

**THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF
SOUTHERN AFRICA IN THE SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION
OF THE WESTERN CAPE 1960 - 1990**

THESIS

**Submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS (DEVELOPMENT STUDIES)
at the Institute of Social Development
University of the Western Cape**

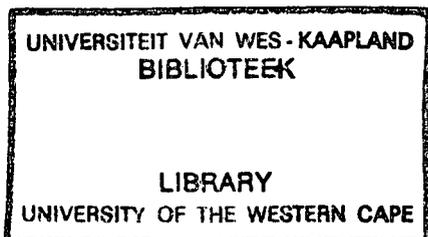
by

BEVERLEY GAIL HADDAD

Promoter: Prof Pieter le Roux

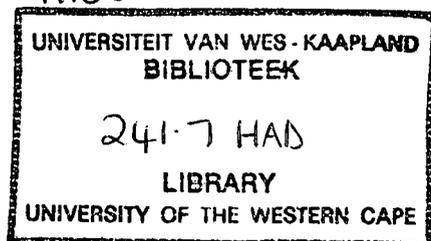
Co-promoter: Prof Aubrey Redlinghuis

November 1992



045631 Z

THES



PREFACE

This study reflects the vital role the church should play in the social transformation of society. It undoubtedly has the potential to be a strategic organisation for social change. However, in the past it has failed to reach that potential. The hope for the future is that the church will embrace that potential and become active in the process of social transformation.

The Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA) has been the researcher's spiritual home for her entire life. During this time, and particularly over the past five years, she has sought to find her place in the church's inflexible, bureaucratic and patriarchal structure. While this study was in the final stages of being written, the CPSA took the historic decision to ordain women to the priesthood. Her personal struggle had been vindicated. However, more importantly, the church's decision attests to that organisation's potential for creative change.

Thus this study is dedicated to the members of the CPSA in the Diocese of Cape Town, in the hope that they will embrace the challenge, both as individuals and as a community to become active agents of social change.

The field research was conducted during the period March 1989 to March 1990 by the researcher herself, who was a paid employee of the Diocese of Cape Town at the time. Both the promoter and co-promoter of this thesis supervised this research. The results were first published in August 1990 by the Diocese of Cape Town in a report entitled, *Voices of the Church: An Anglican perspective on welfare and development in the Diocese of Cape Town*. Permission to use the research material in this study has been granted by the Most Reverend Desmond Mpilo Tutu, and is acknowledged with thanks.

There are many people who during that period enabled the research to take place because of their willingness, enthusiasm and interest: the Most Reverend Desmond Tutu; Bishop Edward the liaison Bishop; members of Chapter and Diocesan Council; the support committee; the 130 people in the parishes who so willingly shared of themselves and their opinions, and in many instances opened their homes; and the clergy of the diocese, who participated wholeheartedly in the process.

Special thanks are due to Prof. Pieter le Roux and Prof. Aubrey Redlinghuis, promoter and co-promoter respectively of this thesis, for their support and guidance. Lynette Paterson proof read the text and am I grateful to her for undertaking this task.

Lastly, I owe thanks to the many friends who have shared in the various stages of the process - particularly to the staff and students of St Paul's College, Grahamstown, for their encouragement during the final stages of writing.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	i
ABBREVIATIONS	viii
CHAPTER ONE:	
INTRODUCING THE STUDY	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.2 THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT	1
1.3 DEFINING SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION / <i>Development</i>	4
1.4 THE CHURCH IN SOUTH AFRICA	6
1.5 THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA	8
1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	9
1.7 CONCLUSION	10
CHAPTER TWO:	
THEORIES OF STATE AND THEIR APPLICABILITY TO THE CHURCH AS A SOCIAL ORGANISATION	11
2.1 INTRODUCTION	11
2.2 THE NATURE OF THE STATE	11
2.3 MARXIST THEORIES OF STATE	13
2.3.1 Introduction	13
2.3.2 The State as an Instrument of Class Rule	14
2.3.3 The Relatively Autonomous State	15
2.3.4 The Legitimate State	17
2.4 MAX WEBER AND BUREAUCRACY	18
2.5 ANTHONY GIDDENS AND THE NATION-STATE	20
2.6 A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THEORIES OF STATE	22
2.7 THEORIES OF STATE AND THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA	24
2.8 CONCLUSION	26
CHAPTER THREE:	
HISTORY OF RESPONSE TO SOCIAL NEED BY THE DIOCESE OF CAPE TOWN 1960-1990	28
3.1 INTRODUCTION	28
3.2 BACKGROUND TO THE PERIOD 1960 -1990	29
3.3 THE PERIOD 1960 - 1970	30
3.4 THE PERIOD 1970 -1980	33
3.5 THE PERIOD 1980 - 1990	37
3.6 CONCLUSION	42
CHAPTER FOUR:	
PARISH ASSESSMENT - PHASE I - CLERGY PERCEPTIONS	43
4.1 INTRODUCTION	43
4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN	43
4.3 ANALYSIS OF RESPONSE TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE	45

4.3.1	Social Problems	45
4.3.2	Use Of Church Buildings	49
4.3.3	Parish Participation in Community Initiatives	49
4.3.4	Involvement with Welfare/Development/Community Organisations	50
4.3.5	Assessment of Parishioner Involvement	51
4.3.6	Financing Relief/Development Work	53
4.3.7	Perceptions of Actual Involvement and Need for more Involvement in Relief/Development Work	53
4.3.8	Motivation of Need for more Involvement	55
4.4	CONCLUSION	56

CHAPTER FIVE:

	PARISH ASSESSMENT - PHASE II - PERCEPTIONS OF THE LAITY	58
5.1	RESEARCH DESIGN	58
5.2	PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS	61
5.3	ANALYSIS OF THE RESPONSE	63
5.3.1	Social Problems	63
5.3.2	Attitude to Church Involvement in Social Need	66
5.3.3	Parish Based Community Projects	73
5.3.4	Use of Church Buildings	75
5.3.5	Financing Community Projects	80
5.3.6	Contact with Welfare/Community/Development Organisations	81
5.5.7	The Church and the Changing Context	82
5.4	SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS	84
5.5	CONCLUSION	85

CHAPTER SIX:

	TOWARDS SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN THE FUTURE	89
6.1	SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN CONTEXT	89
6.2	SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION THAT LIBERATES	90
6.3	RENEWING STRUCTURES	90
6.4	ETHOS OF THE ORGANISATION	92
6.5	ORGANISATIONAL MODELS	93
6.5.1	Introduction	93
6.5.2	Welfare Agency Model	93
6.5.3	Localised Geographic Project	94
6.5.4	The Resource Service Model	95
6.6	CONCLUSION	97

APPENDIX A: MAP OF THE DIOCESE OF CAPE TOWN

APPENDIX B: MAP OF URBAN, PERI-URBAN, AND RURAL AREAS OF THE WESTERN CAPE

APPENDIX C: QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW GUIDELINE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

LIST OF TABLES

	PAGE
TABLE 1:	Number and response of parishes and chapelries 44
TABLE 2:	Geographic regions of parishes and chapelries 44
TABLE 3:	Parishes and chapelries not included in the study represented geographically 44
TABLE 4:	Rating of social problems 45
TABLE 5:	Use of church buildings 49
TABLE 6:	Parish participation in community initiatives 50
TABLE 7:	Organisations with which parishes are in contact 51
TABLE 8:	Number of parishioners involved 52
TABLE 9:	Financing relief/development work 53
TABLE 10:	Actual involvement of parish 54
TABLE 11:	Perceived need for parish to be involved 54
TABLE 12:	Parishes visited 59
TABLE 13:	Sample size 60
TABLE 14:	Occupation distribution of respondents 62
TABLE 15:	Major social problems 63
TABLE 16:	Causes of social problems 65
TABLE 17:	Sufficiency of church involvement in social problems 66
TABLE 18:	Reasons why the church was sufficiently involved 67
TABLE 19:	Reasons why church was not sufficiently involved in social problems 68
TABLE 20:	Responsibility for community projects 69
TABLE 21:	Reasons why the church should get involved in community projects 70
TABLE 22:	Reasons why people do not get involved 72
TABLE 23:	Use of church buildings 76
TABLE 24:	Ways in which church buildings are being used 76
TABLE 25:	Attitude to church buildings 77
TABLE 26:	Reasons why the building should be used by the community 78
TABLE 27:	Reasons why the building should not be used by the community 78
TABLE 28:	Use of parish funds for community need 80
TABLE 29:	Use of state funds by the church 81
TABLE 30:	Organisations involved in the community 82
TABLE 31:	Need for change in the church 83

LIST OF FIGURES

	PAGE
FIGURE 1: Extent of problems in communities	46
FIGURE 2: Social problems rated ≥ 3 represented geographically (A)	47
FIGURE 3: Social problems rated ≥ 3 represented graphically (B)	47
FIGURE 4: Social problems rated ≥ 3 represented geographically (C)	48
FIGURE 5: Church group involved in relief/development work	52
FIGURE 6: Graph of perceived and actual need	55
FIGURE 7: Age and sex distribution of respondents	61
FIGURE 8: Major social problems	64
FIGURE 9: Causes of social problems	66
FIGURE 10: Reasons for more involvement from church members	71
FIGURE 11: Priority initiatives represented geographically	79
FIGURE 12: Type of change that needs to occur in the church	83
FIGURE 13: Reasons why the church should not change	84

ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
AWF	Anglican Women's Fellowship
BSR	Board of Social Responsibility
CMS	Church Men's Society
CPSA	Church of the Province of Southern Africa
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
MDM	Mass Democratic Movement
MU	Mother's Union
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SAG	Social Action Group

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCING THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to assess the role of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA) in the social transformation of the Western Cape during the period 1960 - 1990. The field of study is restricted to the defined borders of the Diocese of Cape Town of the CPSA (see Appendix A); it covers a vast geographic area and is racially, culturally and linguistically diverse. The period covered is the 30 years from 1960, when the mass based extra-parliamentary political organisations were banned, until their unbanning in February 1990. During this period the Church in South Africa had a very specific role to play in the social transformation of society.

This chapter sets the context of the study. It includes a focus on poverty in South Africa, with some emphasis given to the Western Cape. An attempt is also made to understand the meaning of and need for social transformation in the South African context. Furthermore, the role of the church in this process is introduced, with special emphasis being given to the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. The final section focuses on the scope of the study and the research methodology, and makes some concluding remarks.

1.2 THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

Poverty is a profoundly political issue.

(Wilson & Ramphela 1989:4)

South Africa is a developing country. There are large areas, both urban and rural, where poverty is rife. Amidst this poverty are small pockets of highly developed and resourceful areas. In broad terms these areas are occupied by the white population, while the poverty-ridden areas are occupied by the black population.

Wilson and Ramphele (1989:190-201) assert that the causes of this poverty can be traced back to the period of conquest of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and to nineteenth century colonialism in South African history. Out of the colonial period, the capitalist economy emerged (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:192). Even though the abolition of slavery occurred, true emancipation did not follow. In the place of slavery, an intricate system of pass and vagrancy laws developed; this became the foundation of the migratory system which has been fundamental in meeting the needs of an exploitative modern capitalist society.

In the next phase, early in the twentieth century, a systematic assault on the industrial labour movement prevented any significant advancement of the black population (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:192). From this period the beginnings of the vast discrepancy between rich and poor and black and white emerged in modern South Africa - a discrepancy which was consolidated with the coming to power of the National Party in 1948. The grand scheme of apartheid was put into operation during the 1950s and 1960s, ultimately affecting every area of social life for the vast majority of the population. Social deprivation was heightened even further in the 1970s as a result of the policy of separate development.

Enormous social problems have resulted. In their startling and illuminating study on poverty, Wilson and Ramphele (1989) have revealed just how extensive the problem is in South African society. Basic needs have not been met, with vast discrepancies existing between black and white communities in terms of access to land, water, electricity, housing, education, and health services. This has led amongst other things to enormous squatting problems, high illiteracy rates, unemployment, malnutrition and low life expectancy levels. These conditions have bred crime, alcoholism, boredom, frustration with bureaucratic red tape, and despair, which

are not confined to those who are poor, but there is no doubt that under conditions of poverty, social dislocation and powerlessness these bitter fruits tend to flourish and to be more poisonous.

(Wilson & Ramphele 1989:166)

The Western Cape has the reputation of having a more "liberal" social and political ethos. However, in reality, the effect of apartheid on this region has been as severe as on the rest of the country. Geographically the area under study included three broad categories: urban, peri-urban and rural (see Appendix B). The rural area of the Western Cape is either dependent on the fishing industry along the coast or on the wine farming industry inland. The majority of workers sustaining these industries were dispossessed of their land during the course of the history outlined

above. Their social conditions reflect the poverty and deprivation that characterise rural South Africa generally.

There are, however, three distinguishing regional features contained within the social history of the greater Cape Town area.

Firstly, unlike cities in the rest of the country, the Cape Town City Council resisted the Group Areas Act 41 of 1950 for almost two decades (Pinnock 1989:159). On the surface this appears to be a liberal attitude towards the affected "coloured" population. However, Pinnock (1989:161-162) suggests that this resistance was actually due to the fact that the Cape Town City Council did not want to bear the vast costs involved in forced removals and control of new housing estates. Additionally, many of the white councillors owned land and had business interests in the so-called slum ghettos facing removal.

The second distinguishing feature relates to the disenfranchisement of the "coloured" population. While this occurred legislatively in 1956, Pinnock (1989:162) points out that it was not until 1961 that membership of the Provincial Council was denied, and in fact their municipal vote continued until 1971. Again Pinnock (1989:162) suggests that this was not essentially due to a liberal policy. Rather, it was tied to the resistance to forced removal outlined above. He furthermore asserts that, when it became clear that group areas were declared based on land ownership rather than residency, protection of white self-interest no longer became necessary. It was at this point that forced removal began in the region on a large scale. By 1965, 300 000 "coloured" people had been moved to housing schemes on the Cape Flats (Pinnock 1989:163). The fact that forced removal took longer to come into effect in the Western Cape, implies that the population of Cape Town had a more recent experience of the trauma than other South African urban populations.

The third distinguishing regional feature was the coloured labour preference policy which emerged formally in the 1950s. Humphries (1989:169) suggests three reasons why this policy was introduced. The first was to prevent Africans moving from the homelands to the Western Cape; the second was to bolster the position of coloureds in the labour market and thus keep Africans out; the third was an attempt to keep the Western Cape as the one region where whites were numerically dominant.

Harrison (1989:178) argues however, that in fact the forces leading to the eventual demise of the labour preference policy had already altered it at a much earlier stage. He suggests that within fifteen years the first two explicit goals of the policy had been diluted. One of the major reasons for this was the fact that economic growth was dependent upon the labour power of Africans. In addition, natural population growth and the ability of people to circumvent the influx control thwarted the system. All these factors contributed to the enormous housing crisis in the region in the early 1980s. The declaration of the township of Khayelitsha in June 1983 indicated the state's recognition of the failure of the policy. It was finally abolished in September 1984, 30 years after its introduction (Harrison 1989:169). There can be no doubt however, that the policy had affected the natural progression of the urbanisation process, leading to a multiplication of social problems as tens of thousands of Africans poured into the area from the homelands.

Some, like James and Simons (1989:preface) argue that this historical particularity of the Western Cape has contributed to the shaping of contemporary South Africa. Others, such as Stadler (1987:87), argue the Transvaal was determinant in shaping the Western Cape's social, economic and political relations. Regardless of the position one holds, the Western Cape is an important region for research.

1.3 DEFINING SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

/ Development

Undoubtedly South Africa is in desperate need of social transformation. The nature and meaning of this transformation underlies the entire study, and will thus be present as a recurring theme. The term 'social transformation' has only in recent years been more widely used to mean in broad terms the necessity of a radical social restructuring of society. The precursor term, 'development', has been more widely accepted and used in the literature. Therefore, for purposes of this study, the terms 'social transformation' and 'development' will be used inter-changeably and are understood to include the restructuring of social, economic and political factors.

A survey of the literature reveals that any attempt to define the concept 'development' is fraught with complexities. Anthropologists talk of the need to change traditional attitudes to the work ethic; political scientists talk of the need for political control; sociologists talk of the need to develop appropriate social structures; and the economists see development in economic terms.

~~Abraham~~
Relaai

Traditionally, it is this economic view of development that has dominated the debate. From this perspective, development of a country is measured in terms of, firstly, the capacity of the national economy to generate and sustain an annual increase in its gross national product; secondly, the ability of a nation to expand its output at a rate faster than the growth rate of the population; and thirdly, the overall well-being of the nation in terms of its access to goods and services (Conyers and Hills 1984:24).

During the 1950s and 1960s, many Third World countries achieved the United Nations economic growth rates. However, in spite of this, the gap between the rich and poor in these countries had widened rather than been reduced, and the standard of living of the majority of people in the Third World remained very low. This led to a revision in the 1970s of this simplistic economic view. Development was redefined in terms of the reduction or elimination of poverty, inequality and unemployment within the context of a growing economy (Nattrass 1983:4). Increasingly it was recognised that economic growth in itself was insufficient; what was important was to sustain economic growth and to channel resources strategically. In recent years it has come to light that the Newly Industrialised Countries were, for example, investing vast sums of money in education during this period.

During the 1980s a personal dimension was added to the attempts to understand the nature of development. Bryant and White (1982:14) suggest that development is possible only when there is an increased capacity of people to influence their future. In this case, the goal is the attaining of full human potential. Max-Neef, Elizade & Hopenhayn (1989:12-13) argue similarly in motivating what they term 'Human Scale Development'. They emphasise people as the 'main actors' and stress that fundamental human needs must be satisfied through growing levels of self-reliance. While one may agree with this basic premise, the weakness of their approach lies in the fact that political and social systems are seen as one of a number of 'satisfiers' in meeting human needs. As a result their approach runs the risk of becoming reductionist. The political economy of a given society cannot be viewed as simply one of many parameters in defining the success of development. Rather, the extent to which human needs can be met is fundamentally dependent on the way that society is structured. Therefore to stress the personal dimension of development without attempting to relate it to the broader issue of social restructuring, is unacceptable.



Todaro (1985:85) attempts to make this connection by defining development as

a multi-dimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes and national institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, reduction of inequality and the eradication of absolute poverty.

His emphasis on development as a process is helpful. It suggests an activity that is dynamic, multi-faceted and purposefully reconstructive. Its weakness is that it does not sufficiently stress the people-centred nature of the process. Other theorists, attempting to build on this process definition, have asserted that fundamental to any restructuring process should be a value system that consciously leads to community growth. In general terms this value system must include the principles of freedom, equality and fraternity. A necessary prerequisite then, for true development to take place, is a political economy that promotes these values and in turn encourages the poor to become active agents in and beneficiaries of the development process.

For purposes of this study, development will be understood as a process whereby the poor participate to bring about

[l]iberation from the oppression of poverty; from drudgery; from ignorance and from the domination by others.

(Nattrass 1983:2)

1.4 THE CHURCH IN SOUTH AFRICA

Coetzee (1989:301) has suggested that no analysis of social change in South Africa would be complete without investigating the influence of Christianity (as the majority religion) in that process. Reasons for this include the fact that: much of the country's political and social leadership has emanated from the churches; many church leaders have played a prominent role in the political arena; the mainline churches have a history of socio-political involvement; and the churches have an infrastructure that can facilitate social reconstruction programmes (Coetzee 1989:301). This is supported by Wilson and Ramphela (1989:303) who assert that the church is better placed than any other institution to work with the poor.

During the 30 year period when the major mass based political organisations were banned, the church in South Africa had an important role to play in providing a platform for the political mobilisation of people. Political mobilisation was the key to resisting and transforming the

structures of apartheid and thus bringing about a just society. How well in fact did the church carry out this task?

Superficially, it could be assumed that the church has carried out that task effectively. The reasons outlined above indicate strong involvement by the church in the socio-political arena. However, Villa-Vicencio (1988) in his study on the English-speaking churches argues that careful social analysis suggests that these churches have in fact not performed well. He contends that while they have consistently protested against apartheid, they have ultimately been unable to translate this protest into resistance. So while political mobilisation leading to protest has occurred, without broad scale resistance there has been little concrete action that has resulted in transformed social structures.

What has dogged the English-speaking churches most has been their inability to translate their noblest theological declarations and ethical ideals into practice.

(Villa-Vicencio 1988:14)

The basic premise of his thorough socio-historical analysis of the English-speaking churches is that they have not contradicted the dominant social order nor the legitimacy of the state (Villa-Vicencio 1988:6). Hence there has been a propensity towards the status quo (Villa-Vicencio 1988:221). He asserts that this is revealed through their role in the missionary period, at the beginning of the gold-mining era, and during the industrialization process at the turn of the century. He would also assert that this propensity towards the status quo is evident in the period under study, which is often seen to be the period of heightened church-state conflict. The weak response of the church to the Bantu Education Act of 1953; the armed struggle; the call for economic sanctions; the "Call to prayer for the end to unjust rule"; and the Kairos document, witnesses to its tendency to defend rather than challenge the status quo. Villa-Vicencio (1988:129) argues that this is partly because the English-speaking churches reflect the society from which they are constituted. Hence they become trapped in their socio-economic, political, and theological constituencies. Mosala (1988:91) in his critique of Villa-Vicencio's study suggests that its weakness lies in its eclectic theoretical approach. However it is precisely this eclecticism that the researcher finds helpful to an analysis of the role of the church in social transformation.

Furthermore, Villa-Vicencio (1988:191-220) contends that despite a propensity towards the status quo, there is also an alternative identity in the history of the church that can be traced back to Jesus.

This residual memory keeps alive the possibility of the churches being activated, under certain circumstances, to share in the emergent social revolution in South Africa, affording them the opportunity to contribute to the shape and character of the new order.

(Villa-Vicencio 1988:221)

In the final analysis, it is this vision of the potential role of the church in the social transformation of society that motivates this research study.

1.5 THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

The Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA) was born out of nineteenth century colonialism. Villa-Vicencio (1988:47) suggests that it was with the arrival of the 1820 settlers that God, church and the British Empire were synthesised in true Victorian fashion. It is these strong British roots that have conclusively shaped the structural and liturgical life of the CPSA. Nonetheless, today its membership is largely black.

The CPSA has been seen to be a crucial player in resistance politics during the 30 year period under discussion. It could be argued that this is largely due to the fact that particular church leaders such as Archbishop Joost de Blank and Archbishop Desmond Tutu were perceived to be prominently involved, rather than the CPSA community as a whole. Writing in the early 1960s, Peter Hinchliff stated,

Anglicans are sometimes rather smug, sometimes rather angry, because our Church leaders are outspoken in their attacks on the Government. What they do not realise is that other (African) members of the Church feel that the practice of the Church lags a long way behind what its leaders say.

(quoted in de Gruchy 1979:94)

This statement is probably as true for the 1980s and 1990s, as it was for the 1960s. If, as Villa-Vicencio suggests, the CPSA is unable to engage in resistance politics, then by implication participation from within the CPSA communities is minimal. Furthermore, the bureaucratic nature and function of the CPSA would also militate against participation by the laity in the process of social transformation.

The colonial nature of the CPSA, its bureaucratic structure, and the significant roles of particular individuals have led the researcher to suggest that theories of state are the key to providing a

theoretical framework for a critique of the role the CPSA in the social transformation of the Western Cape. This forms the subject of the next chapter.

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

As an introduction to the field research, a historical survey of the involvement of the Diocese of Cape Town in the social transformation of the Western Cape during the period 1960 - 1990 will be outlined.

The field research was conducted during the period March 1989 to March 1990 by the researcher, who was a paid employee of the Diocese of Cape Town at the time. Both the promoter and the co-promoter of this study supervised the field research. The results were first published in August 1990 by the Diocese of Cape Town in a report entitled *Voices of the Church: An Anglican perspective on welfare and development in the Diocese of Cape Town* which was compiled by the researcher. Permission for use of the research material in this study was granted by the Most Reverend Desmond Mpilo Tutu.

The focus of the field research study is an assessment of the perceptions of the laity and clergy in the Diocese of Cape Town. This assessment includes: what these groups perceived to be major social problems; what they perceived to be the causes of these problems; and the role they perceived their parish to be playing in the social transformation of the communities within which they operated. For purposes of statistical analysis, the diocese is divided into three geographic regions: urban, peri-urban, and rural (see Appendix B).

Clergy perceptions were ascertained by means of a concise questionnaire which was mailed to all rectors within the diocese (see Appendix C). Its purpose was to gain a general understanding of:

1. What clergy perceived to be the major social problems in their area of ministry.
2. Ways in which the parishes were responding to these problems and how were they using their resources to do so.

This information was assumed to be a first phase of the research process, which then provided direction to setting up the second phase.

The second phase focused on perceptions of the laity with regard to the same issues. An interview schedule was designed following the broad framework of the questionnaire (see Appendix D). A sample of 12 parishes was constructed, selecting four parishes from each of the three geographic regions, taking into account race, language, economic and geographic factors. This was to ensure that the sample reflected the constituent membership of the diocese in microcosm. Furthermore, a sample of 30 respondents from each selected parish was randomly drawn from within three broad categories. These categories included: firstly the parish council as the leadership group of the parish; secondly, the groups within the parish that had responded to community need such as the Mothers' Union and Social Action group; thirdly, any other key people within the parish identified by the local rector as involved in community issues.

The field research revealed enormous social problems as well as little tangible evidence that the CPSA was addressing these and related issues. The aim of this study is to provide a structural framework which might enable the CPSA to become a more meaningful player in the social transformation of the Western Cape.

1.7 CONCLUSION

An attempt is made in this chapter to sketch the broad parameters of the study. The South African context of poverty and the vast discrepancy between the rich and the poor is outlined. It is asserted that this reality is the legacy of years of discriminatory practice, culminating in the apartheid system which was introduced when the National Party came to power in 1948. Particular historical peculiarities of this apartheid legislation pertaining to the Western Cape are elaborated upon. Thereafter an attempt is made to define the term 'social transformation' and its precursor 'development' as an aid to clarifying how this process is to be understood in this study. This is followed by a brief analysis of the church in South Africa in relation to the process of social transformation. A more detailed description of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa is given in order to support the later assertion that sociologically, a synthesis of theories of state is the key to providing a theoretical framework from which to critique the role of the church in the transformation of society. Finally, a brief resumé of the research methodology is given.

CHAPTER TWO:

THEORIES OF STATE AND THEIR APPLICABILITY TO THE CHURCH AS A SOCIAL ORGANISATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In South Africa the majority of the population subscribes to the Christian faith. The church therefore constitutes a significant section of civil society. Despite this fact, there has been little sociological analysis carried out of her role in society.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, many activities carried out by the state in society are similar to those carried out by the church. In this chapter, the intention is to develop an understanding of the role of the state in society as seen from Marxist, Weberian and Giddensian perspectives. From these understandings, an attempt is made to show how aspects of these various approaches, when synthesised, form a helpful framework from which to critique the role of the church in social transformation.

2.2 THE NATURE OF THE STATE

The state as an institution is a historical phenomenon in that it changes with time and in relation to specific conditions and circumstances (Hall 1984:2). In modern society it has developed as a central organised authority maintaining social order and control. Features of the modern state include: power sharing; wide representation; rights to participation, legally or constitutionally defined; national boundaries clearly demarcated; and power that is secular (Hall 1984:9-10).

The role of the modern state in social life has expanded considerably this century. Economically it has been more directly involved in supervising productive activities in capitalist societies; it has increasingly intervened to influence the supply and demand of goods; and it has engaged in economic planning. Furthermore it has also increasingly contributed to social life through the provision of a variety of welfare services (Giddens 1986:71). Le Roux (1989:241) states that consequently there has been an underlying assumption in the study of social transformation, that

a democratically elected government that is well informed, will automatically adopt policies of economic and social development that meet the needs of everyone in the society.

However, a critical analysis of this role reveals that precisely because the state is a historical phenomenon, its influence is determined by particular circumstances. Le Roux (1989:239) has suggested that these include, among others,

the class base of the government, the nature and the power of the bureaucracy, and the validity of the economic and political insights of those who govern.

The question then raised is what exactly is the nature of the relationship between state and society? On the one hand, having been given power to govern, the state stands above society. On the other hand, because it is influenced by external circumstances, it must to a certain extent reflect that society. There is clearly a dialectic in this relationship. The state thus "constitutes society as well as being constituted by it" (Hall 1984:23). It is these two areas - the influence of circumstances on the state, and the dialectical relationship between the state and the society that have formed the agenda of the sociological debate on the role of the state in modern society.

What has not been on the sociological or the ecclesiastical agenda, is an analysis of the parallels between the state and the church as social institutions operating in society. The above introductory discussion provides pointers towards such parallels. This parallel can provide key insights into the nature of the church's role in social transformation. Too often the debate in ecclesiastical circles in recent years has been limited to exploring the church in relation to the state. This has arisen out of an important need to theologise about the church's role vis-a-vis apartheid. However, because of this emphasis, as important as it has been, a critical analysis of the church's structural functioning in society has received far too little attention. This dimension of the discussion needs to be developed and added to the ecclesiastical agenda in order to correct a skewed analysis of the church's role in social transformation.

The church, like the state, is a historical phenomenon. While it preserves essential doctrines and traditions, the expression of these change in relation to specific conditions and circumstances. The church, like the state, is involved in a dialectical relationship with society: it both constitutes society, and is constituted by it. The same three factors that influence the functioning of the state - its class base, the nature and power of the bureaucracy, and the political, social, and economic insights of those who govern - influence the functioning of the church. This is particularly true of a church such as the CPSA which has its roots in colonialism.

Given these important three influential factors, it is suggested that different perspectives of social theory provide useful tools towards an analysis of the church's functioning. Marxist theory is important in its analysis of class and ideology; Max Weber's analysis of bureaucracy is important in understanding the organisational structure of the CPSA as a developed bureaucracy; and thirdly, the micro-approach of Giddens to social functioning emphasises the importance of individual action.

2.3 MARXIST THEORIES OF STATE

2.3.1 Introduction

Marx's texts dealing with the state are few and fragmentary. In his early writings, he portrayed the state as an abstract political system that denies humanity the right to be involved in public life and thus is a cause of alienation (Jessop 1982:7). Mc Lellan (1980:208) argues that while Marx did not entirely abandon this notion, he did concentrate on an analysis of the function of state in his later writings. He saw the bureaucracy as an essential part of the state apparatus which originally arose out of a desire for equality. However, ultimately the bureaucracy appropriated state power in its own interest (Jessop 1982:8). Thus a

successful revolution was bound to involve the breaking of the power of the state and its bureaucracy.

(Mc Lellan 1980:211)

The later writings of Marx say little about how he saw the future role of the state. Mc Lellan (1980:213) attributes this to the fact that the six-volume treatise entitled *Economics* was never completed. One of the volumes was to have been devoted to the state.

Marxist writers became increasingly aware of the rudimentary accounts of the state contained in his writings, and therefore have come to elaborate on theories of state much more decisively. As Held has pointed out (1984:60), there are many differences between contemporary Marxists, leading to the conclusion that Marxism is in a state of flux. For purposes of this study, Marxist theories of state will be explored according to three broad trends within this tradition, as suggested by le Roux (1989:245-250), namely: the instrumentalist state, the relatively autonomous state, and the legitimate state.

2.3.2 The State as an Instrument of Class Rule

In its least developed form, the instrumentalist approach suggests that the state

is not an independent and sovereign political subject but is an instrument of coercion and administration which can be used for various purposes by whatever interests manage to appropriate it.

(Jessop 1982:12)

Classical Marxists have tended to view the state in Marx's terminology as 'the executive committee of the bourgeoisie', or as Lenin described it, 'the machine for the oppression of one class by another'. The state is thus seen as a direct instrument of class rule, controlled by the capitalist class to exploit wage-labour and maintain class domination over the political sphere. This understanding implies that the capitalist class manipulates the state at will and operates as a unitary social formation.

The instrumentalist understanding of the state increasingly came under attack from within and without the Marxist tradition, as a rather crude interpretation of the state. Influential Marxist theorist, Antonio Gramsci, rejected this simple instrumental view, and saw the state instead as a

class force which has a vital role in the organisation of class domination, in securing the long-run interests of the bourgeoisie as well as its unification, in facilitating concessions to the subordinate classes, and in securing the active consent of the governed (in parliamentary democracies) or effecting their demobilisation (in more despotic forms of state).

(Jessop 1982:145)

So, while Gramsci still views the state as an organisation of class domination which plays a crucial role in the unification of the ruling classes, he emphasises that the root of this unity lies in the relationship between the state (or 'political society') and 'civil society' (Jessop 1982:146). The unity of the subordinate classes is absent because of limited aspirations as well as 'blocs' that choose to align themselves with the dominant classes. Institutions are therefore not mere instruments of government, but need to be related to their social base, and to their links with the economic system and civil society.

Furthermore, state power as a tool of class domination must be viewed through a variable combination of coercion and consent. To this end, Gramsci identified two modes of class domination: force and hegemony. The coercive apparatus of force is used

to bring the mass of people into conformity and compliance with the requirements of the specific mode of production.

(Jessop 1982:148)

Conversely, consent is elicited through hegemony, which involves

the successful mobilisation and reproduction of the 'active consent' of dominated groups by the ruling class through their exercise of intellectual, moral and political leadership.

(Jessop 1982:148)

This hegemony is not to be confused with indoctrination or false consciousness. Rather, the dominant class takes systematic account of popular interests and demands. It then shifts position accordingly to maintain support, making compromises on secondary issues without sacrificing essential interests. It thus organises support which serves its fundamental long-term interest.

2.3.3 The Relatively Autonomous State

The concept of hegemony was developed further in the post-war period by an influential Marxist theorist, Nico Poulantzas. He embarked on his first critical analysis of the capitalist state in 1965, examining the nature and role of hegemony as the distinctive organisational principle of such a state. In 1968, Poulantzas presented an extended essay on the state, *Political Power and Social Classes*, which was clearly influenced by the work of both Gramsci and the structuralist Louis Althusser. It presented a far more refined understanding of the allocation of resources by the state than the earlier 'economistic' Marxist tradition.

Poulantzas recognises that there may be considerable divisions and fractions within the ruling class, and thus the long-term interests of this class require protection by the state (Held 1989:69). The state is the unifying factor in capitalism, because the class itself is so divided (Held 1989:69). This results in the state being able to maintain a 'relative autonomy' from the capitalist class and uses this measure of independent power to sustain the general framework of capitalist enterprise (Held 1989:69). As Giddens (1986:74) points out, Poulantzas argues that

[t]he state may initiate policies counter to the short-term interests of capitalistic groupings, in order to defend the longer-term interest of perpetuating the system as a whole.

Hence policies may serve one fraction of capital to the detriment of the other.

Poulantzas thus argues, there are three functions of the state (quoted in Held 1989:69): firstly, to organise the fractured dominant classes; secondly to ensure the political disorganisation of the working classes because they threaten the hegemony of the dominant classes; and thirdly to neutralise groupings from the non-dominant classes that could act against the state. The state is thus clearly protecting the long-term interests of the dominant classes. In the final instance, Poulantzas argues that the power of the state is only relatively autonomous, precisely because

political power rests in the hands of the dominant classes. He does concede, however, that the extent to which the state relates in an autonomous fashion is dependent upon the relation among classes and class fractions and on the intensity of social struggles.

(Held 1989:69)

While affirming the assertion by Poulantzas that there are fractions within classes, le Roux (1989:247) is critical of what he perceives as an over-estimation of the relative autonomy of the state vis-a-vis the working class. In South Africa the white working class have often succeeded in attaining significant improvements in their relative economic position which has often been at great cost to the capitalist classes.

It is Harold Wolpe (1988) who has attempted to address the issue of the inter-play between race and class in the structuring of the South African state. He critiques reductionist Marxism and provides an analysis of the South African state through a re-interpretation of Poulantzas.

Wolpe (1988:35) asserts that one of the major conceptual obstacles that has impeded an analysis of the South African political system is a reductionist view of both race and class. For Wolpe race is not an exclusively political phenomenon, nor class an exclusively economic one. For instance, the liberal modernisation theory of the South African state defines the political terrain solely in terms of the object of struggle, and is pre-occupied with the racialisation of the political structures (Wolpe 1988:35). While acknowledging that race may be the medium through which class relations are experienced, Wolpe suggests race and class may not necessarily be in a simple and antagonistic relationship to one another (Wolpe 1988:52). He asserts that racial domination may either unite or divide people along class lines (Wolpe 1988:53). For example, the black petit-bourgeoisie are opposed to white domination yet in many ways are dependent on apartheid for their development. At the end of the day, this group would aim for a 'de-racialised' form of capitalism. Therefore, just as Poulantzas has argued that classes are fragmented and fractured, Wolpe argues that so are racial entities.

Race may however in some circumstances become the content of class struggle in the economic and political spheres.

It can be shown that over a long period in the development of capitalism in South Africa, the structures of racial domination in the political sphere provided a legal framework and coercive state apparatuses for the imposition of racial structures and practices within production.

(Wolpe 1988:55)

However, he argues in recent years racial categorisations have been partly eroded away in the sphere of production, for a variety of reasons such as the organisation of the black working class and the upward mobility of the white working class (Wolpe 1988:56). This has resulted in a certain amount of pressure for change in the political sphere, although certainly not effecting a radical restructuring of the racial categorisations.

2.3.4 The Legitimate State

Claus Offe has challenged the Poulantzian view of the 'capitalist state'. According to Held (1989:71) he maintains that the most significant feature of the state is that it becomes enmeshed in the contradictions of capitalism. The state is thus faced with contradictory tasks:

On the one hand, the state must sustain the process of accumulation and the private appropriation of resources; on the other hand, it must preserve belief in itself as the impartial arbiter of class interest, thereby legitimating its power.

(Held 1989:71)

Thus the alliance between the state and capital is not as Poulantzas explains it, in terms of some type of relationship between a particular state and particular fractions of capital. Rather, the state is interested in accumulation of capital for its own sake (Held 1989:71). It is questionable whether the state will be able in the long run to sustain these contradictory functions, where it has to be seen to be taking care of the working classes, yet simultaneously supporting capitalist accumulation. In dealing with this contention, Offe focuses on the nature of state administration (Held 1989:72). He argues that often administrative strategies do not necessarily favour market activities, but rather,

the state selectively favours those groups whose acquiescence and support are crucial to the untroubled continuity of the existing order: oligopoly capital and organised labour.

(Held 1989:72)

This emphasis, and the stress on the state's need to legitimise itself, provides an explanation for the apparent contradiction of alliances that have occurred between modern capitalist states and organised labour, an explanation which Poulantzian theory is unable to provide. However, as le Roux (1989:249) points out, Offe does not necessarily take into account the ability of the working class to reflect on its situation. Workers may tolerate a government, not because they consider it to be legitimate, but because the cost of its overthrow is regarded as too high.

Nonetheless, as Giddens (1981:220) asserts, this understanding of the state caught in the contradictions of capitalism means that it does not merely become a defender of the status quo.

The state can in some part be seen as an emancipatory force: neither a class-neutral agency of social reform...nor a mere functional vehicle of the 'needs' of the capitalist mode of production...

(Giddens 1981:220)

2.4 MAX WEBER AND BUREAUCRACY

While Marxists have made a significant contribution to the debate on the state, their discussion has been deficient in terms of the state and bureaucracy. Marx acknowledged the importance of the bureaucracy, but he saw it as a 'parasitic' entity in that it was the direct product of the activities of classes (Held 1984:61). He did not elaborate on the bureaucracy much beyond this point. As already mentioned, for Marx the bureaucracy together with the state needed to be overthrown through revolution. It was Max Weber who extended the term 'bureaucracy' to mean more than 'state bureaucracy'. A bureaucracy was seen to be any large scale formal organisation that embraced a centralised administration. One example of such an organisation that he himself cited, is the church.

In developing his argument on the state and bureaucracy, Weber suggested that any definition of the state needed to include the key issue of legitimation. (Offe's thesis of the legitimate state was a development of Weber at this point.) He further argued that state power was no longer based on tradition, individual charisma or habit, but rather on 'legal authority' that resulted from a commitment to a code of rational-legal norms (Held 1984:62). This resulted in bureaucratic machinery which provided the necessary legitimation of state power. It is important to note however that Weber contends that while capitalism provided the impetus for the expansion of rational administration, in fact the modern bureaucratic state preceded capitalism and helped to promote its development.

As economic life becomes more complex and differentiated, bureaucratic administration becomes more essential.

(Held 1984:63)

He does suggest however that fully developed bureaucracies are only found in political and ecclesiastical communities and in the most advanced institutions of capitalism (Eisenstadt 1968:66). Freund (1968:234-235) has listed eight principles on which a developed bureaucratic administration

is based. They are listed in detail, in order, later in the discussion, to illustrate their applicability to the bureaucratic structures of the church. These principles are as follows:

1. Specifically defined offices to carry out defined tasks.
2. The protection of officials in the exercise of the functions which tend to carry a permanency of tenure prescribed under certain regulations.
3. A hierarchical organisation of function whereby the administrative system is strongly structured in subordinate and executive posts with provision to appeal from the lower to higher authority.
4. Recruitment based on specialised training resulting in a contractual relationship.
5. Financial remuneration is fixed and graded according to rank with a pension provision.
6. The superior is able to discipline the subordinate through a disciplinary committee.
7. Promotional opportunities for all officials.
8. Complete separation between the official and the office as no official may appropriate the office or own the means of administration.

Weber contends that once established, the bureaucracy is one of the most difficult social structures to destroy (Eisenstadt 1968:75). It is the instrument that regulates the relations of power in the society, and has a tendency to operate behind the scenes and away from public criticism (Freund 1968:237). By its very nature it promotes the centralisation of power in the hands of the minority who are at the apex of the organisation. These officials hold particular power because of their expertise, information and access to secrets. Giddens (1986:82) points out that it is for these reasons that Weber asserts that bureaucracy and democracy stand in a paradoxical relation towards one another.

This issue is further highlighted through Weber's assessment of socialism. Marx asserted that the abolition of private capital would result in workers owning their means of production and lead to

a truly democratised industry. Weber countered this by asserting that even if the workers owned the means of production, the top management in a socialist system would become bureaucratized, leading to a centralisation of power (Held 1984:64). Thus the society as a whole would not necessarily become democratised; this, he argues, is only really possible in small-scale societies (Giddens 1986:82). According to Weber, socialism would in fact further the spread of bureaucracy:

the centralised direction of economic life inherent in socialist programmes would entail the development of a more heavily bureaucratized state than is characteristic of capitalistic societies.

(Giddens 1986:83)

Having asserted that the bureaucratic state gave impetus to capitalist development, Weber actually believed that this development was necessary, together with parliamentary government, to curtail the power of state officials (Held 1984:64). He did not believe, like Marx, that an analysis of class was sufficient to analyze power relations. For Weber, 'status groups', political parties and nation-states were as significant as class for any analysis of political power in the modern world (Held 1984:65). The most important of these being the struggle between nation-states. This struggle

promised to keep history open to 'human will' and the 'competition of values' in an ever more rationalized, bureaucratic world.

(Held 1984:65)

2.5 ANTHONY GIDDENS AND THE NATION-STATE

Anthony Giddens (1985) has sought to understand the association of the state with the nation, and the association of the nation-state with military power and violence. Relying heavily on the insights of Max Weber, he identifies three factors that are descriptive of the modern nation-state (summarised in Giddens 1985:255-256).

The first factor is the combination of industrial and military power. He maintains that industrial capitalism would not have developed had it not been for the specific forms of state that evolved. These states would use military force in conjunction with new organisational structures. Thus the military industrial complex needs to be recognised as the economic feature of the nation-state, rather than capitalism per sé. Therefore Giddens, like Weber, differs from the Marxist understanding of the capitalist state, in that he stresses the independent role of the bureaucracy in addition to a class analysis of society (le Roux 1989:252).

The second factor is the administrative power of the state. Giddens develops Weber's notion of bureaucracy, and asserts that society, for the sake of efficiency, creates a bureaucracy. Having done so, the bureaucracy takes on a life of its own with its own "class" interests. For Giddens, its power lies in its surveillance mechanisms such as the gathering of statistics, birth registrations and tax data, which enables it to coordinate policies and stimulate economic growth. The state officials thus become 'economic managers'. As in Weber, a prerequisite for capitalist development becomes the establishment of bureaucracy.

The third factor in the evolution of the nation-state, is that it is influenced by contingent historical developments that cannot be derived from general traits. It is particular historical circumstances that are, in the final instance, crucially important in determining the process of social transformation in any given situation.

Le Roux (1989:251) suggests that both liberalism and Marxism have developed their specific scientific traditions on the assumption that immutable laws of human behaviour could be discovered. It was in reaction to these theories, that voluntaristic theories developed and argued that people could determine their own future. Le Roux (1989:250) further argues that Giddens in fact provides a synthesis of these various traditions of the state through his theory of structuration, and thus terms it a 'post-Marxian' perspective. The extent to which Giddens succeeds at this task is open to debate. Nonetheless, he does make an important attempt to reconcile the structuralist with the voluntaristic traditions of the 19th century.

Central to the theory of structuration is the 'duality of structure', whereby for Giddens

[s]tructure is both the medium and the outcome of social reproduction, and can thus be changed. People do create their own future, but not under conditions of their choice, nor with the consequences intended.

(le Roux 1989:251)

Giddens is therefore emphasising the active role of human agents in effecting change in structures. Human agents are often driven by unconscious motives in circumstances not fully understood, which result in unintended consequences. Structure then is produced and reproduced through social action. Graaff (1987:61) suggests that for Giddens this occurs through three modalities of social action: the transfer of meaning (signification), the exercise of power (domination), and the mobilisation of norms (legitimation). Structure, it is argued, is created precisely because human beings need it for psychological security (Graaff 1987:62). Ultimately this need is met through

social action that becomes routinised. And so, as Graaff has pointed out, this Giddensian view resists the temptation to:

think of society as a thing-like object which stands over and against subjects; in short to reify structure.

(Graaff 1987:62)

The strength for le Roux (1989:254) of this perspective lies in the fact that the future is not predetermined but rather is dependent on choices made. (He does concede however that while the economy is not determinant, it does limit the choices that any state can make.) Thus in the final analysis for Giddens, as summarised by le Roux (1989:254),

[t]he nature of the social understanding of the different actors, the organisational competence and coherence of the bureaucracy and the strength of the economy are all factors which together determine the role the state will play in social transformation.

(le Roux 1989:254)

For both le Roux (1989) and Graaff (1987), Giddens succeeds in providing a post-structuralist synthesis theory of state which could be termed 'post-Weberian post-Marxist'.

2.6 A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THEORIES OF STATE

Does Giddens succeed in his "synthesis" theory, and is it therefore legitimate to speak of a post-Marxist perspective? While synthesis theory is a necessary goal to work towards, the researcher would argue that Giddens does not fully succeed in this task. It is erroneous to talk of a 'post-Marxist' perspective on the state, suggesting that this perspective moves beyond the Marxist analysis. There are important Marxian insights which need to be retained and indeed provide a reciprocal corrective to the Giddensian understanding of the South African state. A synthesis approach to theories of state need not necessarily be an attempt to synthesise into one theory. More helpfully, aspects of various approaches can be synthesised to provide a framework for analysis, as will be attempted in the application to the church in the next section.

However, Giddens does bring a corrective to Marxist theories by cautioning against the reification of structure. He addresses the role social actors play in influencing structures and events which result in situations with unintended consequences. This point is illustrated in the action taken by F.W. de Klerk when he unbanned the mass-based political organisations on 2 February 1990. His action was unprecedented and totally unexpected to all sectors of South African society. While clearly his decision was influenced by economic and class forces, he nonetheless made a choice

which might not have been the one made by his predecessor, had he been in office at the time. This choice has resulted in a series of unintended consequences ever since, both for those in power and for those without power. Because social transformation is always seen in class terms for Marxist theorists, when change comes about as a result of individual action (which might create conditions for further change), this social transformation might not be recognised as such. However, it would be erroneous to argue that Marxists necessarily have a deterministic view of history as the Giddensian perspective suggests. This is illustrated in the response of the African National Congress, which includes hard line Marxists, in that it continues to adopt a pragmatic approach to the 'reform process'. What is deterministic in the Marxist approach is the inevitability of the transfer of political power from the capitalist class to the majority of the population. In this sense, a deterministic view of South African history is actually appropriate.

In comparing the two perspectives on the notion of power, it must be acknowledged that Giddens' notion embraces a wider conception than that of Marxist theorists. Economic and political struggles for Giddens are not only conditioned by economic and political structures set up by the state, but also by factors such as the transfer of meaning between social actors, or the issue of "habit" as it can be seen in mobilisation of norms, or as it provides a sense of security to actors. If this is the case, could it not be argued that this is similar to Gramsci's notion of hegemony?

So while Giddens clearly brings important correctives, new insights and right emphases to the Marxist tradition, this in itself does not mean that Giddens succeeds in providing a synthesis theory. For example, his analysis does not satisfactorily explain why state structures in the South African context have remained intact for so long. Part of the explanation surely lies in the fact that ultimately structures have a greater determining capacity than human agents. The theory of structuration fails to acknowledge this.

On the question of the role of the bureaucracy, it has already been acknowledged that Marxist theory is weak at this point. Weber's contention that an established bureaucracy is not easily destroyed without devastating consequences has been shown to be true in the recent East European experience. Furthermore, the stress by Giddens on the bureaucracy in relation to the nation-state is an important notion which further highlights a weakness in the Marxist analysis. Little attention has been given by the Marxist theorists to the role of administrative power and the state. This has been a further important corrective.

2.7 THEORIES OF STATE AND THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

In this section an attempt will be made to apply Marxist, Weberian, and Giddensian perspectives to the way the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA) functions in society. Hereafter, when referring to the "church", this will be deemed to mean the CPSA.

From the above discussion it is evident that Marxist theories of state are complex, evolutionary and multi-faceted, which makes application a difficult task. Therefore, in applying them to the functioning of the church, pertinent aspects will simply be highlighted from the various trends within this tradition. While there might be a measure of randomness in this approach, it is argued that together these aspects do represent an ideological school of thought which is helpful to an understanding of the role of the church in society.

Marxist theory in broad terms stresses that the class base of the government is determinant to its functioning. As has already been highlighted, in crude terms it is an instrument of class rule. This must also be the starting point of any analysis of the church. The class base of the institutional leadership of the church is foundational to understanding how the church has functioned in society. Church leadership has until very recent years been members of the white capitalist class. In Gramscian terms, this class force would play a vital role in shaping and structuring church programmes according to their interests. This class will thus govern in such a way as to give appearance to the fact that the subordinate classes are consenting to their leadership. This is made possible in many ways, precisely because the CPSA is an episcopal church. Bishops are seen as all powerful and represent God's authority on earth. For the colonising church, this understanding would have been easy to introduce, making it easy to subjugate the masses in the process. It must be acknowledged that individual bishops might have made different decisions and choices contrary to expectations of the capitalist class. This is in Giddensian terms the importance of social actors who by their actions produce unintended consequences. An example is Archbishop Joost de Blank, an expatriate, who fought vehemently against the apartheid policy of the state. Was this a social agent operating in a way that was not entirely consistent with the majority of the past leadership, resulting in unintended consequences? Or would the Poulantzian approach in fact be more helpful, suggesting that de Blank operated as part of a fractured bourgeoisie class, and that at the end of the day his actions were to ensure the autonomy and independence of the CPSA as a British colonial church in opposition to the Afrikaans Nationalist government?

White CPSA congregations have maintained a relative autonomy by retaining strong links with the "motherland". This is not necessarily true of the black section of the church. However it is at this point that Wolpe's analysis is helpful in terms of his approach to the race and class issue. Wolpe has pointed out that within the power bloc there are contradictory relations. Thus black leadership, as it developed within the CPSA, could easily have taken on the values of the capitalist class and thus itself become part of the petty bourgeoisie in the process. Black leadership often reflects an inclination towards the status quo. There is a further way in which the capitalist class is fractured. As church leadership becomes increasingly black, the white capitalist class can retain power by withdrawing financial support. This was attempted in some sectors when Desmond Tutu became Archbishop. Wealthy parishes are able to circumvent full diocesan financial assessments by setting up a separate building fund with the diocesan office. This enables such congregations to channel their financial resources towards its own needs. However, partly because there is a need for legitimation, quite often it is these churches that give generously to welfare needs and "caring for the poor".

This benevolent attitude extends much further however, and hence there is, in Offe's terms, the need for the church to be legitimating itself. Thus one always finds liberal social programmes on the ecclesiastical agenda, but seldom programmes which would initiate the radical social restructuring of society. This is an example of the church becoming enmeshed in the contradictions of capital. On the one hand the church needs to accumulate capital in order to sustain its own self-interest; on the other hand it needs to preserve the notion of itself as a neutral arbiter in class interest. And of course, in recent years to further legitimate itself, it has been necessary to be "on the side of the poor". As Offe has pointed out with regard to the state, these contradictory functions cannot be sustained indefinitely. So with the church. This is precisely why, with the unbanning of the mass-based political organisations, the church like the wider community has been thrown into crisis with regard to its role in the social transformation of society. In the process of attempting to deal with this contradiction the church will at times appear to be aligning itself with the poor. However, this will never change the essential nature of the church which is influenced by class forces and bureaucracy. Capitalism is thus retained in the long term. At the end of the day, the cost for the poor of attempting to challenge this leadership structure is too high.

As Weber has pointed out, the issue of legitimation is tied to the nature of bureaucracy. The well established bureaucracy of the church would be impossible to undermine in any way without

disastrous effects for the church as a whole. As Weber has pointed out, the bureaucracy is developed in the interests of capitalism. The reality is that the church needs a substantial amount of capital to operate as a church serving capitalist interests. Thus the bureaucracy becomes essential to its functioning. The CPSA is undoubtedly a well established bureaucracy adhering clearly to the eight principles listed in section 2.4 above. The church bureaucracy develops a life of its own and inadvertently primarily serves its own interest rather than those of the people it purports to serve. The bureaucracy becomes necessary to the paid employees. Hence its structure and function will not be challenged by those who lead the church. This occurs at the expense of those who are marginalised - not simply the poor, but also women, and rural communities. This would be consistent with Weber's assertion that bureaucracy and democracy stand in paradoxical relation towards one another. The bureaucracy becomes important both to accumulate capital and to serve the interests of those employed by the church, and thus by this very nature it needs to be exclusive. This is not conducive to the spirit of democracy.

It was Giddens who developed the notion of bureaucracy further to include the nation-state. The nation included a military and an industrial complex which gave it administrative power. These were important factors in analyzing the state. Church practice too can inadvertently introduce surveillance mechanisms. The rite of confession and the initiation rites of baptism and confirmation, if used negatively, can become a controlling mechanism for those in authority. Furthermore, the church, like the nation-state, uses a central complex, namely the diocesan office, to carry out administrative tasks. The diocesan secretary holds a powerful position of control over the diocesan finances, which are allocated at his recommendation. The hierarchical positions of authority which have developed from a history of church tradition ensure that church practices, authorised from the central controlling complex, are reinforced in the local communities. Nonetheless, as Giddens importantly points out, specific historical developments will influence the way the nation-state operates. So too for the church - as witnessed recently with the ordination of women to the priesthood.

2.8 CONCLUSION

In this chapter an attempt is made to develop a theoretical framework from which to critique the church's functioning in society.

It is argued that Marxist theories are important for their contribution to class analysis of the church. Furthermore Weber's insight on the bureaucracy is important in understanding the developed hierarchial and bureaucratic structure of the church. Giddens develops this notion further as he analyses the nation-state, which could be comparable to the central controlling office. He makes a further contribution through his understanding of the role of social actors whose actions produce unintended consequences. This notion opens up the possibility of exploring how the marginalised and particularly the working class within the church, act to produce their own gains at the expense of the capitalist leadership who have dominated the structures in the past. The extent to which these factors operate within church structures is explored further in the following three chapters.

CHAPTER THREE:

HISTORY OF RESPONSE TO SOCIAL NEED BY THE DIOCESE OF CAPE TOWN 1960-1990

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The Diocese of Cape Town as currently delineated covers approximately 170 000 square kilometres (Appendix A). An estimated 120 000 Anglicans worship throughout this geographic region. It is the oldest of 22 dioceses within the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA) and consists of three regions, nine archdeaconries, and approximately 120 parishes (with an additional 80 out-stations and chapelries).¹ The Metropolitan, the Archbishop of Cape Town, gives leadership, together with three Regional Suffragan Bishops and a staff of over 150 clergy. The diverse membership of the diocese reflects every facet of the South African social, political, economic and racial scene.

Operating alongside parishes within the diocese are: diocesan departments such as Youth, Sunday School, and Board of Social Responsibility; and organisations such as the Anglican Women's Fellowship, the Mother's Union, the Church Mens' Society, the Bernard Mizeki, and the Girls and Lads Brigade. A number of Anglican groupings dedicated to works of service exist on a parish centred basis. These include formal residential care facilities such as children's homes, a home for unmarried mothers, and a centre for returning exiles; informal day care centres such as creches and a health service; and a number of special care services such as soup kitchens, centres of concern, and advice offices. In more recent years the diocese has played a prominent role in providing a platform for community groups to mobilise communities politically. As a result, St George's Cathedral has become a centre of protest and resistance in the city of Cape Town.

In this chapter a critical account is given of attempts made by individuals in leadership positions, as well as by diocesan structures, to respond to the need for social transformation during the 30 year period under study. This will be outlined in four sections - one that sets the context, followed by a section on each of the decades under study.

¹ Figures estimated by the researcher.

3.2 BACKGROUND TO THE PERIOD 1960 -1990

Hinchliff (1963:231) suggests that about the time the Union of South Africa came into existence, the CPSA was being influenced firstly, by Anglo-Catholicism, which reflected a distinct concern for the poor in the slums of England, and secondly, by the Christian Socialist ideals of F.D. Maurice. This resulted in the founding of a number of welfare institutions within the diocese, including five children's homes, a maternity hospital and a school for the blind. Furthermore, during the late 1930s, a group of women known as the Greyladies came out from England to perform works of charity and set up a house in Rosebank.

Despite these charitable endeavours, a broad survey of the literature reveals that throughout the period leading up to the victory of the Nationalist Party in 1948, the prevailing attitude of the CPSA was a propensity towards the status quo. Welfare work was acceptable, but there was far greater caution on issues pertaining to structural transformation. In 1924, the Provincial Synod passed a resolution on "Racialism in Religion", acknowledging the "equality of all before Christ", but qualifying this with the introductory phrase, "without aiming at any interference with social customs" (Paine 1978:21). This statement undoubtedly endorses the status quo of the society at large. The point is further highlighted by the endorsement of the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Native Education of 1935-1936, by the 1939 Provincial Synod (Paine 1978:22). Furthermore, by 1944 little progress had been made on the racial issue, as the Synod of that year once again called for "equality for all". However, there was recognition at this juncture of the need for an expression of penitence for the extent to which the evils of racism existed amongst Church members.

The election of Geoffrey Clayton as Archbishop coincided with the victory of the Nationalists in 1948. It is clear from his charges between 1948 and 1957 (Wood 1960) that Clayton seriously addressed the issues of the day, such as "multi-racialism", the Group Areas Act, and the Bantu Education Act. Clayton in fact died in his study, shortly after signing a letter to the Prime Minister on 6 March 1957, in which he challenged the Native Laws Amendment Bill restricting religious freedom. However, as both Worsnip (1991) and Paine (1978) point out, while Clayton objected to official policy, he was not prepared to take action that was not "constitutional". This is in contrast to the proactive stance taken by Ambrose Reeves, Bishop of Johannesburg, who supported by Trevor Huddleston, decided to close the Anglican Mission Schools in that diocese as a protest against the Bantu Education Act. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that Clayton's

reply to the Archbishop of Canterbury on his request regarding the way the Church of England should respond to the situation in South Africa, stated that

[the Church of England] should make it abundantly clear that it abominated apartheid...Having made that clear, it should say no more since any more said would make things more difficult.

(quoted in Paine 1978:73)

When Joost de Blank succeeded Geoffrey Clayton as Archbishop, the CPSA was by and large unused to and unprepared for the confrontational style with which he challenged official state policy.

3.3 THE PERIOD 1960 - 1970

Joost de Blank had been in office a mere 17 months when the historic events of 21 March 1960 took place at Sharpeville.

On his arrival in South Africa from Britain, he had set about making contact with significant black leaders such as Z.K. Matthews and Albert Luthuli, as well as with the Afrikaner world (Paine 1978:67). Within three months of being enthroned, he undertook a visit to Windermere. It was this visit that moved de Blank to "break his silence" and by the following year he was openly accusing the Dutch Reform Church (DRC) of failing to criticise government policy (Paine 1978:68).

1960 began with de Blank making a prophetic utterance of the events to come:

the demands of Christian charity and obedience are so opposed to current legislation and its outworking in terms of human lives and families that a life of loyalty to Christ and his Church is bound to evoke hostility and misrepresentation.

(Good Hope January 1960)²

Meanwhile, the British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, paid a visit to South Africa and spent time with those opposed to apartheid, including de Blank. Shortly thereafter, MacMillan made his famous *Winds of Change* speech, which according to Peart-Binns reiterated much of what de Blank had been saying (1987:161). This perception possibly accords de Blank too much credit. Nonetheless, he does appear to have contributed to some extent to MacMillan's analysis. Six

² Goodhope is the official publication of the Diocese of Cape Town.

weeks later when police opened fire on a peaceful demonstration in Sharpeville, and shortly thereafter when the government banned the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and declared a State of Emergency in the country, de Blank became even more critically outspoken. He also became more vociferous in his attack of the DRC, as outlined in a memorandum published by the CPSA in November 1960 on the state of the country and the appropriate Christian response.³ De Blank began to campaign to have the DRC expelled from the World Council of Churches (WCC) if it did not publicly renounce apartheid, and urged the WCC to send a fact finding mission to South Africa. This resulted in the Cottesloe Conference in December 1960, one of the most significant conferences on church/state relations to date, which led to the DRC churches withdrawing from the WCC in April 1961 (Peart-Binns 1987:189).

The question that needs to be asked at this point is whether de Blank was treading a lonely path in his fight against apartheid, or whether he in fact enjoyed the support of the wider CPSA community. Peart-Binns (1987:195) suggests that he inspired black clergy but received little support from white clergy, some of whom went as far as to establish an unofficial 'movement' called 'Joost must go'.

These priests and some senior laymen of the diocese held that they adhered to the principle that discrimination on the grounds of colour alone was contrary to the will of God but... but..! Corporate political action must be eschewed. The sufferers must be taught to endure patiently, returning injustice with love. The Church must wait in faith upon God's time. Be patient with the Government and its Ministers; understand their views; speak to them in love.

(Peart-Binns 1987:195)

This attitude highlights the position of the majority of the white clergy of the day. De Blank in his charge to Diocesan Synod of December 1961, appears to be aware that his hearers are not interested in another outburst against apartheid (Paine 1978:112). The charge is mild and conciliatory. The minutes of this session of Synod reveal that comparatively little was discussed that pertained to the social conditions of the day. This is not to suggest that de Blank refrained thereafter from speaking out against apartheid. On the contrary, Paine (1978:113-117) argues that his opposition to apartheid was as strong at the end of his ministry in December 1963, as it always had been. However, the election of the more reserved and reticent Selby-Taylor to succeed de Blank, suggests a desire for a change in style of leadership (Paine 1978:202).

³ The precise purpose of the memorandum is not clear from the document, although the researcher suggests that de Blank might have prepared it as part of his motivation to have the DRC expelled from the WCC.

A further question needs to be raised. If de Blank had received tacit support from the majority of the clergy for his confrontational approach, would social structures have been influenced in a more radical way? By way of a response, it is important to note that he was strangely quiet with regard to the banning of the ANC and PAC. Peart-Binns (1987:195) suggests that de Blank was not interested in the developing black nationalism, and kept himself a little apart from these secular movements seeking radical change. It must therefore be concluded that, at the end of the day, de Blank's role in opposing apartheid was still primarily in the realm of protest action.

Interestingly, after de Blank had retired, the Diocesan Synod of December 1964 included far more motions that referred to the social situation than the previous synod had. The Archbishop was urged to continue making representations to the Government concerning matters that "transgressed the laws of God" (Minutes of Diocesan Synod, December 1964). The Synod deplored the infringement of the freedom of speech rights; urged that racial discrimination be purged from parochial life; and asked the Archbishop to appoint a committee to study the disparity between the rich and the poor in South Africa, and the resultant social responsibility of the church. It is difficult to assess to what extent this was mere rhetoric on the part of the leadership represented at the synod, nonetheless, the appointment of this committee was a first step towards the establishment of a diocesan structure that addressed social issues.

The committee considered the migratory labour policy and the inequalities caused by the disparity of wealth. Selby-Taylor in his charge to the Diocesan Synod of October 1966 referred to its findings and concluded the following:

Now it may seem that there is little the Synod of the Diocese of Cape Town can do about either of these problems. They are so vast and so complex. But the difficulties in the way must not be used as an excuse for indifference or inaction. Any change in the present inequitable distribution of wealth will only come about when sufficient people are convinced that it is right that there should be change. It is therefore urgently important that we should set about creating a public opinion on the evils of poverty in the midst of wealth.

(Charge to Diocesan Synod, October 1966)

Implicit in these statements is the acknowledgement that the majority of white Anglicans were ignorant about these evils and needed to be educated. The statements also clearly reflect that the majority of those in leadership were white. The perspective from which they spoke was a liberal one, and they spoke for and on behalf of the black sector of the church. The reality was that during this decade the clergy were by and large white. Figures issued in 1969 by the provincial office indicate that there were 102 white (of whom at least a third were not South African born),

5 African and 9 Coloured priests in the diocese (Statistical return for year ending 31 December 1969).

A conference on poverty was convened during April 1967. As a result of the findings of this conference, the Synod of October 1967 introduced the Board of Social Responsibility with the stated aim

to examine matters involving social responsibility from the stand point of the Christian faith; to make the Church and the wider public aware of the issues involved and to take action as it deems necessary.

(Minutes of Diocesan Synod, October 1967)

The Board of Social Responsibility played a significant role in the activities of the diocese during the next two decades. This will be discussed in the following section.

The same synod, however, also sent a message of congratulations to Advocate T.E. Dönges on his election as State President. The irony is that it was this man, who as Minister of the Interior, had seriously clashed with de Blank over the issue of admitting black pupils to Anglican schools (Paine 1978:75). There clearly was an ambivalent and inconsistent attitude towards the state, which seems to highlight further the tendency of the CPSA to act in ways that did not challenge the status quo.

It must also be remembered that this was the period when the Group Areas Act was being enforced on both urban and rural constituencies, which was having a profound effect on congregations throughout the diocese. Little was recorded that acknowledged the magnitude of pain being experienced by parishioners. The only indication is a resolution at the Diocesan Synod of 1969, which expressed

its concern over the proposed Reclamation of the Proclaimed Coloured Group Area of Noorder Paarl.

(Minutes of Diocesan Synod, October 1969)

3.4 THE PERIOD 1970 -1980

The 1970s was a period of great political upheaval in the country, and the CPSA, like other churches, was forced to respond to the prevailing circumstances. The diocesan structures were diversified with the establishment of the Diocesan Council at the Diocesan Synod of 1974. Diocesan Council, a body which includes laity and clergy, meets a number of times a year and is responsible for the overall strategy, planning and development of the diocese. During this decade

there appears to have been an awakening of conscience within the white constituency of the diocese, together with a growing acknowledgement of social need. It also appears to be the period when the Archbishop, Bill Burnett, played a less significant role than his predecessors. He became Archbishop in 1974. During the 1960s, Burnett had been actively involved in the work of the South African Council of Churches (SACC). In 1968, he was one of the signatories of the *Message to the People of South Africa*. However, it is noteworthy that during his years as Archbishop, there is no significant record of his involvement in matters pertaining to social transformation. This lack of involvement could be attributed to Burnett's "charismatic renewal" experience which took place in the early 1970s.

At this time, an attempt was made by interested lay people to coordinate and support the work of all affiliated welfare institutions of the CPSA throughout the country. This initiative, known as Anglicare, functioned under a Provincial Department over approximately 10 years. It was a source of great debate and controversy, and eventually the Diocese of Cape Town dissociated itself from Anglicare because it continued to function under an all-"white" Board, as was required by the Welfare Act (Minutes of Diocesan Council, 23 February 1974).

It was during this period that two diocesan structures took root namely the Social Welfare Committee and the Board of Social Responsibility (BSR). The former was established to care for the welfare needs of the diocese, and the latter to tackle the issues pertaining to the 'social responsibility' of the church. These two aspects of social transformation were therefore clearly understood to be dichotomous at this stage.

The Social Welfare Committee functioned directly under the authority of Diocesan Council. It operated with a broad mandate encompassing all areas of welfare work in the parishes of the diocese. In practical terms, it was mandated to appoint a diocesan social worker. The social worker was initially largely involved in casework, and mostly in urban parishes in close proximity to the diocesan offices. For a short period of time a social worker also operated from an office in Ceres. Later, counselling and training courses were organised in some parishes. However, the task was enormous and impossible to be carried out by one social worker. The situation was further complicated by the varying expectations within the diocese of the social worker's role. Eventually this committee disbanded in 1979 and the work was brought under BSR (Minutes of Diocesan Council for the period 1974 - 1979). These welfare initiatives had thus been an attempt on the part of the leadership of the diocese to meet the needs of the poor. However, by the end

of the decade there was a recognition that the welfare committee could not function isolated from structural issues such as those addressed by the BSR.

The 1970s were significant years in political terms. With the eruption of the school crisis in June 1976, the country was thrown into turmoil. It was also a turning point for black resistance. There can be no doubt that the political situation influenced decisions taken by Diocesan Council - once more revealing the tendency of the church to be reactive rather than proactive. The BSR proved to be a key player in the attempts to bring about some form of social transformation within the boundaries of the diocese during this decade. It had a three-fold function: firstly to examine matters involving social responsibility; secondly to educate the church on issues involved; and thirdly to take necessary action. A survey of Diocesan Council minutes, as well as information published by the BSR during this time, suggests that one of its greatest strengths was the educative role that it played. However, defining 'social responsibility' and therefore the necessary action to be taken, was more problematic, particularly in the 1980s, once it took over the work of the Social Welfare Committee.

One of the significant differences between this period and the 1960s, was the fact that now Diocesan Synod and Diocesan Council used the BSR to implement action arising out of certain resolutions passed. This definitely facilitated the process whereby sentiment was translated into action. An example of this is a resolution passed at the 1971 Diocesan Synod that stated that the Synod

deplores the distribution of alcoholic liquor to workers by their employers (known as the "tot system") and requests the Diocesan Board of Social Responsibility to investigate ways and means of eliminating this practice.

(Minutes of Diocesan Synod, October 1971)

As a result, the BSR established a sub-committee to produce educative material, made contact with a welfare organisation involved in alcohol abuse, and initiated a pilot project on a farm in the Stellenbosch area (BSR Report for period October 1972 - September 1974).

A further example of where sentiment was translated into action, is the BSR project on wages of black workers. It was Archbishop, Selby-Taylor who in *Good Hope* January 1973 addressed the need for the Church to pay a fair wage to its non-clergy employees. In consultation with the BSR, he extended the call to include domestic workers. During 1974 the BSR ran a series of educative workshops entitled 'Who is Jane?' According to the 1972-1974 report, the campaign evoked little

response from the parishes, and attendance at the seminars seemed poor. Nonetheless, it did receive strong support from Diocesan Council. This campaign also highlighted tensions between white and black members of the BSR, however. A meeting was convened for 1 February 1974.

At this meeting there was much harsh criticism of the "wishy-washy multi-racialism" of the Board; condemnation of the fact that its membership was predominantly White; and a challenge to the White Board members to concentrate on "converting the Whites" ie. focusing on getting "White" parishes to become committed to the struggle for social justice.

(BSR Report for period October 1972 - September 1974:4)

This resulted in a commitment to strengthen black representation on the BSR, and a challenge to the leadership that the BSR not be seen as "an optional extra", but an instrument of the whole church (BSR Report for the period October 1972 - September 1974:5). It must be noted that at this point the only paid employee of the Board was a part-time secretary. A full-time paid post was instituted at the beginning of 1977.

By the 1976 crisis, the BSR was beginning to tackle some of the broader social issues facing the Western Cape, such as the migratory labour system and the squatter crisis. An example would be the press statement on the 14 May 1976 by the then Rev David Russell on behalf of the BSR on the introduction of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill. It is interesting to note that, whereas in the past it had usually been the Archbishop who was assigned such a task, it was now a diocesan structure that was willing to take on such a role. However, in surveying the available documentation, it appears that while the BSR was having an educative impact on the church, it received little broad-based support. The work seemed to be carried out by a very small number of individuals who revealed a high level of commitment.⁴ This pattern seemed to continue into the 1980s.

On a Diocesan Council level there was some recognition of the crisis that had erupted in the country, and a statement was made which included a call to all church members to acknowledge their share of responsibility. The Archbishop was requested to convey the statement to the Prime Minister (Minutes of Diocesan Council, 28 August 1976). Again this was in many ways, a protest action which did not include any form of resistance. It appears instead to have been no more than an attempt to appease what must have been an uneasy conscience, for at the same Council meeting the question of admittance of black pupils to Anglican schools was once more raised.

⁴ This was confirmed in discussion with Dr Margaret Nash, who was the first paid part-time secretary of the BSR and very active on the Board during the 1970s.

As preparation was being made for the 1977 Diocesan Synod, tensions over the work of the BSR arose once more. In a paper entitled "*Walk the walk as well as talk the talk*": *BSR 1974 -1977: An aid to self-examination*, written by Dr Margaret Nash, it becomes clear that there was no consensus regarding the meaning of 'Christian social responsibility'. Because of the lack of consensus, there were a variety of expectations both within the BSR itself and within the wider church constituency, as to exactly what type of social action should be undertaken. This same issue was highlighted and expanded upon in a paper by Vernon Petersen in 1989, entitled *The dilemma of the concept 'social responsibility' and its impact on the mission of the Board of Social Responsibility*. (Petersen was as a fulltime staff member of the BSR at the time of writing the paper.) The ongoing tussle between involvement in welfare or social justice issues, and the varying understandings within the church of its role in the social transformation of society, was highlighted more clearly during the 1980s.

The involvement of the BSR in broader issues, such as the movement of people to Mitchell's Plain, continued nonetheless. Rev David Russell continued to involve himself in the Crossroads squatter crisis and to champion the rights of workers in the single sex hostels of Nyanga and Guguletu. His campaign eventually led to the establishment of the Hostel Dwellers Association. (Russell was served a five year banning order in October 1977.)

As has already been mentioned, the Social Welfare Committee was disbanded in 1979 and its mandate given to the BSR (Minutes of Diocesan Council, 17 May 1980).

The decade ended with the 1979 Provincial Synod in turmoil over whether to support the WCC's Programme to Combat Racism, which provided financial aid to the liberation movements.

3.5 THE PERIOD 1980 - 1990

The Diocesan Synod that met in October 1980 finally called for a halt to the removal of people from District Six, and for the repeal of the Group Areas Act (Minutes of Diocesan Synod, October 1980). This came over twenty years after the first forced removals under this Act. The synod was more proactive, however, in its stance towards conscientious objectors Peter Moll and Richard Steele, the first two men from mainline churches to be granted conscientious objector status. The same Synod urged the Minister of Defence to introduce alternative forms of military service (Minutes of Diocesan Synod, October 1980).

As a result of the disbanding of the Social Welfare Committee, a key consultation was convened by the BSR in 1980 under the leadership of Archbishop Bill Burnett, called *Gospel, Church and Social Need in Greater Cape Town*. The stated aim of the consultation was

...on the basis of the Gospel mandate, to consider the social welfare needs in the Diocese and particularly in the Cape Flats townships; their impact on the work of the parish priest and the usefulness of lay contributions through the advice office; definition of the role of the diocesan worker (or workers); and practical recommendations to Diocesan Council.

(Nash 1985:1)

The report of this conference was circulated to all clergy and BSR lay representatives of parishes for study and reflection. Arising from this consultation, a decision was taken to appoint two 'Community Care Workers', one Xhosa speaking and one Afrikaans speaking, to be based on the Cape Flats. It appears from minutes of meetings of the BSR around this time that the sub-committee recommended by the consultation to oversee the work of the community workers, was never constituted. This could account for staffing and other difficulties in getting this project off the ground. Workers did operate for a few years, and were mainly involved in advice office type work in Langa and Old Crossroads.

At the beginning of 1982, Syd Lockett became Director of the BSR. He had, prior to this appointment, been involved with squatter communities in the greater Cape Town area. Thus it would probably be true to say that for the most part of the 1980s, squatter communities became a focus of the staff team, which had by this time increased to four paid employees.

A Christian Social Action Workshop was organised by the BSR staff in September 1983, to encourage parish representatives to establish local social action groups (Christian Social Action Workshop Report, September 1983). This was an important attempt to encourage further action to be undertaken by parishes. These social action groups still function in some parishes. In addition it appears that the BSR played an important role in urging parishes to join with the United Democratic Front in resisting the tri-cameral constitutional proposals, and in urging Archbishop Philip Russell to issue a press statement denouncing these proposals (Minutes of Diocesan Synod, October 1983).

By the mid-1980s, people were being coerced to move to Khayelitsha from Nyanga and Crossroads. This resulted in violence and in the loss of homes and possessions in 1986. BSR staff played an integral part in the crisis intervention strategy of community groups at this stage. This

was important in bringing the church into closer liaison with community groups, and in putting the plight of homeless people in the Western Cape on the CPSA agenda.

In the latter half of the 1980s, the BSR attempted to facilitate the establishment of co-operatives for the unemployed, without much long-term success. It facilitated educational workshops for various groups of clergy and laity of the diocese, and provided support to the social action groups within parishes (BSR Report to Diocesan Council, November 1987). By now, the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) which had been established in 1983 was gaining political ground, and churches were increasingly called on to help facilitate the political mobilisation of people. The BSR was a strategic link between the CPSA and the MDM. It was during this period that the BSR came under increasing attack from parts of its diocesan constituency. Many felt that it was neglecting to service the welfare needs of the parishes. Its "politicised" role was frowned upon by some sectors, while other sectors felt that the ideological stance of the staff was too overtly charterist. Petersen (1989:3) has argued that these tensions arose because the mission statement of the BSR was so broad that it was impossible to meet all expectations of its diverse constituency. While agreeing with this argument, the researcher is of the opinion that the tensions also reflected the changing nature of the political power base in the country, as well as the different understandings of the role the church should play in social transformation.

In an attempt to deal with these tensions, the BSR had in the meantime redefined its task at its annual review and planning meeting in January 1988, where four areas of focus were established (Minutes of BSR annual evaluation meeting, January 1988):

- Training in social analysis and biblical reflection from the standpoint of an option for the poor.
- The establishment of basic christian communities.
- Developing a resource network of relevant issues.
- Developing a network of people that would respond in times of crises.

At the same meeting the BSR agreed that it did not have the resources to respond to welfare needs. Welfare, it resolved, would only be done in the context of crisis intervention. Hence, by definition, the BSR was limiting its role and placing priority on the mobilisation of the church towards the social transformation of society. This did not, however, necessarily end the debate in the wider constituency.

Meanwhile the historic election of Desmond Mpilo Tutu as the first black Archbishop of the CPSA took place in 1986. This occurrence highlighted the fact that black leadership within the CPSA was increasingly coming to the fore during this decade. By the time of his election, Tutu had already taken a vocal stand against apartheid, and he very quickly became a symbol of resistance and hope to the black constituency of the CPSA. In his role as Archbishop he like Joost de Blank 30 years before, was not afraid to confront state leaders openly and without reservation. Tutu was able to mobilise much wider support than de Blank had been, by virtue of being a member of the oppressed community himself. The recognition accorded him in the international arena by the award of a Nobel Peace Prize also enhanced his ability to lobby international allies, which put enormous pressure on the state. This was particularly evident in his pro-sanctions campaign and his involvement in the MDM.

Taylor (1990) has illustrated the key role Tutu played in the period July 1989 until the release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990. He shows how Tutu embodied religion, politics and symbolic performance during this period of heightened conflict between church and state. However, it is significant that during this period Tutu had the support of two other church leaders, namely Allan Boesak and Frank Chikane. It is the contention of the researcher that it was the strength of this 'ecumenical coalition' that further enabled Tutu to confront the state as powerfully as he did. Wallis and Hollyday (1989) record the history of the late 1980s and the growing challenge that was confronting the church in South Africa with the imposition of the state of emergency in 1986. Writing towards the end of 1988, they stated the following:

Although Tutu, Boesak, Chikane, Beyers Naude, and other church leaders have played a key role in the anti-apartheid struggle for many years, they now face a unique trial and opportunity. At this moment in history, the church in South Africa remains one of the few institutions with any means of working for peaceful change. And the church leaders have accepted the challenge.

(Wallis & Hollyday 1989:xvii)

Whether their very high view of the church's potential to bring about the peaceful transformation of society was justified or not, there can be no doubt that the church did play a very important role in the mobilisation of people for protest action. This is illustrated by the launching of the *Standing for the Truth Campaign* by the SACC during 1988. This resulted in a number of defiance actions, including mass protests on "whites only" beaches, which led directly to the opening of beaches to all race groups. Tutu was often clearly at the forefront of this campaign, probably due partly to his high international profile and partly to his own conviction and status as a spiritual

leader. This latter point is illustrated by the role he played in initiating the now famous 'Peace March' on 13 September 1989 through the streets of Cape Town. Tutu is quoted as having said,

I am going to call for a march next week. I am going to call on all Capetonians to show their outrage ... I was sitting there writing when .. well you assume that you are trying to be in touch with God...and that God was saying 'that is what you should do'.

(quoted in Taylor 1990:43)

The extent to which grassroots members of the CPSA parishes of the diocese were directly involved in this mass defiance campaign is difficult to assess. However, there can be no doubt that at least to some extent, protest action was for the first time made theologically acceptable by Tutu's stand. There is evidence of this attitudinal change in some of the responses recorded in the field research outlined in Chapter Five of this study. However, there was also a feeling at the time amongst some of the clergy who were participating in the campaign, that people in parishes were shirking responsibility for participation, precisely because the church leaders were so involved.⁵

Tutu was a controversial figure, even within the CPSA. The fears of his white constituency were constantly having to be allayed by his suffragan bishops, and by strategically planned visits to these congregations. On the other hand there was criticism by other sectors of the constituency who believed his action was not sufficiently revolutionary in its approach. Essentially Tutu was a reconciler and thus used negotiation as a strategy wherever possible. To many this was unacceptable. Furthermore, some regarded Tutu as a member of the fractured bourgeoisie class, hence his more conciliatory stance. While there might be some merit in this criticism, the strategy of Tutu must largely be attributed to his Christian conviction. In the final analysis, he was the first leader of the CPSA to mobilise such large groups of people into protest action. This broad based action created the potential for greater resistance to the apartheid system. Whether or not this action would be translated into resistance, was still to be tested.

February 1990 dawned as a month of great rejoicing with the unbanning of the ANC and PAC and the release of Nelson Mandela. Undoubtedly this was true for the vast majority of the CPSA membership.

⁵ A perception gleaned by the researcher through personal contact with involved clergy.

3.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the history of involvement of the CPSA in the social transformation of the Western Cape during the 30 year period under study is traced.

In the process, it becomes clear that there was movement during this period from an unwillingness to a greater willingness to participate in action associated with radical change on the part of the church.

However, this history also highlights that on the whole, protest action was undertaken by a small minority. The prevailing attitude of those in leadership was a propensity towards the status quo. While synod resolutions were passed, and committees and other initiatives were established, direct involvement on the ground in the transformation of structures remained the commitment of isolated individuals, or at best the commitment of a very small group of people. This is not to suggest that important work was not carried out; a cumulative history such as this clearly reveals that this is not the case. However, it does highlight that those involved in the process of social transformation become the 'conscience' for the wider church community. Generally, the response remained reactive rather than proactive.

Furthermore, the history also seems to highlight the church as a bureaucratic institution always torn between serving its own interest and the interest of those it is meant to be serving. The constant struggle to gain consensus on a definition of 'social responsibility' indicates, amongst other things, the differing class interests that exist within the CPSA. In addition, because the church, like the South African society at large, was undergoing a transition from a predominantly white to a black leadership structure, this struggle for consensus also highlights the racially and economically fractured nature of the power grouping.

Given the above, it must be noted that the movement towards a greater willingness to participate in action geared towards radical change, probably results from two factors. Firstly, the black leadership constituency was growing throughout this period. Secondly, there has been a conscientisation process taking place in both the black and the white membership as a result of education taking place within the church, and the social context was exerting pressure on the church. Therefore it is important to assess perceptions within the CPSA congregations of how they were affected by apartheid. It is also important to ascertain how people understand the church's role in transforming society and the part they have to play in that process. This is the subject of the field research as recorded in the following two chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR:

PARISH ASSESSMENT - PHASE I - CLERGY PERCEPTIONS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

It was suggested in the previous chapter that there are various understandings within the CPSA of what the role of the church in the social transformation of society should be.

In attempting to analyze these disparate responses, it is necessary to acknowledge that the church's engagement with society is a dynamic and complex process. Any response will be influenced by a host of economic, political and theological factors, all of which will be in a state of flux because of the transitory and changing nature of the South African context. As was argued in Chapter Two, the current leadership of the church is fractured along class and racial lines. This is also true for the laity. Consciously or unconsciously, this influences the ideological position taken by different groupings, and hence their definition of social transformation.

The field research explores this dynamic and complex process by engaging with clergy and laity about social issues that affect their day to day lives. Social problems are detailed for two reasons: firstly, in order to assess these in relation to the extent of attempts being made to address these problems and secondly, as a basis to be used for future targeted action. This analysis of the practical and attitudinal response is the key to understanding the lack of effective social transformation of people's lives, as well as determining the potential resources that could be tapped in the future.

The field research was carried out in two phases. Phase I will be outlined in this chapter, Phase II in Chapter Five.

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

The purpose of Phase I of the parish assessment was to gain a general understanding of:

1. What clergy perceived to be major social problems in their area of ministry.
2. Ways in which the parishes were attempting to address these social problems.

A concise questionnaire (Appendix C) was designed by the researcher. It was pre-tested on a random sample of ten clergy, before being mailed to the rector of each parish in the diocese. One questionnaire for the parish church as well as one for each chapelry was included. They were returned over a six-week period. Questionnaires were not sent to parishes where the rector was away for an extended period or where this post was vacant at the time of the study. Hence 184 parishes out of a total of 195 were included. An 81% response rate was recorded.

TABLE 1: Number and response of parishes and chapelries

	Parishes	Chapelries	Total	%
Total	118	77	195	
Included in study	110	74	184	94
Response	88	62	150	81

The diocese covers a vast geographic area, which means that needs and responses could vary considerably. Thus, for purposes of analysis, the diocese was divided into three broad geographic categories, namely: rural; peri-urban; and urban (see Appendix B). The broad planning regions used by the Cape Town City Council helped define these boundaries.

TABLE 2: Geographic regions of parishes and chapelries

	Urban	P-U	Rural	Total
Parishes	84	12	22	118
Chapelries	14	12	51	77
Total	98	24	73	195

TABLE 3: Parishes and chapelries not included in the study represented geographically

	Urban	P-U	Rural	Total
Parishes	26	4	0	30
Chapelries	5	6	4	15
Total	31	10	4	45

These figures indicate that, proportionately, the rural areas were best represented in the study, followed by the urban area, with the peri-urban area having the lowest representation rate.

However, given the high overall response rate, it is evident that a wide cross-section of the church community was represented.

4.3 ANALYSIS OF RESPONSE TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE

4.3.1 Social Problems

Clergy were asked to rate on a scale of 1 - 5 a series of social problems (1 = no problem 5 = severe problem).

TABLE 4: Rating of social problems

PROBLEM	RATING					TOTAL ≥ 3	%	
	NO PROBLEM	1	2	3	4	5	SEVERE PROBLEM	
alcohol abuse		4	24	45	36	41	150	81%
teenage pregnancy		18	22	27	45	36	148	73%
inadequate housing		30	21	26	27	46	150	66%
marriage breakdown		9	42	59	30	9	149	66%
inadequate aged care		26	26	34	27	35	148	65%
unemployment		24	34	34	33	24	149	61%
drug abuse		16	46	44	21	18	145	57%
inadequate creches		44	19	22	16	47	148	57%
exploiting domestics		24	36	33	28	18	139	57%
vagrancy		33	35	37	22	17	144	53%
adult illiteracy		34	37	38	25	15	149	52%
school-drop-outs		37	36	35	27	15	150	51%
exploiting farmworkers		48	13	16	17	20	114	46%
malnutrition		48	36	31	23	9	147	43%
incest		74	32	20	3	2	131	19%
sexual child abuse		59	45	17	2	5	128	19%
suicide		98	27	7	1	0	133	6%

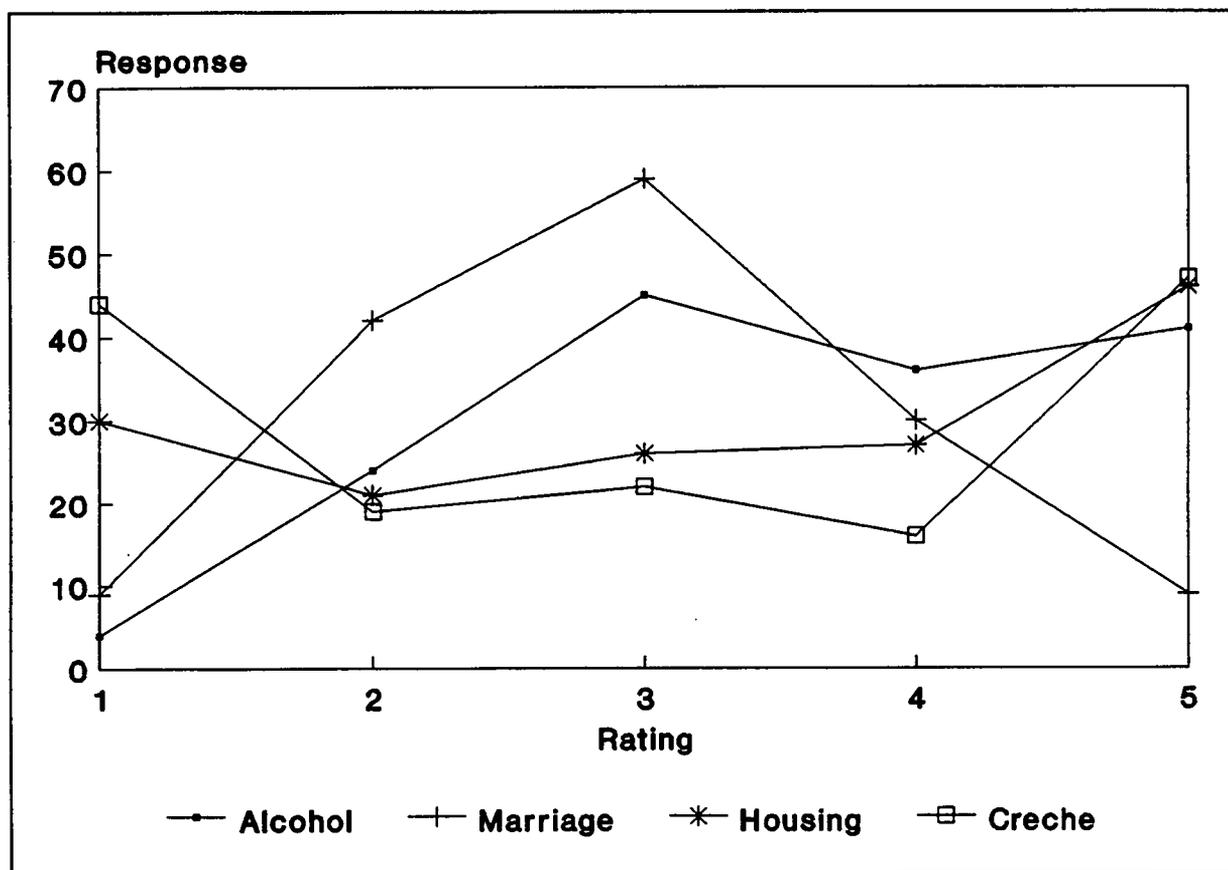
No other problems were significantly noted, even though the questionnaire made allowance for this.

It is evident from the above table that alcohol abuse is overwhelmingly the major social problem experienced by the clergy in their ministry. In addition it is important to note that alcoholism is experienced as a problem in communities across the board in the diocese (virtually no response

rating to no. 1). This is similarly true for the problem of marriage breakdown. In comparison, others such as inadequate housing and the lack of creche facilities are not problems at all in some communities, while they are severe problems in others.

In Fig. 1, the convex curves indicate problems that are generally experienced by all the communities, such as alcoholism and marriage breakdown. The concave curves express problems that do not occur at all in some communities but are severe in others such as the problems of inadequate housing and creche facilities.

FIGURE 1: Extent of problems in communities



This trend is further highlighted when social problems are categorised according to geographic areas. They are clearly most severe in the peri-urban and rural areas, with the exception of vagrancy and marriage breakdown. Particular problems such as inadequate creche facilities, school-drop-outs, adult illiteracy, and teenage pregnancy are markedly higher in the rural and peri-urban areas. This suggests that the geographic factor is crucial in assessing the nature and extent of social problems in the diocese.

FIGURE 2: Social problems rated ≥ 3 represented geographically (A)

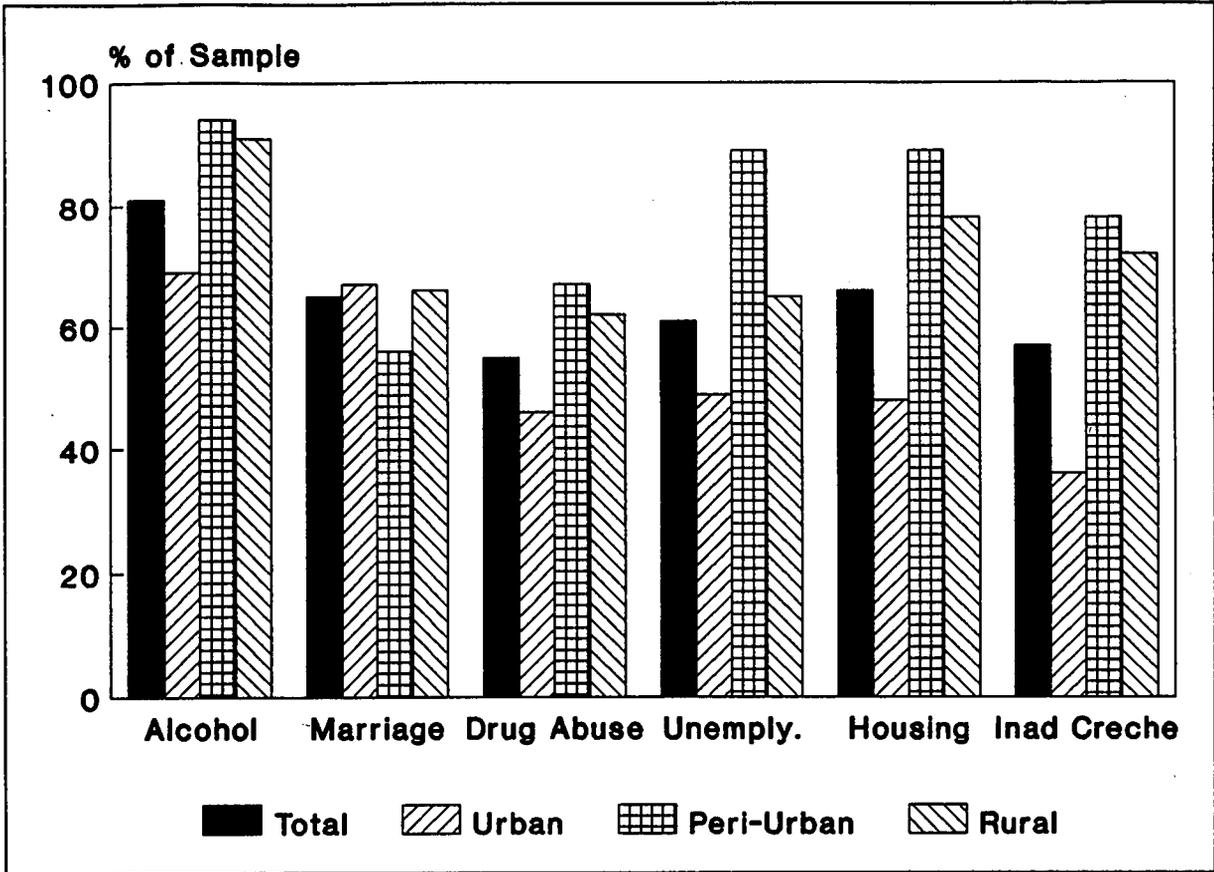


FIGURE 3: Social problems rated ≥ 3 represented graphically (B)

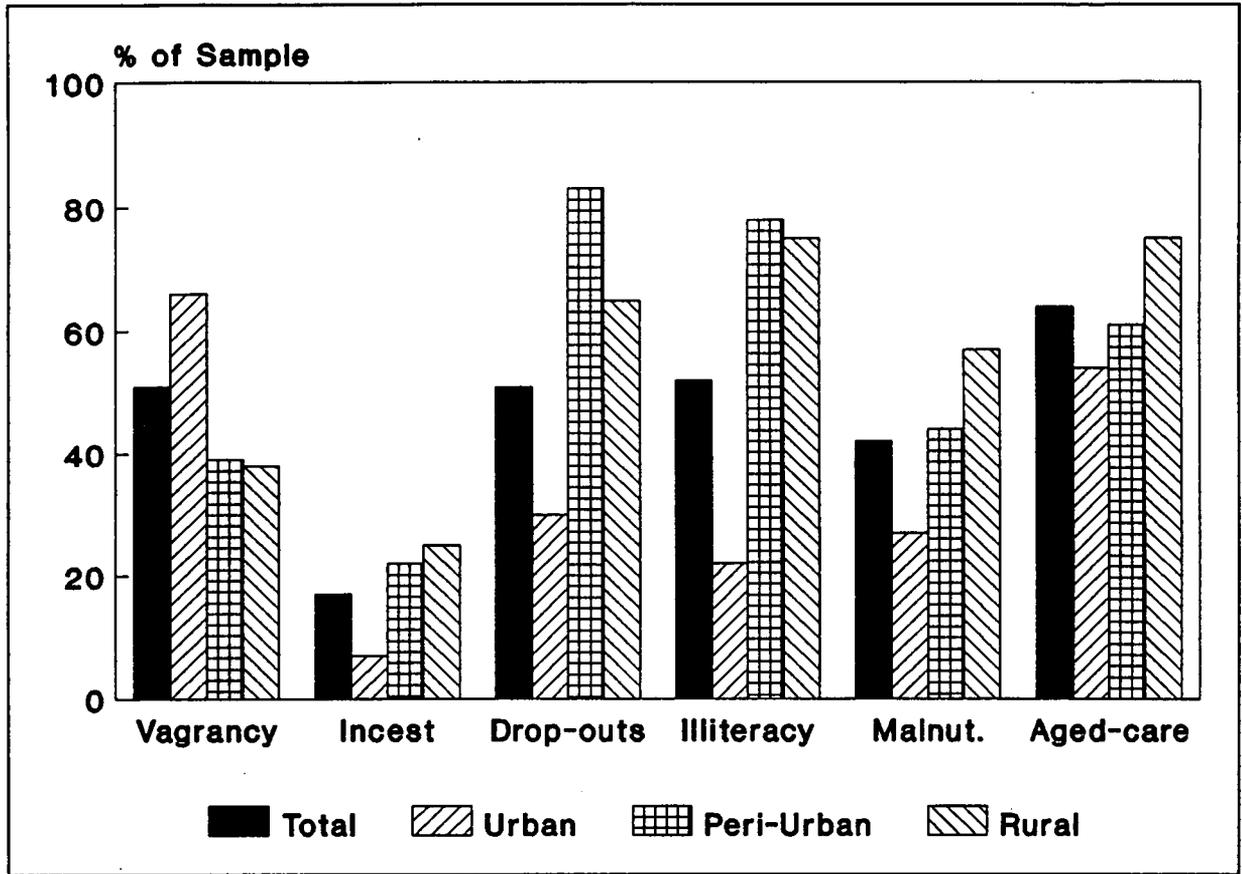
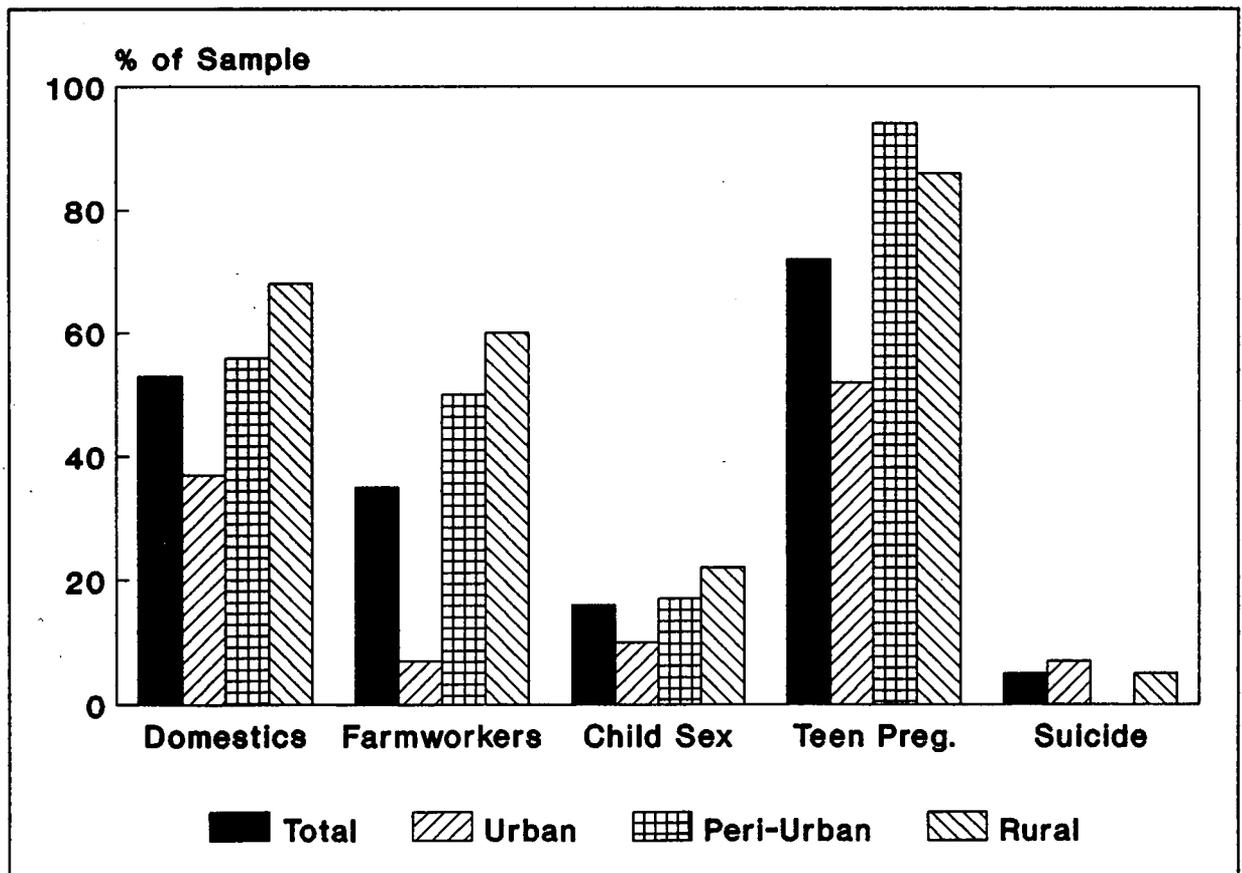


FIGURE 4: Social problems rated ≥ 3 represented geographically (C)



4.3.2 Use Of Church Buildings

The research found that community meetings are the most frequent community events to happen on church property. They occur in almost half of the church buildings. However, it was also clear from the statistical data that other community initiatives happen in proportionately few parishes.

TABLE 5: Use of church buildings

USE OF CHURCH BUILDINGS	
46%	community meetings
31%	social events for aged
21%	creches
20%	soup kitchens
0%	school study groups
9%	lunch clubs for aged
9%	group for domestic workers
6%	self-help groups
5%	advice office
26%	other

Undoubtedly, buildings are one of the church's greatest assets. In many communities, particularly in the rural areas, they are often the only place the community can gather. The potential for the use of church property in the development of communities will be explored in greater detail under the same heading in the recording of PHASE II of the Parish Assessment.

4.3.3 Parish Participation in Community Initiatives

The statistical data indicated that some parishes are aware of a responsibility to feed and clothe the poor. Relief tasks that are evident are listed in Table 6.

TABLE 6: Parish participation in community initiatives

PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY INITIATIVES	
55%	distribution of food parcels
52%	distribution of clothing
36%	soup kitchens
35%	social activities for aged
31%	creche in hall/home
17%	education bursaries
16%	care for homeless
14%	advice office work
11%	lunch-club for aged
8%	other community care

However, the findings also revealed:

- a basic lack of involvement in activities where the community engages in tasks that enable it to participate in its own problem-solving.
- some parishes are not involved at all in any form of welfare/relief/development work.

Possible reasons for the above two points will be discussed in Chapter Five.

4.3.4 Involvement with Welfare/Development/Community Organisations

Listed below are the organisations mentioned and the number of respondents that indicated contact with welfare/development/community organisations:

TABLE 7: Organisations with which parishes are in contact

	TOTAL	%
World Vision	18	12%
Local Council of Churches	18	12%
Child Welfare Society	11	7%
Advice Office Forum	8	5%
Grassroots Education Trust	6	4%
Diakonale Dienste	4	3%
African Scholar's Fund	3	2%
Haven Night Shelter	3	2%
Lentegeur Hospital	3	2%
Black Sash	3	2%
Peninsula School Feeding	3	2%
The Homestead	3	2%
Patrick's House	2	1%
Margaret's House	2	1%
Kayamandi Home for Boys	2	1%
Community Creche	2	1%
TEAM	2	1%
St George's Children Home	2	1%

A further 25 organisations were mentioned by only one respondent each and have therefore not been listed in Table 7.

The following points need to be noted:

- Contact with organisations serving the community is very limited.
- The only noteworthy contact is with other Christian organisations.
- Only one Anglican affiliated organisation is mentioned.

The above seems to suggest further that meaningful involvement in community care is limited, even though links with secular welfare and development organisations could assist clergy in their pastoral ministry and provide skills and resources for the upliftment of communities into which they minister.

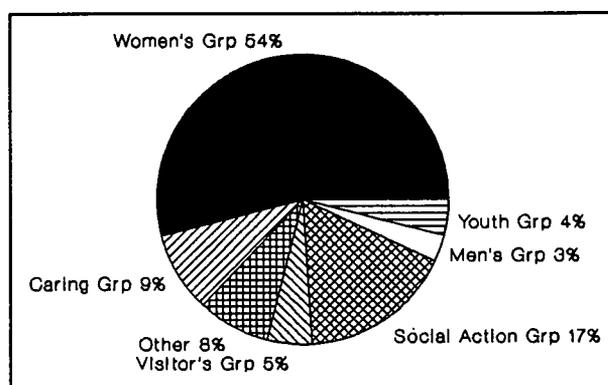
4.3.5 Assessment of Parishioner Involvement

Forty three of the 150 respondents indicated that social action groups were operating in their parishes. Of these, 26 stated that these groups were involved in relief/development work. Fifteen

stated that it was not the social action group that was involved and two did not answer the question.

In reply to the question whether other groups were involved in relief/development work, 92 parishes answered Yes, 53 said No, and 5 did not reply. Fig. 5 indicates the different church groups that are involved in such work and highlights the key role that women play in the church community.

FIGURE 5: Church group involved in relief/development work



The respondents were then asked to estimate the number of people in their parish who were actively involved in relief/development work.

TABLE 8: Number of parishioners involved

	TOTAL	%
0 - 10	91	61%
0 - 20	23	15%
0 - 30	18	12%
over 30	4	3%
no answer	14	9%
Respondents = 150		

It can thus be concluded that, even though there are a number of church groups involved in the needs of the community, the actual number of people involved is very small. Of those interviewed, 67% indicated fewer than 10 people involved, and 84% fewer than 20.

These figures indicate that the size of the parish (whether 70 families or 700 families) is immaterial; work in the community seems to be largely carried out by a small core of people in each parish.

4.3.6 Financing Relief/Development Work

The following table illustrates the response to questions that attempted to understand to what extent parishes were committed financially to relief/development work:

TABLE 9: Financing relief/development work

	YES	NO
Funds allocated from budget	33%	67%
Funds allocated from discretionary fund	31%	69%
Receive goods/money from other parishes	15%	85%

Only one third of the parishes contribute financially to relief/ development work. This figure probably indicates the number of parishes that are in a financial position to contribute to this work. Financial assistance from affluent to needy parishes is taking place, although 15% is a very low figure. This issue will be explored further in PHASE II of the Parish Assessment.

4.3.7 Perceptions of Actual Involvement and Need for more Involvement in Relief/Development Work

In the final section of the questionnaire, the respondents were asked to rate on a scale of 1 - 7 the following:

1. How involved they felt their parish was in relief/development work.
2. What they felt the involvement of their parish should be in relief/development work.

The following two tables indicate the response:

TABLE 10: Actual involvement of parish

	RATING	TOTAL	%
No involvement	1	46	31%
	2	44	30%
	3	33	22%
	4	18	12%
	5	6	4%
Very involved	6	0	0%
	7	0	0%
Respondents = 147			

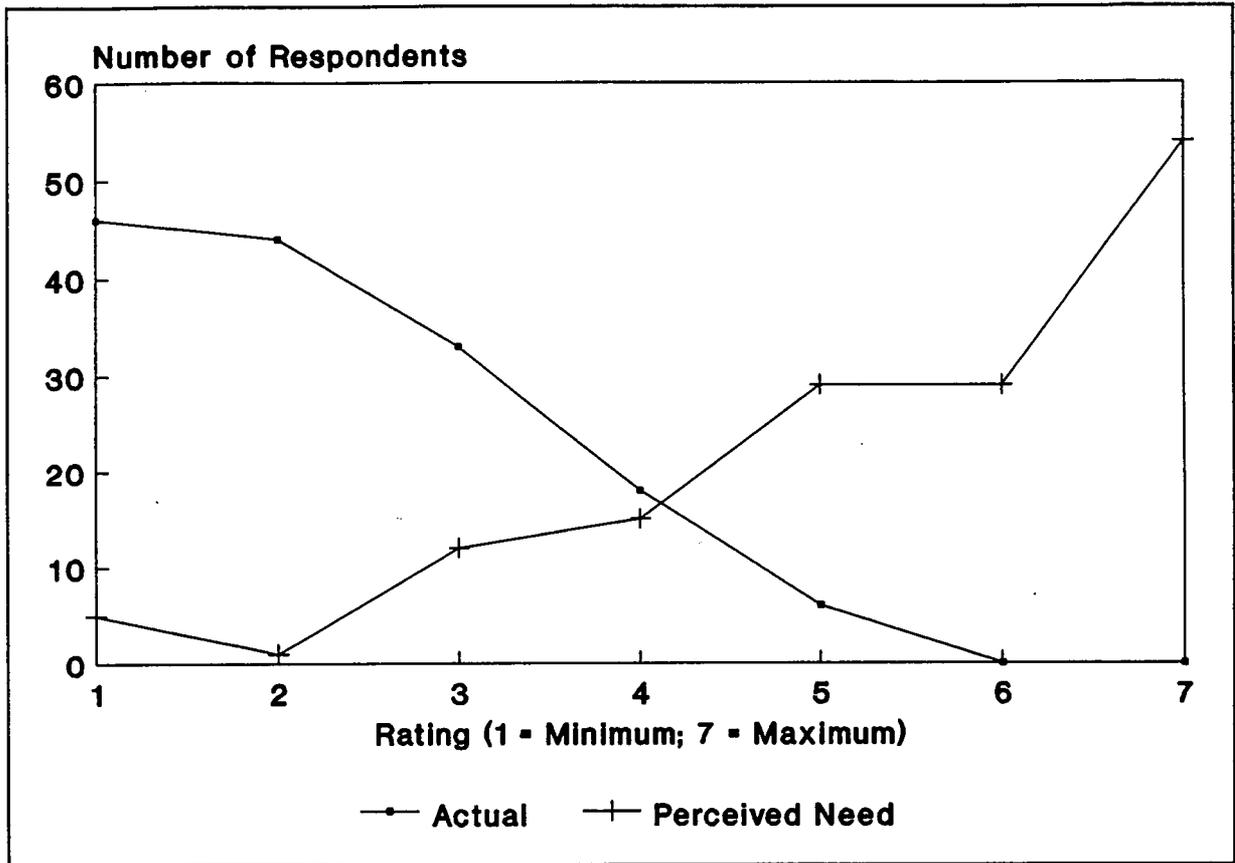
TABLE 11: Perceived need for parish to be involved

	RATING	TOTAL	%
Adequate involvement	1	5	3%
	2	1	1%
	3	12	8%
	4	15	10%
	5	29	20%
Need to be more involved	6	29	20%
	7	54	37%
Respondents = 145			

The first table indicates low ratings of actual involvement: 83% rated their parishes' involvement 3 or less; not one respondent saw his/her parish as very involved. On the other hand, as the second table indicates, the respondents perceived a strong need to be more involved (77% rated it 5 or more).

There is thus a sharp contrast between how clergy saw the actual involvement of their parish, and the desired involvement of their parish.

FIGURE 6: Graph of perceived and actual need



4.3.8 Motivation of Need for more Involvement

The clergy were asked to motivate why they had given their particular rating to the need for more involvement of their parish in relief/development work. A statistical analysis of their response was difficult to ascertain, as reasons given were very wide-ranging. Therefore this section will take the form of a general overview of the response.

The respondents can be divided into two main groups: those who generally felt that involvement was adequate; and those who felt that more involvement was necessary.

The largest percentage of respondents who rated the need for more involvement 4 or less (and by implication felt involvement was adequate), were ministering in parishes that operated in disadvantaged communities. These respondents were not indicating that there was no need for more involvement in relief/development work. Rather their response was an indication that circumstances, such as limited finances, made greater involvement difficult.

A small percentage of respondents felt that involvement was adequate because individual parishioners were involved with secular organisations addressing social need. Linked to this response was a feeling that the church should not get involved in welfare issues, but rather leave this responsibility to specialist secular organisations.

The responses by those who rated the need for more involvement 5 or higher (and by implication felt that involvement was inadequate), could be placed into five broad categories. These are listed in order of priority of response:

- More people in the parish could and/or should be mobilised.
- The social need is enormous and therefore the church is compelled to get involved.
- An attitude of complacency exists amongst parishioners, which has to be rectified.
- Education on use of skills and how to organise within the community should take place.
- The Gospel demands this response.

4.4 CONCLUSION

The high response rate by the clergy to the questionnaire indicates that the issues are of concern to them. This is further highlighted by the high rating of need for more involvement by their parishes in community care. It is clear from the ratings of social problems that they face daily challenges in attempting to minister into a context of enormous social need. This is confirmed by comments made at the end of the questionnaire. Undoubtedly this creates tension as to how to prioritise areas of ministry.

Furthermore, the findings clearly indicate that resources in terms of people, church buildings, and finance are not utilised fully. There is a recognition by the clergy that more people should be mobilised for the task of social transformation. Implicit in the overall response is a feeling that more should or could be done, but that they are not in a position to carry the task further. This is so for various reasons including; the limitation of time, lack of skills or finance, and unconscientised congregations, all of which hinder effective involvement in the community. The clergy seem to be indicating an important tension experienced in ministry. The bureaucratic institution places specific parochial demands on them, such as the need for effective administration

and financing. On the other hand, they have to deal with enormous needs of the people they are serving. Their limited skills, resources and time result in this tension, which in itself highlights the trends that emerge in this phase of the research process.

The above trends are explored in greater depth in PHASE II of the Parish Assessment, which concludes with critical comment.

CHAPTER FIVE:

PARISH ASSESSMENT - PHASE II - PERCEPTIONS OF THE LAITY

5.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

An interview guideline was constructed by the researcher following the broad framework of the questionnaire sent to the clergy, and influenced by their response (Appendix D). Questions aimed not only to ascertain facts, but also to elicit attitudinal response. This was done in an attempt to understand why, given the potential for involvement in the development of communities, relatively little was being initiated in the parishes.

The diocese was categorised into rural, peri-urban, and urban areas as in PHASE I. From each of these areas, four parishes were sampled resulting in a total of 12 parishes in which interviews were conducted.

In sampling parishes various factors were taken into consideration, based on information obtained from the questionnaires. Hence parishes that had not completed a questionnaire in PHASE I were not included in the sampling procedure.

Key factors included:

- geographic location;
- extent of resources in parish;
- whether or not these resources were being utilised;
- potential for development work to take place;
- link relationship between parish and chapelry.

In the selection process, the researcher attempted as far as possible to ensure that all the above factors were included and that the final sample represented the diocese in microcosm.

TABLE 12: Parishes visited

RURAL	PERI-URBAN	URBAN
CALEDON	STELLENBOSCH	NYANGA
Tesslersdal	Cloetesville	
Papiesvlei	Vlottenburg	
Stanford		
Gansbaai	MBEKWENI	CONSTANTIA
Middelton	Mfuleni	
Greyton	Kayamandi	
SALDANHA	SOMERSET WEST	LAVISTOWN
Diazville	Sir Lowry's Pass	
PORT NOLLOTH	ATLANTIS	DURBANVILLE
Kleinsee		The Valley
Hondeklipbaai		Klipheuwel
SPRINGBOK		
Steinkopf		
Kommagas		

The number of people interviewed in each parish had to be limited, and therefore certain groups were targeted.

Three category groups were included:

GROUP A: The Parish Council as the leadership group of the parish.

GROUP B: Groups which had been identified in Phase I as mainly carrying out the relief/development work of the parish. This included: the Mothers' Union (MU); the Anglican Women's Fellowship (AWF); the Social Action Group (SAG); Caring Groups. The exact composition depended on particular

parish situations. However, analysis of the sample shows that the MU constituted the largest proportion of this group.

GROUP C: Key people involved in both the parish and the community who were identified by the rector of the parish.

Rectors of the 12 parishes provided lists of names for Groups A and B. In each parish, five names from each group were randomly selected (10 people per parish). These 120 names provided the basis of the interviewee sample. An additional 10 people made up Group C. Eight were from the rural areas and two from the peri-urban area.

The sample size can thus be analyzed as follows:

TABLE 13: Sample size

NO. OF RESPONDENTS FROM PARISHES		
Rural	=	48
Peri-Urban	=	42
Urban	=	40
Total	=	130

Interviewing was conducted in English or Afrikaans depending on the preference of the interviewee. In the two Xhosa speaking parishes, Mbekweni and Nyanga, interviews were conducted through a translator. The researcher conducted the interviews personally, with the help of an assistant 73% of the time. Permission was gained from the interviewee to use a tape recorder during the interview. Only one respondent refused permission.

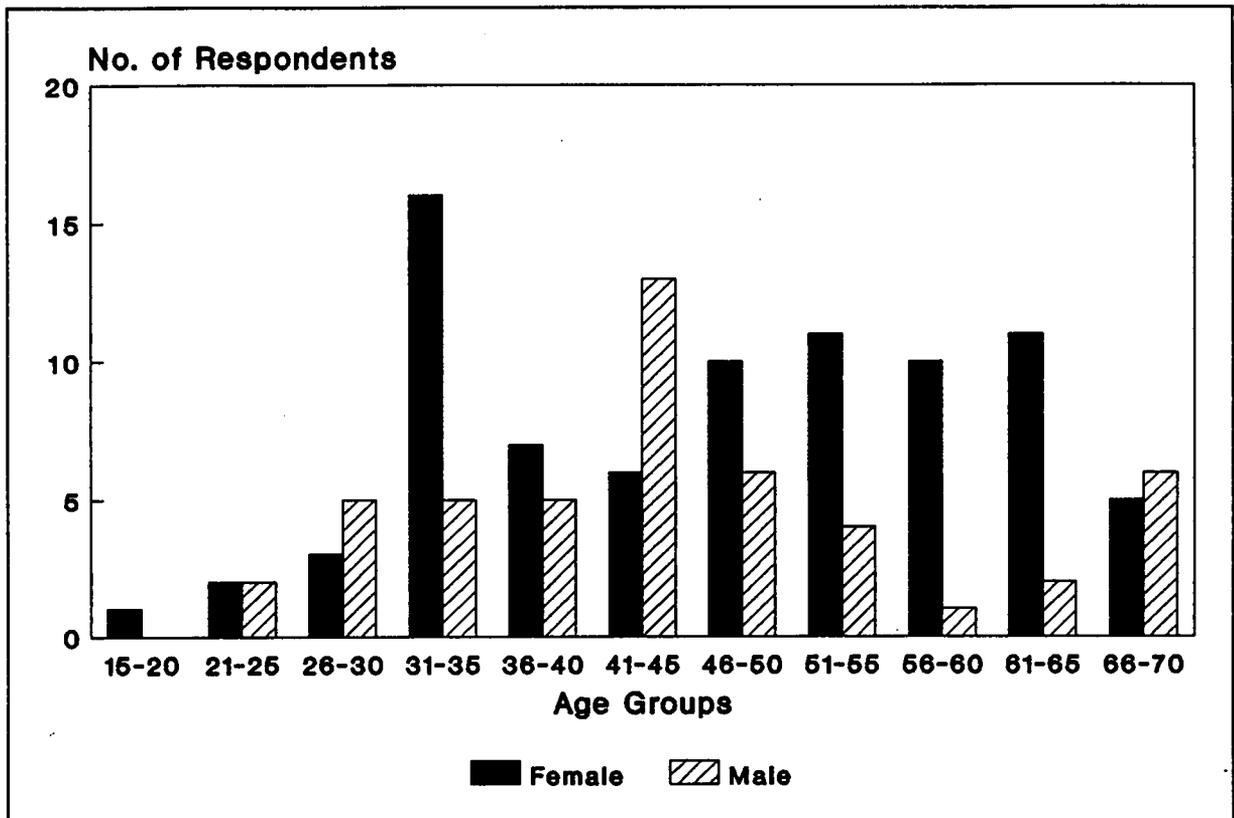
The researcher and assistant spent extended periods of time in the rural areas. This enabled them to participate in worship in the parishes, conduct interviews in the homes of the interviewees, and generally experience first hand the conditions under which people lived. The constraints of time made it difficult for this to take place in the peri-urban and urban parishes. These interviews were conducted largely over short, intermittent periods of time, and usually on church property rather than in homes. This did mean that, to a certain extent, exposure to these areas was more limited than to that of the rural area. The overall research process was not, however, hindered.

5.2 PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS

The sample of respondents comprised 81 females and 49 males.

The age of respondents was estimated by the researcher and assistant (if present) at the end of each interview, and is therefore approximate.

FIGURE 7: Age and sex distribution of respondents



The particular nature of the sample is illustrated in Fig. 7. One obvious observation is that participation by young people was very low, which indicates that the category groups that were targeted had little youth representation. In addition, the high female representation in the over 46 age range reflects the prominence of Mothers' Union groups, which comprised a large percentage of Group B. There is no obvious reason for the strong clustering of women in the 31 - 35 age group, and men in the 41 - 45 age group. These figures could reflect a bias in the researcher's estimation. It is very clear, however, that participation in parish life by women is greater than that of men.

The occupation of respondents was not ascertained formally through the interview. Rather, the researcher attempted to elicit this information informally at an appropriate time during the discussion. This method was not always successful. The table below lists the occupations in broad categories:

TABLE 14: Occupation distribution of respondents

OCCUPATION	TOTAL	%
professional	35	27%
semi-skilled worker	8	6%
unskilled worker	21	16%
housewife	25	19%
pensioner	11	8%
other	3	2%
unknown	10	7%
Respondents = 130		

From the above information it is evident that the professional category was the largest single category. A further analysis yielded the observation that, of the 35 respondents in this category, 22 were from Group A. This suggests that it is professional people that tend to serve on the Parish Council. The second highest rating was the housewife category, which reflects the large proportion of MU members that constituted Group B. In general terms the above table indicates that a broad spectrum of occupations (and by implication, education levels) were included in the study sample.

5.3 ANALYSIS OF THE RESPONSE

5.3.1 Social Problems

Table 15 indicates what respondents felt were the major social problems in their community:

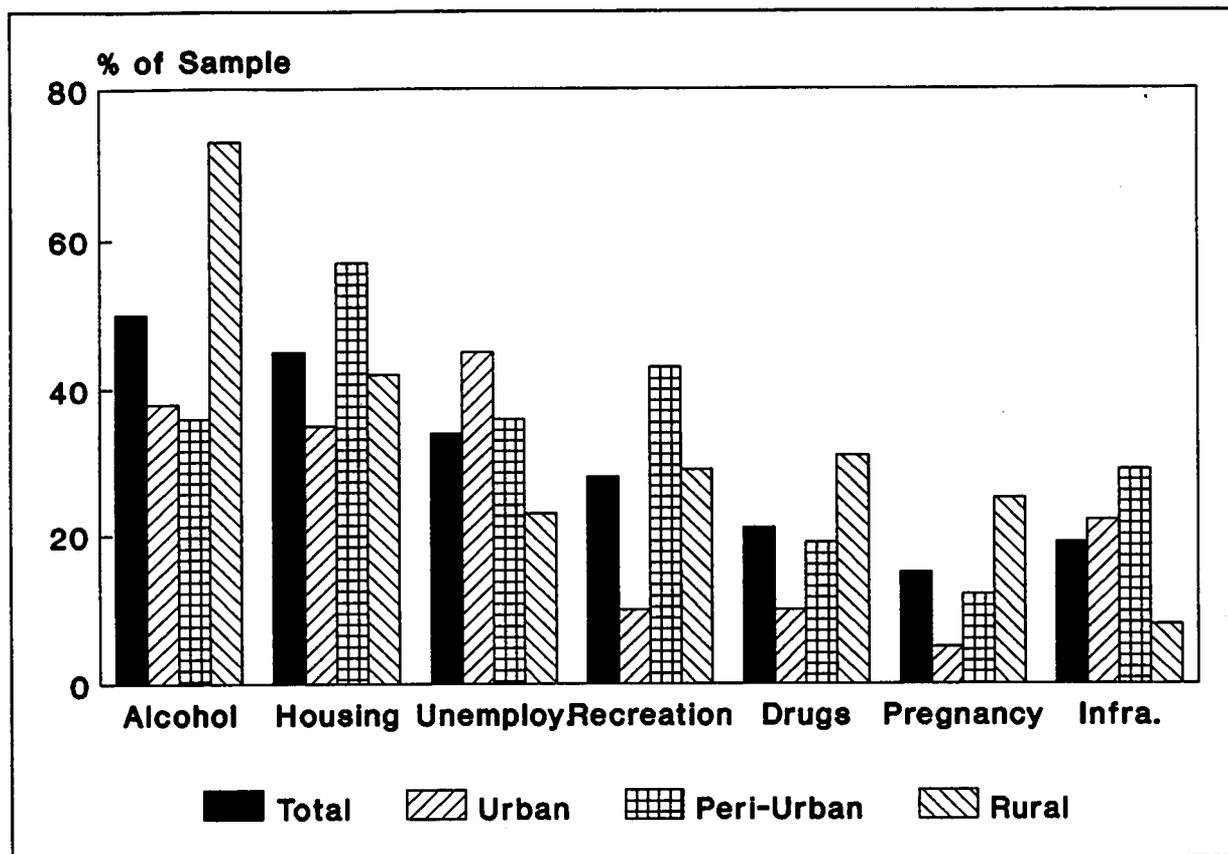
TABLE 15: Major social problems

	TOTAL	%	URBAN	%	P-U	%	RURAL	%
misuse of alcohol	65	50	15	38	15	36	35	73
housing	58	45	14	35	24	57	20	42
unemployment	44	34	18	45	15	36	11	23
lack of youth facilities	36	28	4	10	18	43	14	29
drug abuse	27	21	4	10	8	19	15	31
poor infrastructure	25	19	9	22	12	29	4	8
teenage pregnancy	19	15	2	5	5	12	12	25
children malnourished	18	14	4	10	5	12	9	19
poor education facilities	18	14	6	15	7	17	5	10
poverty/low living standard	17	13	5	13	4	10	8	17
exploitation of workers	17	13	9	23	4	10	4	8
high crime rate	12	9	2	5	4	10	6	13
sexual abuse women/children	11	8	4	10	4	10	3	8
gangsterism	10	8	9	23	1	2	0	0
poor health/medical service	10	8	4	10	2	5	4	8
marital problems	9	7	2	5	3	7	4	8
vagrancy	9	7	4	10	5	12	0	0
people not coming to church	8	6	1	3	1	2	6	31
lack of facilities for aged	8	6	2	5	2	5	4	8
high rent/electricity costs	8	6	2	5	6	14	0	0
inadequate transport	7	5	2	5	4	10	1	2
non-affluent area	5	4	5	13	0	0	0	0
gambling	4	3	0	0	1	2	3	6
living together-not married	4	3	1	3	1	2	2	4
no creche facilities	3	2	2	5	1	2	0	0
other	7	5	3	8	2	5	2	4

Alcohol abuse was once again rated as the greatest overall social problem. Fig. 8 below highlights the fact that it was seen to be significantly higher in the rural areas. When asked what was the major cause of this problem, 29% overall suggested that people drink in order to forget their problems. 9% identified the tot-system to be the cause. The researcher found this system still to be in operation, even though it is illegal.

The second major problem was seen to be housing, experienced most severely in the peri-urban area. Unemployment, listed third, was the most severely felt problem in the urban area.

FIGURE 8: Major social problems



Five out of the first 10 major social problems were related to young people. These included (in order of priority): lack of recreational facilities; drug abuse; teenage pregnancy; malnourishment; and poor education facilities. Categorized together, these problems were identified by 90% of the respondents. Further, alcoholism and unemployment were also mentioned (although not solely) in reference to the youth.

In reply to the question regarding the causes of these problems, respondents clearly identified structural issues. They pointed to the fact that the Council (or equivalent local authority) was not providing services (31% of the respondents), and secondly, they pointed to the existence of the apartheid system (27% of the respondents).

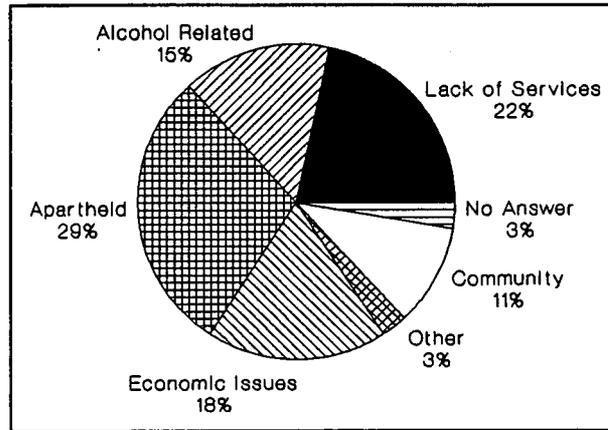
The response to what was seen as the causes of social problems is listed in Table 16.

TABLE 16: Causes of social problems

	TOTAL	%	URBAN	%	P-U	%	RURAL	%
council not providing services	31	24	8	20	10	24	13	27
drink to forget problems	29	22	7	1	87	17	15	31
apartheid system	27	21	10	25	14	33	3	6
low income	24	18	6	15	6	14	12	25
limited work opportunities	24	18	7	18	4	10	13	27
no facilities for youth	19	15	2	5	2	5	15	31
workers being exploited	13	10	2	5	5	12	6	13
rapid migration into area	11	8	6	15	3	7	2	4
unemployment	10	8	5	13	0	0	5	10
tot-system	9	7	4	10	2	5	3	6
lack of education/ignorance	8	6	5	13	3	7	0	0
Group Areas Act	7	5	2	5	4	10	1	2
inadequate parenting	6	5	1	3	0	0	5	10
sanctions	5	4	4	10	1	2	0	0
boredom, nothing to do	5	4	1	3	3	7	1	2
decentralized area not adequately linked to city	4	3	0	0	4	10	0	0
community not organising	4	3	2	5	1	2	1	2
wealth of area not ploughed back into community	3	2	0	0	0	0	3	6
no birth control education	3	2	2	5	1	2	0	0
spiritual problem/ "die besoek van die duiwel"	3	2	1	3	0	0	2	4
poor housing conditions	3	2	2	5	0	0	1	2
other	6	5	3	8	2	5	1	2
no answer	6	5	3	8	1	2	2	4

Fig. 9 below categorises the response and further highlights the fact that the causes were seen to be largely structural; the apartheid system was noted as the major factor, followed by the related issue of the lack of provision of basic services by local authorities. Economic issues such as unemployment, limited work opportunities, rapid migration into an area, and sanctions were also seen to be important. In addition, there was a recognition that, to a certain extent, the community itself was responsible for the problems (cited by 20% of the respondents).

FIGURE 9: Causes of social problems



Finally, it must be noted from the response that social problems and their causes were not always seen as two distinct entities. This is illustrated by the fact that certain issues such as the lack of facilities for youth, unemployment, and exploitation of workers were mentioned in both sections.

5.3.2 Attitude to Church Involvement in Social Need

Respondents were asked whether they felt their church was sufficiently involved in the social problems they had identified.

The following table represents the response:

TABLE 17: Sufficiency of church involvement in social problems

	TOTAL	%
yes	50	38%
no	75	58%
trying, not very successfully	4	3%
church should not get involved	1	1%
Respondents = 130		

This indicates that 38% of the respondents felt involvement was sufficient, against 58% who were dissatisfied with the level of involvement. This suggests overall dissatisfaction with the extent of involvement by the church in social problems of the community.

Further analysis revealed that more respondents from Group B (56%) were satisfied with the level of involvement than from Group A (38%). A possible reason for this was that it was respondents from Group B who were themselves carrying out the work in the community.

Reasons given by those who answered 'Yes' to the sufficiency of church involvement are illustrated in Table 18.

TABLE 18: Reasons why the church was sufficiently involved

	TOTAL	%
priest involved	17	34%
involved generally with problems	9	18%
SAG group involved	6	12%
spiritual help given	5	10%
food basket at back of church	5	10%
attempt to educate/motivate	3	6%
church council does house-visiting	3	6%
members are politically active	2	4%
organise programmes for youth	2	4%
involved in communities nearby	1	2%
"hulle bid vir die mense"	1	2%
have person who works for Council	1	2%
give generously financially	1	2%
I am involved with organisation	1	2%
no answer	5	10%
Respondents = 130		

The strongest reason given for satisfaction with the level of involvement was because the priest was seen to be involved. From impressions gained by the researcher, this did not necessarily have direct bearing on the actual extent of involvement of the church in community projects. Rather, it appeared to be related to the extent to which the respondent felt that the priest was concerned with his/her particular personal problems. The majority of these respondents were from Group B which largely consisted of MU members who tended to be in the older age range. This trend could thus suggest either the degree of satisfaction or a pastoral need of this group.

Reasons given by those who answered 'No' to the sufficiency of church involvement is illustrated in Table 19.

TABLE 19: Reasons why church was not sufficiently involved in social problems

	TOTAL	%
church cut off from community	14	19%
very small group actively involved	12	16%
people too proud to get involved	10	13%
not involved in solving problems	8	11%
not enough house-visiting done	7	9%
many problems/much development needed	6	8%
youth programmes inadequate	6	8%
only discussion on council level	6	8%
priest not involved enough	4	5%
I am the only person involved	3	3%
shortage of money	2	3%
people not steadfast in the faith	2	3%
people are themselves struggling	2	3%
no involvement in church organisations	2	3%
very small congregation	1	1%
only MU reaches out	1	1%
farms too far apart	1	1%
priest has large parish	1	1%
no organisation like Diakonale Dienste	1	1%
only pray - not actively involved	1	1%
no answer	2	3%
Respondents = 130		

This table indicates that no one particular reason stands out sharply above the rest. The major dissatisfaction lay with the fact that the church was seen to be cut off from the community. Secondly, dissatisfaction was expressed about the fact that, where involvement did exist, it was carried out by only a small core of people. Thirdly, a personal reason was cited as a factor, namely that people were embarrassed or proud, because of their own disadvantaged circumstances. It must be noted that the role of the priest was again significant. References to insufficient house-visiting, his lack of involvement, and the large size of the parish, made up 16% of the response.

When asked whose responsibility it was in the church to get involved in projects to assist the community, the following response was elicited:

TABLE 20: Responsibility for community projects

	TOTAL	%
whole congregation	47	36%
church council	47	36%
MU	27	21%
priest	10	8%
youth group	7	5%
CMS/Bernard Mizeki	4	3%
AWF	4	3%
SAG	3	2%
caring group	2	2%
sunday school	1	1%
no answer	7	5%

There was an equal responsibility placed upon the congregations as a whole and upon the Church Council. Further analysis suggested that half of each of Groups A and B felt that the whole congregation was responsible for initiating projects. Roughly the other half of each group placed the onus on the particular group of which they were a part. The major overall reason given why the whole congregation should be involved, was simply that it was each person's responsibility. It was also acknowledged that this would strengthen any effort. The major overall reason for naming the Church Council, was the acknowledgement that the congregation looked to the Church Council for leadership. Other reasons given included:

- the Church Council needs to get out and get to know community needs;
- the Church Council can help to bring members of the congregation closer together;
- the Church Council is the representative body of the parish.

The rural area placed proportionately greater emphasis on the Church Councils' responsibility. This suggests that in this area, the church hierarchy is looked to for leadership, whereas in the more urbanised areas, initiating involvement in the community is seen to be more of a shared responsibility.

The high figure for the MU in relation to other groups probably reflects the sample bias of Group B. When asked why this group was responsible, the strongest response was that "as mothers of the community we understand the problems". Other reasons included:

- community involvement is an aim of the MU/AWF;
- MU is respected by the congregation;

- MU needs to become more involved in the community and not just a "koppie tee en biduur groep".

Those who felt it was the priest's responsibility to initiate community involvement were divided equally between Group A and Group B. In light of the above comments on perceptions of the priest's role, the low rating here needs to be noted. This could be because leadership of the church was seen to lie with the Church Council, which in many cases assumed the priest's involvement in this body. Those who specifically mentioned the priest as being responsible, suggested that he needed to take the lead in order for the congregation to follow. One respondent felt that this was because "he was more enlightened than us". Another expressed the need to feel that "he stands with us in our problems". Those who specifically mentioned the youth group, felt that young people have the vibrancy needed as well as the fact that they are the leaders of the future. Other groups were named because it was felt that they had a specific mandate and it therefore was their responsibility.

When asked if they would like to see more involvement from members of the congregation in community projects, 92% replied affirmatively. Motivations given for this positive reply are listed in Table 21.

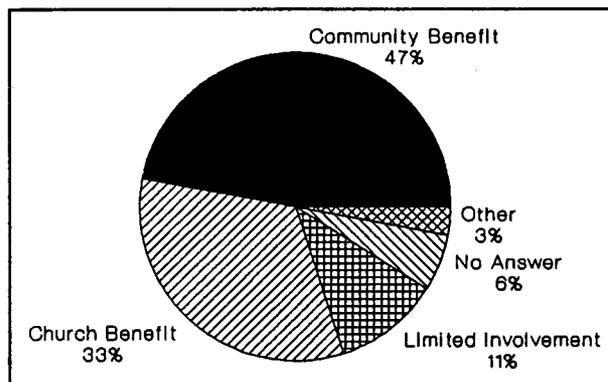
TABLE 21: Reasons why the church should get involved in community projects

	TOTAL	%
will draw members of congregation closer together	26	20%
more people that get involved, the greater the encouragement to others	23	18%
christian responsibility to get involved	14	11%
will draw members of community into church	13	10%
specific programmes should be carried out	11	8%
will spread the load	9	7%
will help educate others about situation	8	6%
there are people in the community who have skills not being used	7	5%
only small core that are active	5	4%
only Church Council presently involved	4	3%
as mothers of community, need to be involved	4	3%
social action ministry too separate from life of church	4	3%
as mense 'n geestelike ontmoeting met die Here het, sal dit hulle help	2	2%
need to get involved with ecumenical projects	1	1%
farmers will notice that people are trying to help themselves	1	1%
"mense sê hulle word te min besoek"	1	1%
no answer	7	6%

The respondents seem to be suggesting that involvement from more members of the congregation is necessary for four broad reasons:

- it would be of benefit to the community;
- it would be of benefit to the church;
- it is the Gospel mandate;
- involvement is presently limited to a few.

FIGURE 10: Reasons for more involvement from church members



Motivation for more involvement was seen to be important largely because it would be of benefit to the community. However, the fact that a third of the respondents were motivated ultimately because it would be of benefit to the church needs to be noted. The implication that seemed to lie behind this response was the spiritual significance for the individual and the community. These respondents were thus making a distinction between the 'spiritual' and 'social action' role of the church. This dichotomy was perhaps not as sharp for those whose primary motivation was community interest.

At this point it is interesting to note that 38% of the respondents initially stated that their church was sufficiently involved. However, 92% felt more involvement of members was necessary. This suggests an apparent discrepancy. A possible explanation lies in the fact that the figure of 33% of respondents that felt involvement would benefit the church, is very close to the initial figure of 38%. Tentatively stated, this could indicate an estimated proportion of respondents that felt comfortable with involvement by the church in community issues, against those who did not.

The respondents were further asked why they felt church members did not get involved in projects in the community. Their responses were disparate and clearly reflect the diversity of the sample.

TABLE 22: Reasons why people do not get involved

	TOTAL	%
proud to get involved in each other's problems	22	17%
have many problems of our own to cope with	15	12%
complacent if problem does not touch them	13	10%
their spiritual life is not strong	12	9%
ignorant about reality of situation	12	9%
need encouragement to give of themselves	12	9%
people feel threatened/guilty	9	7%
need help from people with specialised skills	9	7%
wait for leaders/church council to do the work	8	6%
people discouraged about situation	8	6%
time factor	7	5%
I do not know what the problem is	6	5%
class consciousness within church	6	5%
church leadership not giving encouragement	4	3%
there is no unity in the church	4	3%
fear financial implications	4	3%
people lack self-confidence	4	3%
fear police harassment	3	2%
upset with political involvement of Archbishop	3	2%
live far apart from each other - no transport	3	2%
dissension between groups as to strategy	3	2%
bad past experiences when trying to help	3	2%
people work long hours	2	2%
removed from church through Group Area Act	2	2%
never got together to discuss problems	1	1%
afraid of retaliation by gangs	1	1%
get new priests constantly	1	1%
no answer	7	5%

The first two responses listed in Table 21 reflect the concerns of more disadvantaged communities. The implication is that their social situation is such that there is only enough energy to be concerned with personal problems and the daily tasks of life.

This concern is further expressed in responses such as:

- people are discouraged by the situation;
- fear of financial implications;

- live far apart from each other without transport;
- people work long hours.

On the other hand, there is a grouping of responses which suggests reasons related to more affluent communities, such as:

- people are ignorant about the reality of the situation;
- people feel threatened and guilty.

There is a further complication in church situations where members are drawn together from different economic and social class, illustrated by responses such as:

- people are complacent if problem does not touch them;
- class consciousness exists within the church;
- there is no unity in the church;
- there is dissension between groups as to strategy.

It seems from the following responses that a lack of leadership is also seen to be a factor in the lack of involvement in community issues:

- need encouragement to give of themselves;
- need help from people with specialised skills;
- wait for church leadership to do the work;
- church leadership not giving leadership;
- people lack self-confidence;
- never got together to discuss problems.

In conclusion, it is clear that the issue of attitude to church involvement in social need is a complex one. A general positive trend towards involvement does exist. To a lesser extent, a trend also exists that suggests involvement is acceptable provided it is allied to spiritual growth.

5.3.3 Parish Based Community Projects

By means of the interview process, the researcher attempted to gain a broad understanding of what community projects had been initiated in the parishes she visited. Given the extent and enormity of the social problems that were evident in the communities, the overall picture was not an encouraging one.

Of the 12 parishes visited, seven showed virtually no evidence of organised community projects. These seven parishes were spread throughout the urban, peri-urban, and rural areas. In some of these instances, groceries were collected at the back of the church at the Sunday worship service. Food parcels were then made up to be distributed by the priest or women's group of the parish. This was the only evidence of response to social need.

Three of the other five parishes were situated in the urban area, one in the peri-urban, and one in the rural area. Three of these focused their major efforts on issues facing squatter communities in the parish or nearby. This mostly involved pure relief work in terms of providing soup and clothing. In one instance, attempts were being made to get involved in land and housing issues facing these communities. This parish was also involved in a local township. This involvement included being part of a negotiation process to enable families of migrant workers to remain in the township, as well as helping to set up school facilities. Similar work was being carried out by a fourth parish. This parish has an attached chapelry situated in a farming area and was therefore attempting to respond to needs of farm workers. The parish in the rural area demonstrated the most exciting community organisation. A viable pre-school was functioning in the church hall, organised by members of the church. Undoubtedly, assistance was needed in order for the project to develop and grow, but it was clear that the initiative had been community based from the outset and continued to function as such. This was one of the few examples of such organisation witnessed by the researcher. There appeared to be much further potential for the growth of community initiatives in this parish, if given support and encouragement.

All of the above work seemed to be carried out by the group of people that had been mandated to do the task in that particular parish, for example the social action or caring group or MU/AWF. The 'specialist' groups tended to function in the more affluent parishes where women were not in secular employment and therefore had the time and energy to get involved. The nature of the work they undertook thus appeared to be more ambitious than that attempted by the traditional church women's groups.

Usually, fewer than 10 people made up a core group that had initiated the project. This small group of people often showed a great deal of commitment and seemed to carry sole responsibility. There was not much evidence that more parishioners were drawn into the projects over time. Most of the projects had been started in the five years prior to the research process, and thus their sustainability is still to be tested.

There was evidence that parishes find it difficult to sustain community initiatives. Various projects had been attempted in a number of the 12 parishes over the previous 10 years. These included child-care facilities, a vagrancy shelter, an employment bureau, a gardening project, and soup kitchens. When probing for a reason as to why they no longer functioned, it was discovered that in most cases it was because only a small group had always been involved. In time, the initiators of the projects found the load too heavy to carry without support, and could no longer sustain the initiative.

Findings further indicated that very little was on the agenda of the Church Council or other church organisations with regard to future planning of initiatives. Where there was evidence of such initiatives, it was in parishes where projects were already operating. The only exception was one parish that was in the process of initiating its first major project, namely the setting up of a community garden on church property.

In conclusion, the evidence points to a dearth of sustainable community projects operating in the parishes of the diocese. This in no way underestimates the potential for this to happen, or the desire to see these types of initiatives growing. Rather, it clearly suggests that parish structures in themselves largely appear to be unable to initiate, execute, and sustain initiatives without additional external support.

5.3.4 Use of Church Buildings

Within the 12 parishes, the researcher visited a total of 30 local congregations (parish churches and chapelries). Of these, three chapelries in the rural areas did not have church buildings. These were Gansbaai, Caledon, Diazville, Saldanha, and Kommagas and Springbok. It became clear to the researcher that this was seen by these respondents to be the major stumbling block to involvement in the community, because efforts first needed to be spent in developing a congregational life, which included constructing a building.

Of the remaining 27 buildings, an estimated 16 were being used by the community outside the church, and 11 were not. This is roughly a 60%:40% ratio. It must be noted, however, that geographically there was a vast discrepancy. Only 33% of buildings in the rural area were being used, in comparison with 67% of the peri-urban buildings, and 83% of the buildings in the urban

area. These are disturbing figures, considering that it is in the rural areas that church buildings are very often the only place for the community to gather.

Table 23 indicates the extent to which respondents were aware of their church buildings being used. These figures are roughly proportionate to the above estimates.

TABLE 23: Use of church buildings

	TOTAL	%	URBAN	%	P-U	%	RURAL	%
yes	67	52	31	79	22	52	14	29
no	50	38	7	18	17	40	26	54
no buildings	8	6	0	0	0	0	8	17
I do not know	5	4	3	0	2	5	0	0
Respondents = 130								

The respondents indicated a number of ways in which the buildings were being used, as listed in Table 24.

TABLE 24: Ways in which church buildings are being used

	TOTAL	%	URBAN	%	P-U	%	RURAL	%
social events	41	32	23	58	5	12	13	27
meetings	20	15	7	18	10	24	3	6
other denominations	14	11	7	18	7	17	0	0
pre-school	11	8	6	3	7	17	3	6
karate club	6	5	2	5	4	10	0	0
centre for handicapped	5	4	5	13	0	0	0	0
sewing group	5	4	5	13	0	0	0	0
school	4	3	3	8	0	0	1	2
library	4	3	0	0	4	10	0	0
scouts	2	2	2	5	0	0	0	0
soup kitchen	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	4
Mission to Seamen	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
tourists camp	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
literacy classes	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
youth music project	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0

Information in this table does not represent exact percentage figures of the various activities that take place, as several respondents in one congregation will be referring to the same activity. However, it does indicate the general trend of the type and extent of activities conducted on church property. The most significant fact that needs to be noted is that buildings are largely being used for social events and community meetings. In the rural areas, social events are almost the only activities taking place. It is also clear that the more sophisticated the activity in terms of community development, the less likely it's occurrence on church property.

Further, respondents were asked how they felt about church property being used by the community. Tabulated below is their response:

TABLE 25: Attitude to church buildings

	TOTAL	%	URBAN	%	P-U	%	RURAL	%
yes	71	60	30	75	24	59	17	38
no	38	32	6	15	16	39	16	36
yes, no dances	9	8	5	13	0	0	4	9
no answer	4	3	0	0	1	2	3	7
Respondents = 122								

This response was fairly consistent with the actual extent of use of the buildings. Only the rural figure showed some variation, where there was a desire for the buildings to be used more.

Some reasons given for why they were not being used more in this area, included the following:

- differing ideas on Church Council as to how they should be used;
- leadership and organisation was needed;
- the building was too small or in a bad condition;
- people lived far from the church as a result of the Group Areas Act.

The strongest overall reason given why buildings should be used by the community, was the fact that the church should be providing a service to the community. This reason was cited by 45% of the urban respondents but by none of the rural respondents. In the rural area, the strongest motivation was that it would bring people together for recreational purposes, cited by 33% of these respondents. This reason was cited by only 13% of the urban respondents. This clearly points to the particular need for recreational facilities in the rural area.

TABLE 26: Reasons why the building should be used by the community

	TOTAL	%
church should provide service to community	34	43%
it brings people together for recreation	22	28%
church seen to be involved in community	9	11%
draws people into church	8	10%
provides income for the church	5	6%
built with money from the community	2	3%
building deteriorates if not in use	1	1%
no answer	9	11%

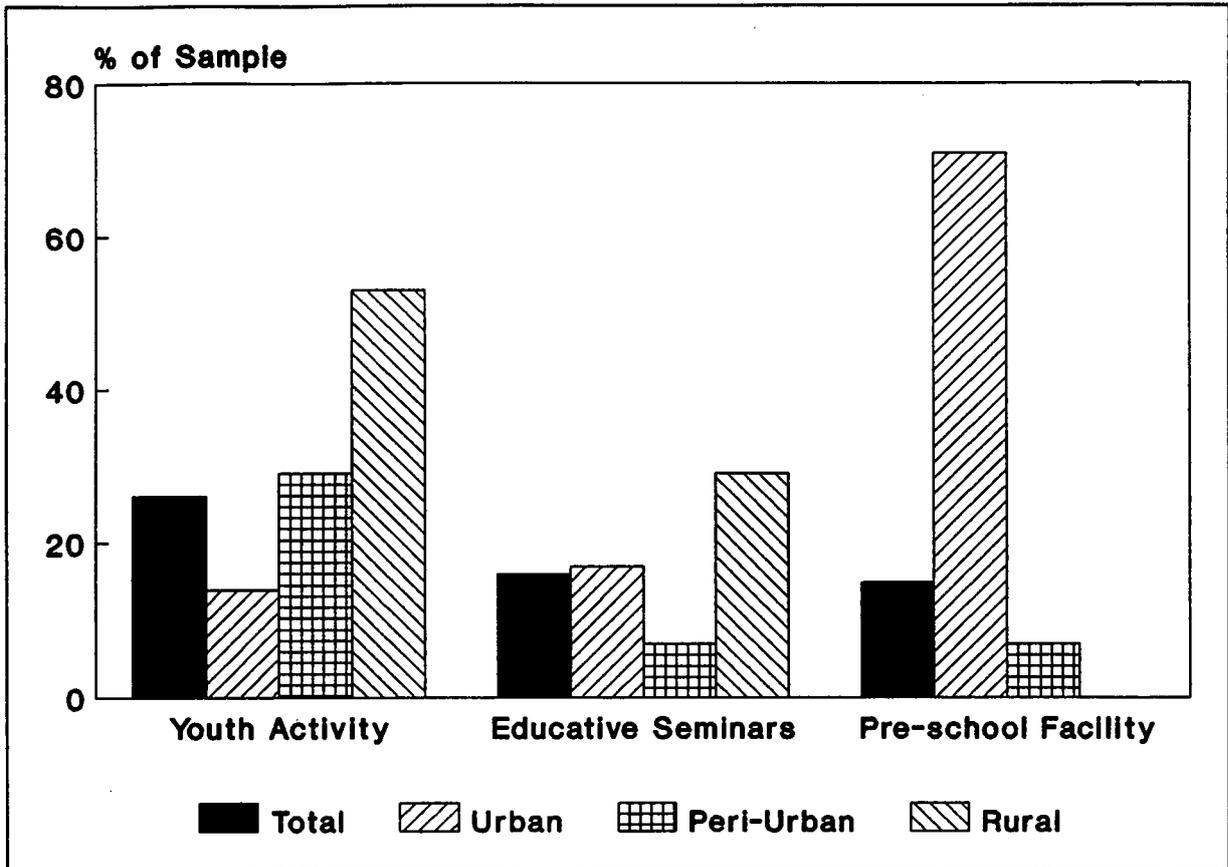
TABLE 27: Reasons why the building should not be used by the community

	TOTAL	%
results in damage which costs the church	16	42%
other facilities for these activities	8	21%
"die kerk is 'n heilige plek"	6	16%
need a hall for these activities	5	11%
built with church money	4	11%
leased to DET - not allowed	1	3%
no answer	3	8%

The fact that the building would get damaged, was most keenly felt by peri-urban (20%) and rural (15%) respondents. It was a consideration for only 5% of urban respondents. This response seemed to be related to the struggle these communities experienced in keeping the parish financially viable. In the urban area, the largest proportion of respondents cited the fact that other facilities were available. Again, the availability of other facilities in the community was a major factor in the response given.

Respondents who had expressed a positive response to the use of church buildings were then asked what activities they would like to see the building being used for. Overall, three major initiatives were named: activities for the youth; educative seminars; and pre-school facilities.

FIGURE 11: Priority initiatives represented geographically



The distinct difference of emphasis in the different geographic areas is illustrated in Fig. 11. Concern for the youth in the peri-urban and particularly the rural areas is once again highlighted in this response. Pre-school facilities were cited overwhelmingly in the urban area. This probably reflects the particular urban need for child-care facilities where more women would be in secular employment.

When asked if the community should pay to use the building, 85% of these respondents said they should pay to cover maintenance costs. This response was qualified in 11% of the cases, where it was felt that 'needy causes' should only have to make a donation.

In conclusion, there is no doubt that church property is a strategic asset in assisting with the development of communities. The fact that relative to the need, so little is happening on church property probably largely reflects the lack of community organisation, initiative and leadership in the parishes, rather than an unwillingness for this to occur. It further strengthens the argument that the parish structure in itself is unable to carry viable community development initiatives.

5.3.5 Financing Community Projects

Financing community initiatives is obviously a crucial factor when assessing involvement in community need by the parishes.

Respondents were asked how they felt about using parish funds for this purpose. The following is their tabulated response:

TABLE 28: Use of parish funds for community need

	TOTAL	%
yes	57	44%
no	29	22%
there is no money in funds	27	21%
yes, if funds are available	15	12%
no answer	2	2%
Respondents = 130		

These figures tend to suggest that in principle, there is a greater willingness for this to occur, than an unwillingness. The major reasons cited by those who answered affirmatively were related: firstly, it is the church's responsibility to provide for the needy (53%); and secondly, the church must not only preach a 'spiritual gospel', but must also meet the needs of the community (21%). Both imply that this responsibility is a gospel imperative. However, there was a note of considerable reservation in the response in light of the financial situations of the majority of parishes. 12% qualified their affirmative response, and 21% found it impossible to answer the question because "there is no money in parish funds". Further, of the 22% who felt parish funds should not be used, 55% cited the reason that there was too little money in the fund, which was needed for the running costs of the parish. Of the remaining respondents who felt negatively, 41% said a separate fund needed to be established, with 31% feeling that funds should be for congregational use only.

Broadly stated, in principle only one third of the respondents objected to the use of parish funds for community need. However, for the majority of parishes the reality of financial constraints make this type of involvement difficult.

Alternative methods of funding community initiatives were relatively unknown. When asked, 69% suggested small, local fund raising efforts, 21% said they did not know of an alternative, and only 16% could identify the possibility of getting assistance from outside organisations or businesses.

When asked how they felt about the use of state funding for church projects in the community, the majority response favoured the suggestion.

TABLE 29: Use of state funds by the church

	TOTAL	%
yes	96	74%
no	23	18%
only if no strings attached	8	6%
no answer	3	2%
Respondents = 130		

The figures in Table 29 indicate that there were no serious reservations about the use of state funding. Of the 74% who were in favour, 41% saw it as the state's responsibility to provide these services anyway, and 37% saw it as important to "grab the opportunity". There was thus little evidence of radical political awareness in this reasoning. The ideological implications of the use of state funding was present in less than a quarter of the response. For those respondents who were not in favour, this was clearly the major influencing factor. 74% said state funding hindered community efforts because of pre-conditions that always existed. A further 17% said it would cause division in the community.

5.3.6 Contact with Welfare/Community/Development Organisations

The researcher attempted to ascertain what formal organisations were operating in the areas visited, and the nature and extent of contact with the parishes.

Almost half of the respondents were aware of organisations operating in their community, 44% said there were none, and 17% did not know. The organisations named most frequently are listed in Table 30. An additional 22 organisations were cited, each by one respondent. About half of the respondents had some contact with the organisation they had named. In the case of 26% of the respondents, this actually involved using the service of the organisation. For the rest, it

appeared that the person was either the church link or serving the organisation in a formal capacity.

TABLE 30: Organisations involved in the community

	TOTAL	%
Diakonale Dienste	17	26%
Child Welfare Society	12	18%
West Coast Council of Churches	8	12%
Black Sash	7	11%
Red Cross	6	9%
Citizens Housing League	5	8%
Peninsula School Feeding Scheme	4	6%
Local Residents Association	3	5%
St Johns Ambulance	3	5%
Haven Night Shelter	3	5%

It also became clear to the researcher that:

- in a good number of communities throughout the diocese, no welfare, community, or development organisations were operating at all;
- contact with organisations was not strong;
- welfare orientated organisations were more generally known;
- one person usually maintained contact with organisations for the parish.

5.5.7 The Church and the Changing Context

The final question of the interview attempted to assess how respondents saw the role of the church in the changing political and economic situation in the country. The respondents were asked whether they felt their church needed to change in any way to meet the pressures and challenges that accompanied change in society. They responded in the following way:

TABLE 31: Need for change in the church

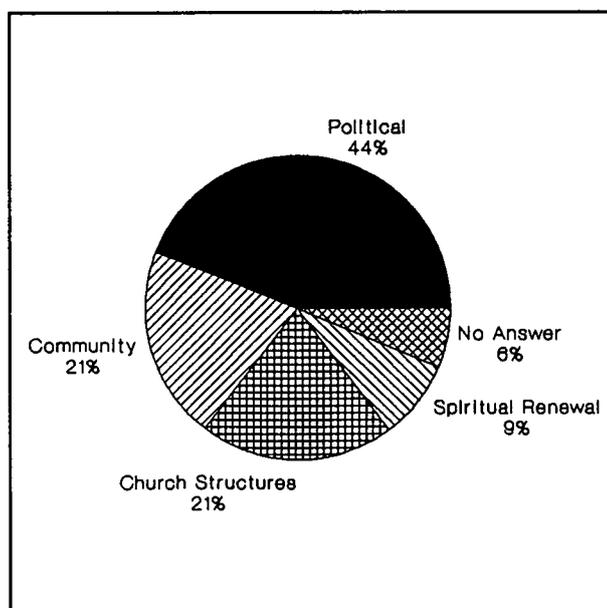
	TOTAL	%	URBAN	%	P-U	%	RURAL	%
yes	66	51	19	48	23	55	24	50
no	56	43	17	43	17	40	22	46
no answer	8	6	5	13	1	2	2	3
Respondents = 130								

In broad terms, respondents were divided almost equally on the issue. This was true not just overall, but also within each geographic region. Those who felt their church should change suggested four broad categories of change that needed to take place:

- become more politically involved;
- become more involved in the community;
- church structures need to change;
- spiritual renewal needs to occur.

The first two categories were directly related to the changing context, while the second two were related to internal change within the church. In peri-urban and rural areas, more political involvement was seen to be the most important change that needed to occur. The need for more involvement in the community was given priority by rural respondents.

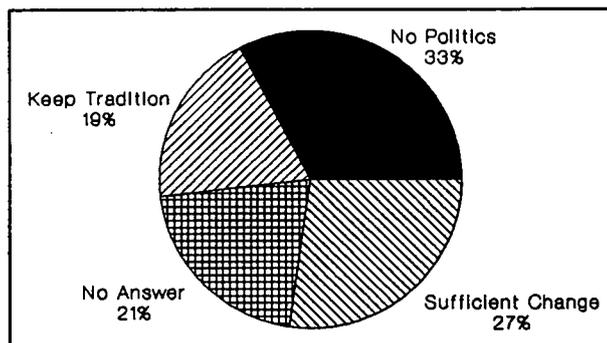
FIGURE 12: Type of change that needs to occur in the church



Those who felt the church should not change in any way suggested three broad reasons:

- the church must not get involved in politics;
- sufficient change has already occurred;
- the church must hold on to its tradition.

FIGURE 13: Reasons why the church should not change



The diametrically opposed opinion between some respondents of the two groups is obvious. The respondents who suggested that sufficient change had already occurred, were also largely implying that the church had got too involved politically. In some cases they might have been referring to internal structural change that had occurred in their church.

It is important to note that 23% of respondents could not motivate their answer. Further, many of the older respondents found the broad issue of change in the church difficult, and therefore were responding on an emotional level. Thus, this question elicited a response that concerned issues far wider than the role of the church in the changing context and therefore to a certain extent confused the original intention. Nonetheless, it does reflect the diversity of opinion in the diocese as to the role of the church in the current political situation.

5.4 SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

This second phase of the parish assessment confirms and builds on many of the trends that emerged in Phase I of the research process.

Once again the magnitude of social problems is apparent in many of the communities in which the parishes are situated. Alcoholism is again seen to be the overriding problem throughout all communities. However, on further investigation, it is clear that the greatest concern expressed

by respondents is for the youth and the problems they face. This was also implied in the clergy response, particularly in the rural and peri-urban areas where similar problems of teenage pregnancy, school drop-outs, and lack of creche facilities are highlighted.

In attempting to assess the attitude of respondents to church involvement in community issues, no major stumbling blocks to such involvement are found to be evident. Where there is caution, it was not opposition but rather a desire to see such involvement also allied to an emphasis on spiritual growth. With regard to resources, more respondents are positive than negative about church buildings being used by the community. There are also no major objections in principle to parish funds being used for community purposes, if such funds are available.

However, in spite of the enormity of obvious social need, and an apparent willingness and desire for involvement, this phase of the study revealed that in fact relatively few parish-based community projects are operating. Funding of such community initiatives in a long-term way is virtually impossible due to the dire financial situation of many of the parishes. The evidence is overwhelming, that given enormous social need and the current changing political and economic climate, parish structures in themselves are unable to initiate, implement and sustain meaningful initiatives that contribute to the social transformation of society. Furthermore, church property is largely being used by the community in ways that require little organisation from the parish structure itself. Where formal organisations are operating in the community, contact is usually through selected individuals.

The laity are thus expressing a similar contradiction to that implied by the clergy response, namely that there is a sharp contrast between what is verbalised in terms of the importance of involvement in community issues, and what is in fact happening on a practical level.

5.5 CONCLUSION

The church's engagement with society is a dynamic and complex process. This statement is illustrated through the findings recorded in these chapters. In this concluding section, it is important to draw the threads of the study together by means of evaluative comment on the research.

It was previously suggested that both the clergy and the laity are groupings that are fractured economically and racially, which adds to the complexity of their understanding of the church's role in social transformation. One of the weaknesses of the field research is that in neither phase of the process was this hypothesis specifically addressed. Some of the findings do allude to the economically fractured nature of the group of respondents. For example, the response of the laity to why more people are not involved in projects in the community clearly indicates the dichotomous response. Respondents from disadvantaged communities indicated that there is little energy except for personal survival and the daily tasks of life. On the other hand, respondents from affluent communities indicated responses that were allied to their insular existence. Furthermore, attitudes to use of resources were directly related to the economic and political status of communities. Church buildings were least used in areas where maintenance was financially impossible or where the building was far from the community as a result of the Group Areas Act. Ironically, because of the bureaucratic nature of the church, it is costly to maintain a traditional parish set-up and therefore only affluent communities are in a position to finance community projects.

A further weakness was the fact that the research never attempted to elicit definitions of the terms "relief"/"welfare"/"development" work. Had this been the case, it might have revealed the respondents' understanding of social transformation and hence of the church's role. This omission meant that ideological allegiances were not explored. While dualism between what is "spiritual" and what is "community" (sacred versus secular) is hinted at in one or two sections of response, it is not specifically teased out. This is unfortunate. The nature of insights into social analysis is thus not assessed (except indirectly through the question on the acceptability of using state funding).

The findings do however suggest some important things about the structural nature of the church, which is bureaucratic, hierarchial and vests total authority over the laity in the parish priest. The majority of laity who are satisfied with the involvement of the church, attributed this to the role the priest is playing. Clearly there is a sector of the membership who abdicate their responsibility in favour of the priest doing their work. In that sense they too collude with the hierarchial structure which discourages joint participation and works against a democratic spirit. It is precisely this collusion that often forces the priest into a role that he/she finds unacceptable, which then in turn also becomes a collusion with the hierarchial structure.

Furthermore, conservatism is strong within the institutional church. Only half the respondents expressed an openness to change taking place despite the current political, economic and social upheaval which is creating enormous pressures on communities. Herein too lies a contradiction: precisely when a willingness to be open to new ways of responding to these pressures is essential, a sizeable proportion of people need the church to remain static. Because the institutional church symbolises the spiritual dimension of people's lives, it is here where they turn for security. Any form of change is therefore resisted.

By far the most obvious finding of the research is the fact that parish structures in themselves are largely unable to initiate, execute, and sustain initiatives without external support. Therefore, for effective social transformation to take place within the currently constituted diocese, an external supportive structure must be created to facilitate this task.

It is clear from observation and from the response as to why more people do not get involved in community issues, that for the majority of people living in deprived conditions, life becomes a daily struggle for personal survival. The church as it is currently structured does not become supportive to that task, but often adds to the financial burden of life. As a result, parishes continue the pattern of being reactive rather than proactive in their stance. This is illustrated by the fact that very little future planning concerning community action was found to be on Church Councils' agendas.

Additionally, only a small group of people with a high level of commitment actually get involved in the process. This group tends to act as the conscience of the parish, a fact which mirrors the history recorded in Chapter Three. Projects eventually collapse because the weight of responsibility rests on too few people.

The problem is further compounded by the lack of awareness and understanding of the social transformation process. Thus the process is often reduced to "feeding the needy", which is probably happening more effectively on an informal basis anyway.

The findings revealed that it was particularly rural communities that looked to church structures for support and leadership. While this could be interpreted as the conservatism of these communities, the issue is more complex than this. It is these communities that lack leadership

skills and therefore confidence to initiate projects. Their geographic isolation further compounds the problem.

Furthermore, the profile of respondents indicated that women are central to the social transformation process. As the findings reveal, it is the MU/AWF groups that in many instances initiate this process in the churches. However, these formal groupings of women do not carry the same authority as the parish council in either the parochial or diocesan scene. The church is generally structured in such a way as to exclude women from major decision-making bodies.

Finally, as the findings reveal, it is the young people who are the ones most effected by these deprived conditions. Their exclusion from the research process indicates their lack of representation in church structures that are attempting to deal with social transformation. Therefore, by implication, young people are not included in attempts to address the problems that affect them most.

Hence it is rural communities, women, and young people who are most needing support in engaging the social transformation process. Yet, it is precisely these groupings that are marginalised within church structures. This adds weight to the proposal that an external structure is needed to facilitate the empowerment of these groupings, which will ultimately lead to more effective social transformation.

In the next and final chapter, this proposal will be explored further as a means to providing a way forward for the church to become an effective agent in the social transformation of society.

CHAPTER SIX:

TOWARDS SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN THE FUTURE

6.1 SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN CONTEXT

South Africa is presently in a state of flux politically, socially, and economically. The process and the outcome of the transition of power from the minority to the majority of people in the country, will have significant bearing on the functioning of social change organisations. In this chapter, an attempt is made to propose a structural framework which will enable the CPSA to become a more meaningful player in the social transformation of the Western Cape. It must be acknowledged that this is not an easy task, given the present fluid state of the transition process. Thus, while it is necessary to develop clear guidelines for such a framework, they cannot be prescriptive.

Wilson & Ramphele (1989:309) assert that it is naive to assume that a democratically elected government will automatically embody the 'will of the people' and act for the good of all.

There is an urgent need for everybody, Marxists, liberals and conservatives, to engage in hard thinking and debate....about the realities of power, the potential for corruption, and the design of appropriate structures together with ongoing political processes, to ensure that programmes created to address the problems of poverty do, in fact, work in such a way as to empower and enrich the lives of the poor.

(Wilson & Ramphele 1989:309)

It is important to recognise that the nature of the state that comes into being in post-apartheid South Africa will deeply affect the priorities and objectives of organisations working for the social transformation of society. Whether the state will have the financial resources to meet the desperate need for basic services such as housing, water, electricity and health care, is questionable, given the relatively low per capita income and the deep recession in the country's economy. Undoubtedly, economic growth is vital to any macro strategy to combat poverty. Future economic scenarios are currently a source of great debate amongst economists, but are beyond the scope of this study. Suffice to say that, as Wilson & Ramphele (1989:355) argue, political liberation will not necessarily be accompanied by an immediate or significant improvement in the material conditions and the quality of life for the poor. It therefore becomes all the more urgent that social change organisations, utilise potential human and financial resources creatively.

6.2 SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION THAT LIBERATES

In Chapter One, social transformation is defined as a process whereby people are liberated from the domination of others by becoming active agents in the transformation of their situation.

In the past, development planning has tended to be conducted by experts from outside the community, who have technical or other specialist skills. It is now vital that those involved in setting up organisational structures adopt the roles of facilitator and mediator, and not the role of specialist or technocrat. The poor need to be freed from their ignorance by being empowered through education and skills training, to become active social change agents.

The research findings reveal the enormity of the social problems and their consequences. It is often rural communities that are disempowered and have no access to resources. They lack leadership skills and the confidence to initiate community action. Women, while active in dealing with the problems of their communities through the formal women's groups in the church, are nonetheless marginalised by being excluded from the decision-making structures. Young people are clearly not involved in seeking solutions to the problems that affect them most deeply. They too are not represented in key church structures.

The church is compelled at this juncture in South African history, to seek a way forward that enables skills, knowledge, and material resources to be redistributed to those who have problems accessing them. The church's own structures cry out to be renewed.

6.3 RENEWING STRUCTURES

In Chapter Two it is argued that the church can be likened to the state. It is deeply influenced by class interests and has a well established bureaucratic structure that is resistant to change. Given these facts, is it then possible for the church as an institution to be renewed? Villa-Vicencio has asked (1988:173),

Can the church break out of its history of moderation and compromise and become a source of qualitative change that favours the demands of the poor and the oppressed?

Underlying this question is the further question whether the church will always reflect the social base, or whether it is capable of transforming it? Villa-Vicencio (1988:173-190) argues that the dominant church is too entrapped to be able to do this. For religion to operate as a liberating

force, it cannot be located within the dominant society. Therefore the hope for renewal of both church and society lies with those poor and oppressed who are on the margins of such domination.

Indeed, it is the poor who must evangelize the church.

(Villa-Vicencio 1988:189)

Jesus' ministry is undoubtedly an example of identification with the poor and oppressed of society. Jesus marginalised himself in order to renew the religious structures. This remains in the 'residual memory' of the church. The history sketched in Chapter Three shows that there are always individuals or small groups of people acting as the 'conscience' of the church. By the 1980s, statements were openly being made concerning the need for the church 'to be on the side of the poor'. But the tide has not yet turned dramatically in this direction.

Thus, while the example of Jesus lingers within the institution, the institution itself is a powerful force; capturing the imagination of those it marginalises. Herein lies the weakness of Villa-Vicencio's (1988) analysis; the poor themselves are entrapped in the power of the institution, and do not necessarily seek to be freed from it.

The marginalised within the institution do not actively seek renewal of their own accord, because the cost is too high, and the change threatens their security. Furthermore, it is unlikely that the institutional church will be easily transformed from outside its ranks. Therefore, it becomes important to seek to establish structures that operate within the institution, with the specific aim of translating the residual memory of Jesus into reality.

The research findings of Chapters Four and Five clearly indicate that, in the main, parish structures cannot effectively initiate, implement or sustain viable community projects. There is substantial evidence indicating the necessity of an external structure to help facilitate and support such initiatives. It is evident that the marginalised constituencies of the diocese are the rural communities, women, and the youth. Hence the motivation behind the proposal to establishing a structure that will particularly empower these constituencies.

6.4 ETHOS OF THE ORGANISATION

The ethos of any new organisational model must clearly encompass values that reflect the example of Jesus.

Patel (1988:4-9) argues that the dominant South African welfare system could be referred to as a residual welfare system for blacks and a welfare state for whites. It has thus reinforced racial domination, resulting in increasing impoverishment of the black population. Therefore, progressive organisations working in the field of social change need to aim at

evolving an equitable political and economic system which would promote the well-being of the society as a whole.

(Patel 1988:9)

Thus firstly, the well-being of the society as a whole should be stressed. There is also a need to overcome the long-imposed view of culture that fragments society into cultural and language practices of a particular area (Wilson & Ramphele 1988:268). The diocese is geographically, linguistically and culturally, diverse. It will be necessary for the organisation to contribute to the integration of communities.

Secondly, there needs to be a strong emphasis on the worth of every human being. The apartheid system has de-humanized South African society. Each person, both black and white, needs to have her/his dignity, self-respect and self-reliance restored.

Thirdly, and allied to this second value, is the need for the organisation to have a democratic and participatory spirit. This is particularly necessary in the CPSA, where women, youth and rural communities have been marginalised. The leadership style of the organisation should not simply reflect the established bureaucracy, but should positively reaffirm these marginalised groupings in its structure.

Fourthly, the value which encompasses all of the above and is a theme throughout this study, is the empowerment of people. The organisation should operate in a way that enables people to initiate, implement and sustain projects through the pooling of their human resources, and so generate power where previously there was none (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:262).

6.5 ORGANISATIONAL MODELS

6.5.1 Introduction

In structuring an appropriate response to the research findings, two major approaches adopted by human service organisations can be considered: firstly, the social service or welfare approach; and secondly, the development approach.

The welfare or service agency approach is characterised by:

- a formal structure;
- the employment of professionals;
- a service usually delivered to a community from the outside.

The development approach:

- usually has a less formalised structure;
- allows people within the community to make decisions, set objectives and engage in future planning;
- stresses the sharing of community resources, with equal access to these resources.

Three alternative organisational models that could be implemented in the diocese are suggested:

1. The welfare agency model, offering traditional social work services of casework, group work and community work.
2. A localised geographic project, which could adopt a welfare and/or development approach.
3. A resource service model, which stresses a development approach but has a welfare component.

6.5.2 Welfare Agency Model

There are definite advantages to adopting this approach. It has a well defined structure with many agencies in the welfare field which could serve as examples, such as Child and Family Welfare, and Diakonale Dienste. Certain social needs in the diocese could be targeted and a service planned

around these particular problems. The fact that an agency employs professionals makes it possible for clear, definable goals to be set with regard to personnel. Funding is relatively easy to secure because of the availability of state funding for such agencies. Private funding, too, is more readily available for welfare orientated services.

Having said this, however, certain reservations need to be noted. The relevancy of this approach, given the current social and political situation in South Africa is questionable. Considering that politically the country is in transition, initiating a structure closely tied to an outdated and inappropriate welfare policy seems to lack wisdom. Within the welfare field itself there is a recognition that traditional forms of service, while necessary and important, are in themselves inadequate. They are unable to cope with a Third World context which has been further devastated socially by apartheid. New models and ways of working are being sought.

The reservations mentioned pose doubts as to whether the welfare agency model as an organisational structure is the most appropriate way forward for the diocese in its attempts to respond to the challenge highlighted by the research findings.

6.5.3 Localised Geographic Project

A second option is for the diocese to target a specific geographic area in which to concentrate human and financial resources. Given the above reservations of the welfare model, it would be more appropriate for such a project to operate with a fundamental development approach, but also to include a welfare service component. This would enable basic relief services to be offered to the specific community, as well as ensuring community participation, initiative and leadership in the project.

The project can be specific to the needs of a particular community and this specialization enables effective programme planning. In addition, this approach could redress the past neglect of rural areas in the diocese. It could be further argued that initiating a localised project could act as a pilot project for other areas in the diocese.

While there are obvious advantages to targeting a specific geographic area in which to initiate a project, there are also cautions that need to be noted.

Given the complex geography of the diocese and its regionalised structure, how is one area to be targeted? What criteria are to be used in the process? Would it not invariably be difficult to reach consensus as to the specific area? Furthermore, this approach would need to be seen as an extremely long-term strategy. The development approach recognises in its underlying philosophy that any project can only progress within the time scale of the particular community it serves. If as a strategy the diocese was aiming to target one area as a pilot project, reaching other areas would be an extremely lengthy process. Given the size of the diocese and the enormous social needs highlighted in the research, the wisdom of concentrating resources and adopting a focused approach is questionable.

6.5.4 The Resource Service Model

Reservations with the above two models make it necessary to set parameters for a new structure. This new structure needs to be appropriate in three ways. Firstly, to the current South African context; secondly, to the vast and diverse nature of the diocese; and thirdly, to the current marginalisation of women, youth, and rural communities in the CPSA. For purposes of this study, this organisational model is termed the resource service model.

Such an organisation should clearly focus its efforts on training and supporting people in the parishes. Communities should be enabled to identify their own needs and ways of problem solving. It should furthermore, have enough flexibility to lend itself to experimentation as well as allowing for networking with other agencies working in the field of social transformation. These are crucial factors, given the enormity of the task and the inflexible nature of the institutional church.

The organisation should operate from a strategically chosen central point in the diocese. However, its emphasis should not be on centralising activity around this central office in the Weberian bureaucratic sense. Rather, the emphasis should be on the generation of activity outwards to all corners of the diocese, facilitating, supporting, nurturing existing activity and where requested helping to initiate new work.

Employment of professional personnel should be kept to a minimum. The staff team should clearly reflect a bias in favour of the identified marginalised groupings. It would be the task of employees to act as consultants whose prime roles are those of trainer, facilitator, and mediator.

This small team of professionals would thus offer a resource service to the diocese, enabling the training of para-professionals and project initiators to take place within the parishes.

In broad terms the resource service organisation would carry out four major functions:

1. to support and nurture existing parish initiatives;
2. to act as a catalyst by initiating new projects to alleviate targeted social problems of the youth;
3. to educate particularly rural communities, women, and the youth in principles and practices of community organisation and social transformation;
4. to provide a centralised channel for the redistribution of material resources to areas needing social relief.

The research findings highlight existing parish projects that, with additional support, have the potential to develop and grow. The consultants could offer this support by training people and linking these project initiators with other organisations that could assist their project. This organisation would thus also contribute to a broader networking of social transformation organisations.

Secondly, the findings reveal that although major social problems exist, little attempt is being made to address them. This is particularly true of problems facing the youth in the communities. A creative strategy to tackle these problems should be developed and initiated by this organisation. Youth in the parishes with leadership potential should be specifically targeted and trained to identify their social needs as well as to propose possible ways that they could be addressed.

Thirdly, it is clear that in particularly rural communities there is a dearth of leadership, as well as ignorance about initiating viable projects. Skills training and resource materials need to be made more accessible to these communities.

Lastly, the service offered needs to include a welfare component. Relief services are essential to the church's understanding of the demand of the gospel. This work needs to take place, but

should not be carried out in isolation from the other functions of the organisation. There are considerable material resources in certain parishes in the diocese that could be creatively redistributed to places in need through organised coordination. The most pressing question confronting the church, as it does the state, at this time, is that of the redistribution of wealth. Part of the solution to the alleviation of poverty in the parishes is the redistribution of the wealth of the diocese.

The major reservation in proposing this model is the fact that there is an element of risk. The approach, ethos, and modus operandi are very different from the way in which the church has traditionally functioned. Furthermore, as suggested at the beginning of the chapter, establishing an organisation at this stage of the political process in the country carries with it a great deal of uncertainty. This suggests that necessary external funding might be difficult to secure until the organisation has had a chance 'to prove its worth'. Additionally, it would require careful planning and commitment from a steering committee in the launching and initial stages. However, the model lends itself to experimentation and allows for networking with other agencies working in the field of social transformation. Furthermore, its organisational structure can encompass many of the components of the other two models already outlined above, and therefore supersedes their limitations.

It is acknowledged that the proposed structural framework is outlined above in broad terms. A good deal more specific planning would be required in the creation of such an organisation. However, this type of planning is beyond the scope of this study.

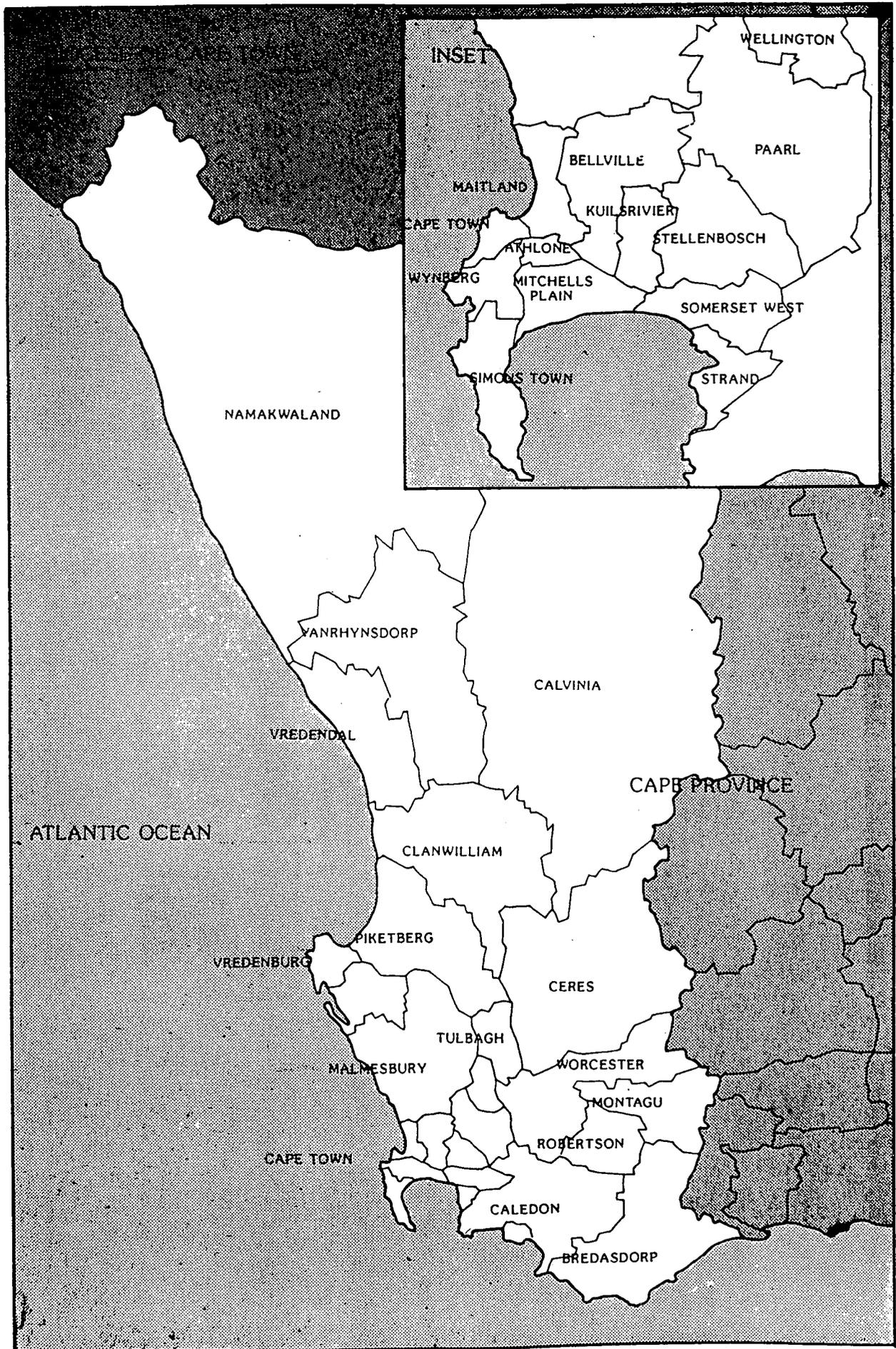
6.6 CONCLUSION

Clearly the CPSA in the diocese of Cape Town has considerable resources. It has people who have knowledge and skill; it has people who show strength and resilience under relentless conditions; it has a task force of women whose potential has hardly been tapped; it has young people whose voice is yet to be heard; and it has land, buildings and other material resources.

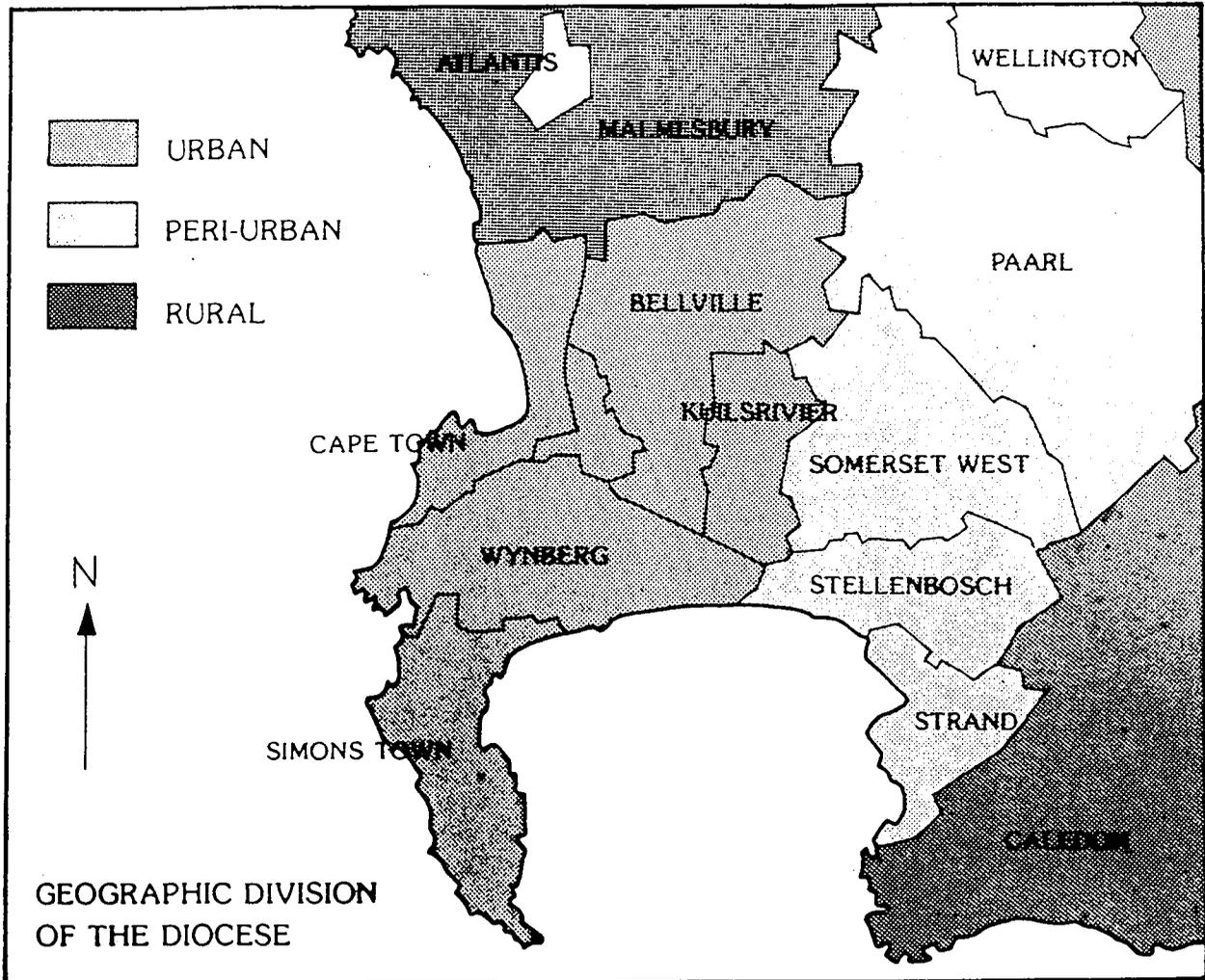
The question facing Christians is not whether the church is likely to be at the vanguard of social change in South Africa. History suggests that this is not likely. The question is rather whether the liberating resources of the Christian tradition, suppressed by generations of acquiescence to changing cultural, political and economic forms of domination, can be rediscovered with sufficient dynamic to enable Christians to share creatively in the process of change.

(Villa-Vicencio 1988:224)

APPENDIX A: MAP OF THE DIOCESE OF CAPE TOWN



APPENDIX B: MAP OF URBAN, PERI-URBAN, AND RURAL AREAS OF THE WESTERN CAPE



APPENDIX C: QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME

ADDRESS

TELEPHONE NO

ARCHDEACONRY

PARISH / CHAPELRY

TOTAL AVERAGE ATTENDANCE AT ALL SUNDAY SERVICES

1. **Social problems are encountered in every community in varying degrees and cannot be divorced from ministry. In South Africa they are often complicated by the structural oppression experienced by that community.**

How do you experience the following social problems in your current area of ministry? (Mark a cross in the appropriate box).

NONE PROBLEM SEVERE

	1	2	3	4	5
ALCOHOLISM	1	2	3	4	5
MARRIAGE BREAKDOWN	1	2	3	4	5
DRUG ABUSE	1	2	3	4	5
UNEMPLOYMENT	1	2	3	4	5
INADEQUATE HOUSING	1	2	3	4	5
INADEQUATE CRECHE FACILITIES	1	2	3	4	5
VAGRANCY	1	2	3	4	5
INCEST	1	2	3	4	5
HIGH PERCENTAGE OF SCHOOL DROP-OUTS	1	2	3	4	5
ADULT ILLITERACY	1	2	3	4	5
MALNUTRITION	1	2	3	4	5
INADEQUATE CARE FOR AGED	1	2	3	4	5
EXPLOITATION OF DOMESTIC WORKERS	1	2	3	4	5
EXPLOITATION OF FARM WORKERS	1	2	3	4	5
SEXUAL CHILD ABUSE	1	2	3	4	5
TEENAGE PREGNANCY	1	2	3	4	5
SUICIDE	1	2	3	4	5

6. Does your parish have other groups who are involved in any of the above relief/development work eg. AWF; MU; Caring Group etc.?

Yes

No

If Yes, please list these groups.....
.....

7. How many people are regularly involved in relief/development work organised by your parish? (Tick the one that is applicable)

0 - 10

10 - 20

20 - 30

over 30 specify.....

8. Does your parish allocate funds from the budget specifically for relief/development work?

Yes

No

9. Are funds allocated for this purpose from a discretionary fund?

Yes

No

10. Does your parish receive money and/or goods from other parishes to assist you in meeting the needs of your area?

Yes

No

11. How would you rate the involvement of your parish in relief/development work? (Mark a cross in the appropriate box).

no involvement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	very involved
----------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------

12. How do you rate the need for your parish to be more involved? (Mark a cross in the appropriate box).

adequate involvement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	need to be more involved
----------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--------------------------

Please give reasons why you have given this particular rating.

.....

13. Any other comments you would like to make?

.....

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW GUIDELINE

1. Social Needs

Which do you think are the most urgent social needs in your community? (Rank in sequence of importance)

What do you think are the causes of these problems?

Would you like to say any more about these problems?

2. Parish/Chapelry Involvement in Social Needs

Do you think your church is sufficiently involved in these social needs?

Would you explain why you have given this answer?

What projects has your church got involved in to meet needs in the community?

When did this/these project/s start operating?

Why did the church choose to get involved in this/these particular project/s?

Are you personally involved in any of these projects?

If yes, in what way?

Was the project initiated by an individual church member or by a group of members?

If by an individual, is the individual still the only person involved in the project?

If by a group, which group of people?

Have other church members now got involved with the project?

How many members are involved in the project?

How much time do they give to the project?

Have there been other projects that the church was involved in the past that are no longer operating?

Why are they no longer operating?

Which group in the church do you think should get involved in such projects?

Why do you think it should be this particular group/s?

Would you like to see more involvement from church members? If yes, why? If no, why not?

Why do you think that church members do not get more involved?

3. Church buildings

Are the church buildings being used by the community?
If yes, in what way?

Do you feel they should be used by the community?
If no, why not? If yes, why?

Why are they not being used more?

For what specific purposes could they be used?

Do you think the community should pay to use the building?

Would you explain the reasons for your answer?

4. Funding

How do you feel about parish funds being used for community projects?

How else do you think community projects could be funded?

How do you feel about funds from the State being used to assist projects initiated by your church?

5. Involvement with Organisations

Are there other welfare/development/relief/community organisations working in this area to meet the needs of the community? (List)

Have you had any contact/involvement with any of the organisations?

What exactly has this contact/involvement been?

Would you like to see more contact between these organisations and your church?
If yes, for what reasons? If no, why not?

6. Future Vision

Does your church have any plans in the future for meeting community needs?

Do you think your church needs to change any way to meet the pressures facing your community/the society?
If so, how?

7. General

Are there any other comments you would like to make that have not been covered in this interview?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Published Works

- Bryant, C. & White, L.G. 1982. *Managing development in the third world*. Colorado: Westview Press.
- Coetzee, J.K. 1989. Religion, transformation and development. In J.K. Coetzee (Ed). *Development is for people*. Johannesburg: Southern Books.
- Conyers, D. & Hills, P. 1984. *An Introduction to Development Planning in the Third World*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- De Gruchy, J.W. 1979. *The church struggle in South Africa*. London: SPCK.
- Eisenstadt, S.N. (Ed). 1968. *Max Weber on Charisma and Institution Building*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
- Freund, J. 1968. *The sociology of Max Weber*. London: Allen Lane the Penguin Press.
- Giddens, A. 1981. *A contemporary critique of historical materialism*. Berkley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- 1985. *The nation-state and violence: Volume two of a contemporary critique of historical materialism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- 1986. *Sociology: A brief but critical introduction*. Second edition. London: Macmillan.
- Graaff, J.F. 1987. Dualism, duality and the notion of structure: Will the real Anthony Giddens please stand up? *Politikon* Vol.14 No.2, 57 - 69.
- Hall, S. 1984. The state in question. In G. Mc Lellan, D. Held, S. Hall (Eds). *The idea of the modern state*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Harrison, R. 1989. Administrative politics and the coloured labour preference policy during the 1960s. In W.G. James & M. Simons (Eds). *The angry divide: Social and economic history of the Western Cape*. Cape Town/Johannesburg: David Philip.
- Held, D. 1984. Central perspectives on the modern state. In G. Mc Lellan, D. Held, S. Hall (Eds). *The idea of the modern state*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- 1989. *Political theory and the modern state*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hinchliff, P. 1963. *The Anglican Church in South Africa*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd.
- James, W.G. & Simons, M. (Eds). 1989. *The angry divide: Social and economic history of the Western Cape*. Cape Town/Johannesburg: David Philip.
- Jessop, B. 1982. *The capitalist state*. New York/London: New York University Press.

- Le Roux, P. 1989. The state and social transformation. In J.K. Coetzee (Ed). *Development is for people*. Johannesburg: Southern Books.
- Max-Neef, M. & Elizalde, A. & Hopenhayn, M. 1989. Human scale development: An option for the future. *Development Dialogue*, vol 1. Mc Lellan, D. 1977. *The thought of Karl Marx*. London: Papermac.
- Mosala, I.J. 1988. Book Review - Trapped in apartheid. *Journal of Theology of Southern Africa* 65, 90 - 91.
- Natrass, J. 1983. *Plenty amidst poverty: The need for development studies*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- Peart-Binns, J.S. 1987. *Archbishop Joost de Blank: Scourge of apartheid*. London: Muller, Blond & White Ltd.
- Pinnock, D. 1989. Ideology and urban planning: Blueprints of a garrison city. In W.G. James & M. Simons (Eds). *The angry divide: Social and economic history of the Western Cape*. Cape Town/Johannesburg: David Philip.
- Stadler, A. 1987. *The political economy of modern South Africa*. Cape Town & Johannesburg/London: David Philip/Croom Helm.
- Todara, M.P. 1985. *Economic development in the third world*. London: Longman.
- Villa-Vicencio, C. 1988. *Trapped in apartheid*. Cape Town/New York: David Philip/Orbis.
- Wallis, J. & Holliday, J. 1989. *Crucible of fire: The church confronts apartheid*. New York: Orbis.
- Wilson, F. & Ramphela, M. 1989. *Uprooting poverty: The South African challenge*. Cape Town/Johannesburg: David Philip.
- Wolpe, H. 1988. *Race, class and the apartheid state*. Addis Ababa: Organisation of African Unity.
- Wood, C.T. 1960. *Where we stand: Archbishop Clayton's charges 1948-1957*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Worsnip, M. 1991. *Between the two fires: The Anglican Church and apartheid 1948-1957*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

Theses and Papers

- Nash, M. 1977. *Walk the walk as well as talk the talk. BSR 1974 - 1977: An aid to self-examination*.
- (Ed). 1981. *Gospel, Church and social need*. Cape Town: Board of Social Responsibility, Diocese of Cape Town.
- Paine, V. 1978. *Confrontation with Joost de Blank and the South African Government on racial policies (1957-1963)*. M.A. Thesis: University of Cape Town.
- Patel, L. 1988. *Towards people's welfare*. Johannesburg: Concerned Social Workers.

Petersen, V. 1989. *The Dilemma of the concept 'social responsibility' and its impact on the mission of the Board of Social Responsibility.*

Taylor, D.W. 1990. *Religion, politics and symbolic performance: An analysis of the work of Archbishop Desmond Tutu from July 1989 - February 1990.* M.A. Thesis: University of Cape Town.

Publications & Records of the Diocese of Cape Town

Acts and Resolutions of Diocesan Synod, 1966.

Board of Social Responsibility Annual Reports, 1972 - 1989.

Christian Social Action Workshop Report: BSR, September 1983.

Good Hope, 1960; 1973.

Memorandum of 1960.

Minutes of Board of Social Responsibility, 1971 - 1989.

Minutes of Diocesan Council, 1974-1989.

Minutes of Diocesan Synods, 1961; 1964; 1966; 1967; 1969; 1971; 1974; 1977; 1980; 1983; 1986; 1990.

Statistical Return of Provincial Office, 1969.