreëls, onkruidbestryding en grondbewaring na te kom.

Art. 32 ALGEMENE WERKE

Sekere werke van algemene belang mag deur 'n gemeenskaplike poging van alle volwasse manlike inwoners verrig word soos deur die O.R. bepaal. Die O.R. behou die reg om heffings te maak vir die bevordering van die bestaan van die hele gemeenskap.

Art. 33 DIE SAMELEWING

Dit word van elkeen wat op die sendingstasie woon, verwag dat hy/sy na die Woord van God lewe. Alle inwoners staan onder herderlike sorg van die Broederkerk en het hulle deur hulle handtekening vrywillig verplig om die plaaslike kerklike orde na te kom.

Art. 34 DIE SONDAG

Die Sondag word as die dag van die Here, van die verkondiging van Sy Woord, en van rus, heilig gehou. Dit word van elke inwoner en sy/haar gesin verwag om die eredienste op Sondag, en sover moontlik die ander dienste by te woon.

Art. 35 DIE GEDRAG

35.1 Elke inwoner is verplig om hom/haar ordelik te gedra en hom/haar van onsedelikheid, dronkenskap, vloek, laster, bygeloof, towery en ander aanstootlike gedrag te onthou.

35.2 Die maak van enige sterk drank, en die verkoop van sterk drank op die nedersetting en dwelmmiddels inbring na die nedersetting is ten strengste belet. Daar sal beslag gelê word sonder dat vergoeding geëis kan word.

Art. 36 KINDERS

36.1 Elke hoof van 'n huisgesin is verantwoordelik vir die orde in sy/haar huis. Hy/sy dra sorg dat die kinders in die tug en vermaning van die Here opgevoed word en tot volwaardige lede van die samelewing ontwikkel.

36.2 Kinders van skoolgaande ouderdom is verplig om die skool by te woon totdat hul die staatsvoorgeskrewe ouderdom vir skoolplig bereik het of minstens die hoogste stander in die plaaslike skool geslaag het.

36.3 Jongmanne en jongdogters word aangemoedig om goeie geselskap en werksaamhede op te soek en slegte geselskap en rondlopery te vermy. Onbehoorlike gedrag op die Sendingstasie word bestraf.

Art. 37 GASTE

37.1 Gaste wat oornag of vir 'n naweek bly, word by 'n Opsier aangemeld.

37.2 Inwoners wat gaste vir langer as 'n naweek huisves, moet van die Voorstaander 'n skriftelike toestemming verkry.

Art. 38 GESKILLE

Geskille tussen inwoners oor publieke sake word voor een of meer opsieners gebring en as hulle nie tot 'n vergelyk komnie, voor die Voorstaander of O.R. Elkeen wat na die Voorstaander of 'n sitting van die O.R, geroep word, moet verskyn. Sulke kennisgewings geskied skriftelik deur die Voorstaander. Indien 'n persoon versuim om op skriftelike kennisgewing te kom, word tot 'n maksimum van drie maal skriftelik kennis gegee, en by versuim van opdagging, kan O.R. besluit om sekere regte tydelik of permanent in te trek.

Art. 39 VERENIGINGS

39.1 Verenigings wat die samelewing bevorder, word aangemoedig. Hul stigting en bestaan is egter van die goedkeuring van die Kerkraad afhanklik.

39.2 Sport fasiliteite: Die O.R. mag voorsiening maak vir sport fasiliteite en sal voorwaardes vir die gebruik daarvan skriftelik bepaal.

Art. 40 VERGADERINGS

'n Publieke vergadering kan slegs met toestemming van die O.R. plaasvind. In noodgevalle mag die Voorstaander toestemming daartoe verleen.

Art. 41 DIE LANDSWET

Elke inwoner is verplig om die landswet te gehoorsaam. Die polisie het die plig om oortreders van die landswet te vervolg. Vir sekere oortredings sal die polisie deur die Voorstaander of sy gevolmagtigde ingeroep word.

Art. 42 REG TOT APPÈL

- 42.1 Indien enige inwoner nie met die uitspraak van die O.R. tevrede is nie, mag hy/sy by die Streekbestuur Appèl aanteken.
- 42.2 Die uitspraak van die Streekbestuur is finaal en elke inwoner verplig hom/haar om die Streekbestuur as hoogste gesag van Appèl oor sake rakende die orde en bestuur van die Sendingstasie, te aanvaar.

Art. 43 UITVOERINGSBEPALINGS

- 43.1 Hierdie ordening is deur die O.R. van alle sendingstasies aangeneem en deur die Streekbestuur van die Evangeliese broederkerk in die Westelike Kaapprovinsie goedgekeur. Enige wysiging daarvan moet deur die Streekbestuur goedgekeur word.
- 43.2 Wanneer 'n inwoner sy/haar woonreg verloor en weier om die stasie te verlaat, kan na goedkeuring van die Streekbestuur wetlike stappe geneem word om hom/haar te verwyder.

Art. 44 OOREENKOMS

Elke inwoner is verplig om OOREENKOMS te onderteken, om sodoende voorregte en regte soos vervat in hierdie Ordeninge te mag geniet.



UNIVERSITY OF
WESTERN CAPE

OOREENKOMS

Die Evangeliese Broederkerk in die Westelike Kaapprovinsie, wettige eienaar van hierdie Sendingstasie en daarby behorende buite-plekke en gronde verteenwoordig deur die Voorstaander as Uitvoerende Amptenaar van die Evangeliese Broederkerk, van hierdie Sendingstasie en op wie die take van Administrasie opgeleë is, en deur die Opsienersraad bygestaan word, en behoorlik hiertoe gemagtig, kragtens 'n aanstelling gegee deur die Streekbestuur van die Evangeliese Broederkerk.

"Aangesien aan my as inwoner van hierdie Sendingstasie, die reg toegestaan word om in hierdie gemeente van die Evangeliese Broederkerk te lewe en nadat die ordeninge deeglik aan my verduidelik is, belowe ek deur my handtekening voor die Here om hierdie ordeninge stiptelik na te kom. Ek is bewus daarvan dat ek my regte op hierdie Sendingstasie en behorende buite-plekke gedeeltelik of geheel-en-al verloor as ek my pligte nie nakom nie, of my onbehoorlik gedra, of my aan plaaslike gesag nie onderwerp nie, en dat ek dan geen reg het om enige vergoeding te eis nie, maar indien so versoek deur die eienaar, die gronde moet verlaat.

Huurder:

Plek:



UNIVERSITY of the

WESTERN CAPE

.....
Voorstaander (Namens Streekbestuur)

Getuies: 1.....

2.....

Datum:

ADDENDUM 2A

VRAELYS: HUISHOUDINGS

1
1

2	3	4	5

6	7

1. Huishoudingsamestelling

Persone in huis woonagtig.

OUDERDOMSGROEP	MANLIK	VROULIK
0 - 9		
10 - 19		
20 - 29		
30 - 39		
40 - 49		
50 - 59		
60 - 69		
70 en ouer		

8	9
10	11
12	13
14	15
16	17
18	19
20	21
22	23

2. Arbeidspatroon.

2.1 Persone in huishouding:

	Aantal
Plaaslik werkagtig	
Elders werkagtig	
Pensioentrekkers	
Werkloses	

24
25
26
27

2.2 Dink u daar is 'n behoefte aan meer werksgeleenthede in Elim?

JA	1
NEE	0

28

Verduidelik asseblief

.....

.....

29	30
31	32
33	34

2.3 Indien JA, watter moontlike werksgeleenthede kan plaaslik geskep word?

.....

35	36
37	38
39	40

2.4 Wie sou u sê behoort die voortou te neem om hierdie werksgeleenthede te skep?

Streekbestuur	Opsienersraad	Inwoners self
1	2	3

41

Waarom sê u so?

.....

.....

42	43
44	45
46	47

3. Fisiese toestand van nedersetting

3.1 Hoe tevrede is u met die huidige toestand waarin die dorp verkeer?

Baie tevrede	Tevrede	Onseker	Ontevrede	Baie ontevrede
1	2	3	4	5

48

Verduidelik asseblief

.....

.....

49	50
51	52
53	54
55	56
57	58

3.2 Wat kan gedoen word om die toestand van die dorp te verbeter?

.....

.....

59	60
61	62
63	64
65	66
67	68

4. Persepsie van ekonomiese ontwikkeling.

4.1 Hoe goed dink u word die tuine benut?

Baie goed	Goed	Onseker	Swak	Baie swak
1	2	3	4	5

69

Verduidelik asseblief

.....

.....

70	71
72	73
74	75

1
2

4.2 Wat dink u kan gedoen word om die tuine beter te benut?

.....

.....

2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---

6	7
---	---

4.3 Hoe goed dink u word die landerye benut?

Baie goed	Goed	Onseker	Swak	Baie swak
1	2	3	4	5

8	9
10	11
12	13

14

Verduidelik asseblief

.....

.....

15	16
17	18
19	20

4.4 Wat dink u kan gedoen word om die landerye beter te benut?

.....

.....

21	22
23	24
25	26

4.5 Hoe tevrede is u met die dienste wat die sakeondernemings aan die gemeenskap lewer?

Baie tevrede	Tevrede	Onseker	Ontevrede	Baie ontevrede
1	2	3	4	5

27

Verduidelik asseblief

.....

.....



28	29
30	31
32	33

4.6 Watter veranderinge, indien enige, sou u graag wou sien aangebring moes word aan die dienste van die sakeondernemings?

.....

.....

34	35
36	37
38	39

5. Invloed van die Kerk.

5.1 Die plaaslike leraar vervul die dubbele rol van geestelike leier sowel as voorstaander van die dorp. Is u ten gunste van so 'n dubbele rol?

JA	1
NEE	0

40

Verduidelik asseblief

.....

41	42
43	44
45	46

5.2 Indien NEE, wat sou u voorstel moet omtrent hierdie aangeleentheid gedoen word?

.....

47	48
49	50
51	52

5.3 Hoe groot sou u sê is die invloed van die Kerk op die alledaagse lewe van die mense in Elim?



Baie groot	Groot	Onseker	Klein	Baie klein
1	2	3	4	5

53

Verduidelik asseblief

.....

54	55
56	57
58	59

5.4 Wat sou u sê behoort die belangrikste taak van die Kerk in Elim te wees?

.....

60	61
62	63

5.5 Hoe goed vervul die Kerk huidiglik hierdie taak?

Baie goed	Goed	Onseker	Swak	Baie swak
1	2	3	4	5

64

Verduidelik asseblief

.....

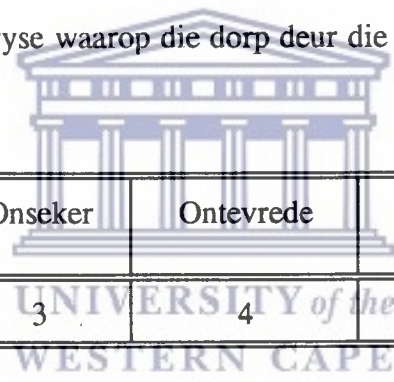
.....

65	66
67	68
69	70

6. Vorm van bestuur.

6.1 Hoe tevrede is u met die wyse waarop die dorp deur die Opsienersraad bestuur word?

Baie tevrede	Tevrede	Onseker	Ontevrede	Baie ontevrede
1	2	3	4	5



71

72	73
74	75
76	77
78	79

Verduidelik asseblief

.....

.....

1
3

2	3	4	5

6	7

6.2 Wat dink u is die belangrikste probleme waarmee die Opsienersraad te kampe het in die uitvoering van hul pligte?

.....

.....

8	9
10	11
12	13

6.3 Watter veranderinge, indien enige, sou u graag wou sien in die wyse waarop die Opsienersraad die dorp bestuur?

.....

14	15
16	17
18	19
20	21

6.4 Dink u die wyse waarop Elim huidiglik deur die Opsienersraad bestuur word is tot die vooruitgang van almal in die dorp?

JA	1
NEE	0

22

Verduidelik asseblief

.....

23	24
25	26
27	28

6.5 Dink u die Opsienersraad behoort meer mag te hê oor die ontwikkeling van Elim?



JA	1
NEE	0

29

Verduidelik asseblief

.....

30	31
32	33
34	35

6.6 Hoe goed dink u is die samewerking tussen die Opsienersraad en die Streekbestuur?

Baie goed	Goed	Onseker	Swak	Baie swak
1	2	3	4	5

36

Verduidelik asseblief

.....

37	38
39	40
41	42

6.7 Wat volgens u behoort die rol van die Streekbestuur te wees in die bestuur van Elim?

.....

43	44
45	46
47	48

6.8 Wie dink u behoort beheer te hê oor die geld wat ingevorder word uit:

	S.B. (1)	O.R. (2)	K.R. (3)
Heffing			
Huurpennie			
Water en Sanitasie			
Tuine			
Landerye			
Gemeentefonds			

(S.B. = Streekbestuur; O.R. = Opsienersraad; K.R. = Kerkraad)

Verduidelik asseblief

.....

49
50
51
52
53
54

55	56
57	58
59	60

6.9 Voel u u het genoeg seggenskap (deelname) in die wyse waarop die dorp bestuur word?

JA	1
NEE	0

61

Verduidelik asseblief

.....

62	63
64	65
66	67

7. Verlede - Hede - Toekoms.

7.1 Het daar enige veranderinge oor die afgelope 10 tot 20 jaar in Elim plaasgevind?

JA	1
NEE	0

68

69

Indien JA, hoe sou u hierdie veranderinge beskryf?

Baie groot	Groot	Onseker	Klein	Baie klein
1	2	3	4	5

70	71
72	73
74	75
76	77

Verduidelik asseblief



.....

.....

1
4

2	3	4	5

Indien NEE, waarom sou u sê is dit so?

.....

.....

6	7

7.2 Wat sou u beskou as die grootste probleme wat huidiglik op Elim voorkom?

.....

.....

8	9
10	11
12	13

14	15
16	17
18	19

7.3 Hoe kan hierdie probleme opgelos word?

.....

.....

20	21
22	23
24	25

7.4 Hoe voel u oor die toekoms van Elim?

.....

.....

.....

26	27
28	29
30	31



ADDENDUM 2B

VRAELYS: TUINBOUERS

1
1

2	3	4	5

6	7

1. Algemeen.

1.1 Hoeveel tuine huur u van die Opsienersraad?

.....

8	9

1.2 Bewerk u al die tuine?

JA	1
NEE	0

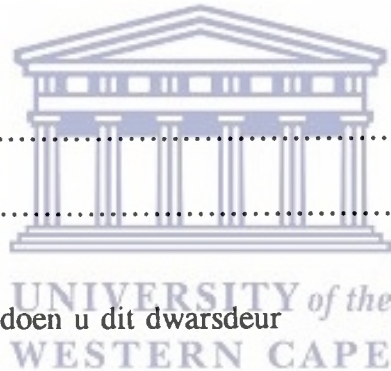
10

Indien NEE, waarom nie?

.....

11	12
13	14
15	16

1.3 Indien u die tuine bewerk, doen u dit dwarsdeur die jaar?



JA	1
NEE	0

17

Indien NEE, waarom nie

.....

18	19
20	21

1.4 Kweek u die gewasse in die tuin :

Slegs vir eie gebruik	1
Hoofsaaklik vir eie gebruik, maar verkoop oorskot	2
Hoofsaaklik om te verkoop	3

22

1.5 Indien u verkoop, waar bemark u hoofsaaklik u tuinproduksie?

Plaaslik	1
Elders	2

23

Indien elders, spesifiseer waar

24

1.6 Neem u enige mense in diens om u te help in die tuin?

JA	1
NEE	0

25

Indien JA, is dit voltydse of deelydse werknemers?

Voltyds	1
Deelydse	2

26

Indien voltydse, spesifiseer hoeveel

27

Indien deelydse, spesifiseer hoeveel

28	29

1.7 Is daar enige samewerking tussen u en ander tuinbouers?

JA	1
NEE	0

30

Indien JA, wat is die aard daarvan?

.....

31	32
33	34

Indien NEE, wat is die rede daarvoor?

.....

35	36
37	38

2. Huidige toestand van tuinbou.

2.1 Hoe tevrede is u met die huidige toestand van tuinbou in Elim?

Baie tevrede	Tevrede	Onseker	Ontevrede	Baie ontevrede
1	2	3	4	5

39

Verduidelik asseblief

.....

40	41
42	43
44	45
46	47

2.2 Wat is die belangrikste probleme waarmee tuinbouers te kampe het?

.....

48	49
50	51
52	53

2.3 Hoe kan hierdie probleme bes moontlik opgelos word?

.....

54	55
56	57
58	59

2.4 Wat dink u is die behoefte aan groenteproduksie vir die plaaslike mark?

Baie groot	Groot	Onseker	Klein	Baie klein
1	2	3	4	5

60

Verduidelik asseblief

.....

.....

61	62
63	64
65	66

2.5 Het u produksie oor die afgelope 3 jaar toegeneem?



JA	1
NEE	0

67

Indien JA / NEE, waaraan skryf u dit toe?

.....

.....

68	69
70	71

2.6 Het u die afgelope 5 jaar enige veranderinge aan u tuinbou aangebring?

JA	1
NEE	0

72

Indien JA, hoe sou u hierdie veranderinge beskryf?

Baie groot	Groot	Onseker	Klein	Baie klein
1	2	3	4	5

73

Verduidelik asseblief

.....

.....

74	75
76	77

1
2

2.7 Word daar enige voorligting aangaande tuinbou verskaf?

2	3	4	5

JA	1
NEE	0

6	7

8

Indien JA, spesifiseer tipe voorligting

.....

9	10
11	12

Indien NEE, sou u belangstel om voorligting te ontvang?



JA	1
NEE	0

13

2.8 Indien u belangstel in voorligting aangaande tuinbou, hoe groot is u belangstelling?

Baie groot	Groot	Onseker	Klein	Baie klein
1	2	3	4	5

14

Verduidelik asseblief

.....

.....

15	16
17	18

2.9 Pas u grondbewaring toe?

JA	1
NEE	0

19

Indien JA, spesifiseer

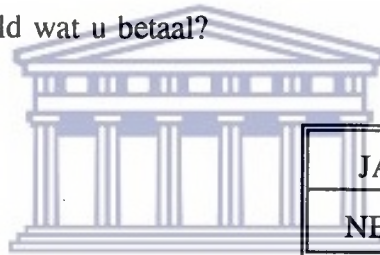
.....

.....

20	21

3. Huur van tuine.

3.1 Is u tevrede met die huurgeld wat u betaal?



JA	1
NEE	0

22

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Indien NEE, waarom nie?

.....

.....

23	24
25	26

3.2 Skep die feit dat u die tuine huur en nie besit nie probleme vir u tuinbou?

JA	1
NEE	0

27

Indien JA, spesifiseer

.....

.....

28	29
30	31

3.3 Die Opsienersraad is in beheer van die tuine.
Hoe tevrede is u met die wyse waarop die tuine beheer word?

Baie tevrede	Tevrede	Onseker	Ontevrede	Baie ontevrede
1	2	3	4	5

32

Verduidelik asseblief

.....

.....

33	34
35	36
37	38
39	40

3.4 Hoe goed is die skakeling tussen die tuinbouers en die Opsienersraad?

Baie goed	Goed	Onseker	Swak	Baie swak
1	2	3	4	5

41

Verduidelik asseblief

.....

.....

42	43
44	45
46	47

3.5 Watter verbeteringe dink u kan aangebly word in die wyse waarop die Opsienersraad die tuine bestuur?

.....

.....

48	49
50	51
52	53
54	55

3.6 Wat dink u behoort gedoen te word met al die tuine wat nie bewerk word nie?

.....

.....

56	57
58	59
60	61

3.7 Wat dink u kan die Opsienersraad doen om tuinbou aan te moedig?

.....

62	63
64	65
66	67

3.8 Behoort die Steekbestuur betrokke te wees by die beheer van die tuine?

JA	1
NEE	0

68

Waarom sê u so?

.....

69	70
71	72
73	74

1
3

4. Verlede - Hede - Toekoms.

4.1 Het daar enige veranderine oor die afgelope 10 tot 20 jaar in tuinbou in Elim plaasgevind?



2	3	4	5

6	7

JA	1
NEE	0

8

Indien JA, hoe sou u hierdie veranderinge beskryf?

Baie groot	Groot	Onseker	Klein	Baie klein
1	2	3	4	5

9

Verduidelik asseblief

.....

10	11
12	13
14	15
16	17

Indien NEE, waarom nie?

.....
.....

18	19
20	21
22	23

4.2 Wat dink u van die toekoms van tuinbou in Elim?

.....
.....
.....

24	25
26	27
28	29
30	31

