

THE STRUGGLE OF THE LESOTHO EVANGELICAL
CHURCH IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (LECSA)/PARIS
EVANGELICAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY (PEMS) IN
MEADOWLANDS, SOWETO, IN BECOMING A MISSIONAL
ECCLESIA IN A LOCAL CONTEXT

BY

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DECLARATION

I declare that 'The Struggle of the Lesotho Evangelical Church in Southern Africa (LECSA)/Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) in Meadowlands, Soweto, in becoming a missional ecclesia in a local context' is indeed my original work and all sources employed are duly indicated and acknowledged by means of references and a bibliography.

Date:2016

Signature:

Leonard Tsidiso Kganyapa

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Resistance

Sophiatown

Thuthuho (Coming of Age)

Western Areas of Johannesburg

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the Problem

The research topic was inspired and influenced by the researcher's ministerial involvement with the Lesotho Evangelical Church in Southern African/Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (LECSA/PEMS) in Meadowlands, Soweto. In early 2011, the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands requested the researcher to assume a ministerial role since they had no minister assigned to them. The researcher took up the challenge and in the middle of the year applied to the Synodal Executive in Lesotho to work as a minister at LECSA.

After being interviewed on 10 October 2011 in Lesotho, Maseru, at Casalis House, the application and request was, conditionally, accepted and granted on 31 May 2012. Key to their conditions was that the researcher must learn and familiarise himself with the ministry, mission, systems and governance of the LECSA/PEMS.

During the period the researcher spent at LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish, in other words from 2009 to 2014, he learnt that the denomination is bedevilled by a considerable number of challenges both locally and internationally. The LECSA/PEMS is facing several problems pertaining to, for example, language policy, finances, ministerial formation, unity issues, membership exodus, lay ministry development, institutionalisation of ministry, ecumenical participation, mission and evangelism.

As a student of missiology, having attended several of their presbytery conferences and synodal conferences, the researcher could not help but be amazed by their paucity in terms of missional endeavour in their deliberations, reports and plans.

At the local level, in other words at the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish, the consistory is forever at loggerheads with their headquarters in Lesotho and inundated with financial demands and obligations which are quite challenging to fulfil. They have had to live with the imposition of the parish minister which they from time to time succinctly stated that they could not afford. The parish has not baptised an adult believer in a very long time and even infant baptismal is quite

scant. The majority of its communicants are ageing and no longer able to fully participate in the life and ministry of the church.

Currently, LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish has embarked on a building project and decided not to send “*seabo*” (their financial obligation) to their Lesotho headquarters. The ramification of this is that the Lesotho headquarters’ minister will not be getting his stipend.

The researcher was approached by the Gauteng (South Africa) Presbytery Committee to be part of the Evangelism/Mission Commission (*Komisi ea Lentsoe*) and had assumed the position of secretary. The commission was charged with, inter alia, planning and ensuring that all parishes and guilds within the presbytery, South Africa, engage in evangelism and mission activities during the course of the year, which was 2013.

1.2. Problem Statement

The LECSA/PEMS, more specifically the Meadowlands parish, is a product of the missionary enterprise of the early nineteenth century and currently, as a church denomination, it does not intentionally create and occupy missional space in a sea of missional challenges of the twenty-first century in its context. These challenges are discussed in this section.

1.2.1. Institutionalism

Hirsch (2006) identifies institutionalism as an element resulting from the Constantinian-Christendom paradigm that incapacitates the church to engage in missional praxis. The LECSA/PEMS has such a centralised and professionalised ministry that the laity find it practically impossible to do works for the ministry. The laity is precluded, for example, from conducting baptisms, celebrating the Eucharist (Holy Communion – The Lord’s Supper), or conducting confirmations and marriage ceremonies.

The LECSA/PEMS presbytery in Gauteng (South Africa) boasts 13 parishes with only 7 ordained ministers and very few evangelists (*baboleli*), most of whom have

little or no ministerial training. According to church policy, only those in ordained ministry are to administer the ordinances, Eucharist or Holy Communion and baptism; because of this arrangement many congregations stay for a protracted period of time without partaking of the Holy Communion and this has a negative effect on their spirituality and leads to their exodus to newly found and “independent” churches.

The historical impact of sacerdotalism on the part of ordained ministry is further exacerbated by confusing the role of a minister or missionary with that of a traditional chief in the traditional village (Mohapeloa 1985:40; Gill *et al.* 2009:287,293) hence little can be done without the authorisation of the ordained professional minister. This is reminiscent of the abhorred observation of missionaries in the past which referred to Christian Basotho as “child people” of little spirituality (De Clark 2000:61).

1.2.2. Lay ministry

Every Christian receives gifts of the Holy Spirit to build the church and for his or her part in the mission of Christ (WCC 2005:49), but Hirsch (2006:110) purports that 90% or more of the people who attend services are passive and this is a reality at the Meadowlands parish. Mead (1993:22) writes that the institution called the congregation is at a critical point of change. He explains that the ministry of the laity is still a brand new idea that is yet to reach its full impact (Mead 1993:24) and the mission frontier has shifted to the doorstep of the congregation and calls the laity to engage. The sad thing is that LECSA/PEMS has not yet come to that realisation.

The church documents acknowledge the ministry of the laity and they even conduct what they call “Lay Training” at their annual presbytery conferences, but it takes less than an hour, is unprofessional and is always ill-prepared. This adversely affects how lay ministry is perceived by those on the receiving side, lay ministers. No wonder their lay ministers tend to think that they are not equipped to do the work of the ministry. Consequently, when training is organised, a preponderant number of their lay leaders and lay ministers do not attend. Recently, their Bible school, which

trains evangelists (Baboleli) and forms part of the Morija Theological Seminary, was closed due to low enrolment.

Moreover, the elders and leaders at the Meadowlands LECSA/PEMS Parish are not trained at what they do, including their highly respected and energetic evangelist ('Moleli) who has been guiding this parish for several years before many ministers (Baruti) came to the picture. This certainly hampers the growth and development of the church and its leadership.

1.2.3. Language policy

There may be advantages in showing allegiance to ones' culture but it should not prevent others from hearing the Gospel. In Meadowlands, Soweto, many people are turned off by the language policy of speaking and addressing them only in Sesotho even though they live in a multicultural setting.

Problems are created when one culture seeks to capture the Gospel, claims to be the one and only authentic way of celebrating the Gospel, imposes its expression of the Gospel on others as the only authentic expression of the Gospel, and finds it impossible to recognise the Gospel being faithfully proclaimed in another culture (WCC 2005:36).

As mentioned above, Meadowlands is a township within the metropolitan city of the greater Johannesburg area and the city is a melting pot of diverse cultures. These cultures form part of its heritage which must be acknowledged by the LECSA/PEMS policy. The church is (or should be), indeed, transnational and cross-cultural in its practice (Bosch 1991:*passim*).

The LECSA/PEMS shares a history with churches originating from the work of the Swiss Mission – today's Evangelical Presbyterian Church of South Africa (EPCSA) – (Mohapeloa 1985:48) and they speak languages other than Sesotho. Migrant labour has caused many people to find themselves working together with the Basotho who are the LECSA/PEMS communicants, like in the mines, and have chosen to attend the LECSA/PEMS services since they are Reformed/Presbyterian in tradition.

The Meadowlands parish is situated in a predominantly Setswana speaking neighbourhood—of course there are others like isiZulu, isiXhosa, tshiVenda and tsiTsonga—and its communicants are mostly Sesotho speaking but were born and reared or naturalised in South Africa. Thus, they have not imbibed the crude Basotho culture of Lesotho. Some even struggle to read their Bibles in Sesotho since there is a type of Sesotho spoken mainly in Lesotho and a South African version. The differences extend to orthography.

The challenge, therefore, is to minister to and through the languages represented in the church and surrounding community so that all may get an opportunity to hear the Gospel (Acts 2:4 & 6; Revelation 14:6).

1.2.4. Ministerial Formation

The LECSA/PEMS training of ministers appears to be geared towards the maintenance of the status quo, producing a maintenance type of leadership and thus the training is not opening up to transformation (Hirsch 2006:120).

At the moment, most of the ordained ministers of the LECSA/PEMS face a challenge of not being able to undergo postgraduate studies, either at the masters or doctoral level, because they do not have a minimum entry requirement (Gill *et al.* 2009:285). Their training of ministers is purely parochial and does not equip them to serve beyond the LECSA/PEMS's "imaginary" ministerial walls or demarcation lines.

1.2.5. Attractional model

The church has other ministers who are called *Baboleli* (evangelists) but their role is limited to assisting ordained ministers and substituting them when they are absent; they do not engage in evangelistic work as generally understood. The local church assumes an attractional and passive role in evangelism and outreach and measures effectiveness through numerical growth (infant baptism), better programming, and an increase in resources (Hirsch 2006:130).

Historical records show that the LECSA/PEMS has engaged in successful evangelistic activities, therefore; lessons can be drawn and revived. In 1940, in

Lesotho, an evangelisation campaign called *letlooa* (fishing net) took place in five parishes, where many conversions were reported. It continued for some years with encouraging results (Mohapeloa 1985:20).

In addition to its tract campaign, the Evangelisation Commission of the Seboka (Synod) organised the *letšolo* (usually translated “the great hunt”), so called because those who took part in it went out in groups to hunt for souls, so to speak. The first *letšolo* took place in September 1960, in the district of Mafeteng. Its theme was “Reconciliation with God and with one’s neighbour”. Six groups were formed out of 332 members and they visited 5 parishes and the Bible School. The next *letšolo* was to be in the Leribe district in 1961 and 833 “hunters” had already been identified (Mohapeloa 1985:32).

1.2.6. Schism

Most recently the LECSA/PEMS experienced a schism and witnessed a considerable number of parishes in South Africa coming together to form the Evangelical Church in South Africa (ECSA).

Among other reasons for the split was the mistrust that many church members felt towards the central administration in Morija (Gill *et al.* 2009:299) and the rebellion of the “18” ordained ministers in 1987 attributed to the assumption that there has been maladministration or faulty leadership styles leading to instability and dissatisfaction within the church.

A commission of enquiry investigated the issue in 1988 but only more violence was reported in the church (Gill *et al.* 2009:333).

The LECSA/PEMS in Meadowlands became part of the ECSA for a brief period in 1997/8 and the Meadowlands parish reverted back to the LECSA/PEMS in 2001. Healing and redemption of the past ought to happen in this regard (WCC 2005:*passim*).

1.2.7. Constitution

Most recently, the constitution was amended and the name of the church was changed from the Lesotho Evangelical Church (LEC) to the Lesotho Evangelical Church in Southern Africa (LECSA). However, the consistory of the Meadowlands parish felt that they were not consulted and, therefore, not afforded an opportunity to make a contribution to the change, for they had, for quite some time, registered their concern with regard to some clauses in the constitution.

1.3. Key Research Questions

The key research questions of this dissertation are:

- Whose prerogative is it at the LECSA/PEMS regarding missions? With whom does the buck stop when it comes to missions at the LECSA/PEMS?
- What do the founding documents of the LECSA/PEMS state with regard to missions?
- Is there a theology of missions at LECSA/PEMS and how does it work itself out in the structures and life of the church?
- Does the LECSA/PEMS need to develop a new theology of missions?
- What is the experience of other churches in the tradition of the LECSA/PEMS and are there lessons to be learnt?
- Is the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish growing spiritually?
- How can the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish become a missional ecclesia in its context?

1.4. Aim of the Research

The term “science” is employed to refer to a specific body of knowledge that has evolved over time and has certain features such as validity, internal consistency, explanatory potential and usefulness.

The term “science” is also used to refer to the practices in which scientists are involved, namely scientific research or inquiry. In this case, “science” refers to activities such as formulating research problems, measurement, experimentation, analysis and theory testing.

Scientific knowledge as a product or outcome of scientific research can be defined as the propositions (factual statements, hypotheses, models, theories, laws) which, at a specific time, are accepted by the scientific community (for instance the community of sociologists or psychologists—including missiologists) as being valid and reasonably correct (Mouton 1996:13).

More specifically, this research is aimed, as an attempt, to:

- Interrogate the LECSA/PEMS missiological position and praxis;
- Reflect theologically on the missional history of the LECSA/PEMS since the African indigenous leadership assumed hegemony and develop a theology that will challenge the status quo;
- Conduct a comparative study of LECSA/PEMS with other church denominations (sister churches) of almost similar traditions and historical backgrounds in order to draw lessons that could be useful to the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish;
- Develop a working document for the LECSA/PEMS Gauteng (South Africa) Evangelism/Missions Commission (*Komisi ea Lentsoe*); and
- Come up with a plan for the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands in order to sensitise and galvanise the membership to engage in missions and, thus, become a missional ecclesia.

1.5. Missiological Research

1.5.1. Mission defined

Mission happens wherever the church is; it is how the church exists. Mission is the church preaching Christ for the first time, the act of Christians struggling against injustice and oppression, the binding of wounds in reconciliation, and the church learning from other religious ways and being challenged by world cultures.

Mission is the local church “focusing not on its own internal problems, but on other human beings, focusing elsewhere, in a world that calls and challenges it” (Bevans & Schroeder 2004:9).

Christian mission is understood to include wide, inclusive and complex activities aimed at the realisation of the reign of God in history. It includes evangelism but is at the same time much wider than that. Perhaps one could say that mission is the “cutting edge” of the Christian movement—it is that activist streak in the church’s life that refuses to accept the world as it is and keeps on trying to change it, prodding it on towards God’s final reign of justice and peace (Botha *et al.* 1994:21; Kritzinger 2002:150).

A definition of mission that augurs well, because of its wholistic nature, is that which came out of *A Black Evangelical Leaders Consultation on Mission, 14 -16 July 1999, Johannesburg*, which the researcher participated in. The Consultation defined mission as “the whole church taking the whole Gospel to the whole world”. The Gospel is the good news of Jesus Christ that addresses God’s saving word to humanity in its spiritual, socio-economic, political and cultural context. Mission involves all those activities aimed at influencing or changing society in accordance with the Gospel of Jesus Christ (TEASA Consultation 1999).

Teihard’s broad cosmic perspective has inspired contemporary efforts to link the church’s mission to ecological and environmental concerns. It inspires churches to work for economic and political liberation, for recognition of human rights and equal dignity. All of this is part of the church’s mission in the perspective of liberation theology, which sees God’s saving action taking place in the midst of history and not promising fulfilment outside of it (Bevans & Schroeder 2004:68).

1.5.2. Missiology

Missiology, like qualitative research, is grounded in a philosophical position. It is not a separate compartment, a compartmentalised piece of theology, but is a field of study (HPMSG80 Tutorial 101:19).

Theology, as a science, has a role in mission. If one decides to go out to convert other people to one’s way of thinking and believing, one must first convince oneself that one has a message worth communicating to others. Having made clear to oneself that one has a message to which one is committed, one must also try to understand

those people whom one intends to convince. Without an understanding of their way of thinking and believing, it is impossible to reach them. The third stage entails knowing the various methods which could be used to convey the message most effectively. Some of the ways will be more effective than others. Without such an understanding, it is possible to use ineffective methods of communication and fail to convey the message (Mugambi 1995:21).

Kritzinger purports that one's understanding of missiology is determined by one's understanding of mission because missiology as a critical reflection on mission will in its scope follow what one defines mission to be (HPMSG80 Tutorial 101:17). Therefore, missiology is a scientific study or field about mission and involves a critical-theological reflection. Since science is concerned with knowledge and truth, as already mentioned, missiology reflects on methodologies (methods of analysis, explanation and argument building which involve understandings of complexity), theories and theologies that are appropriate in doing mission.

Luzbetak says in his book *The Church and Cultures* (quoted in HPMSG80 Tutorial 101:17) that missiology is not a discipline, but a field. One has to know linguistics, anthropology, economics, communication science and so many other things to do missiology. This is consistent with Saayman's understanding of missiology. He is concerned with the translation of missiology between communities, between cultures, in conflict situations, and in ordinary encounters. His concerns are just as pertinent as Luzbetak's. Therefore, missiology has a constant concern to translate – to have people understand each other.

Kritzinger says missiologists, as researchers, study the activists in churches or in religious groups. Activists are those people who are straining at the leash, who are not happy with how the world is, the way the church is or the way society is, and, therefore, go out there to plant trees, bring down governments, save souls, and build churches. They are people who want to bring about change (HPMSG80 Tutorial 101:18-19).

Saayman (15 September 1994) addresses candidates for Master's and Doctorate missiological studies and research and mentions that what constitutes missiological concern is extroversion—an outward directedness. This refers to directedness towards the weak, the poor, and those who are denied rights and so on. Whether this directedness is like von Zinzendorf, a desire to win souls for the Lamb, whether it is like Gutierrez, the first political act is the first act of Christian mission, or whether it is from a variety of approaches, the main thing is that there is a concern to change and to heal.

The twenty-first century needs an inclusive mission and missiology. People must learn from one another how to hold together Pentecostal urgency and Franciscan gentleness, Reformed-Presbyterian theologising and East-Asian pragmatism, and so on, so that the church of Christ may mobilise all its cultural resources, economic strengths, and spiritual insights in the task of continuing Christ's mission on earth (Kritzinger 2002:171).

Therefore, missiological research constitutes and involves the scientific study of mission that employs the elements and dynamics of qualitative research.

1.5.3. Qualitative research

The study uses qualitative research. Qualitative research is grounded in a philosophical position which is broadly "interpretivist" in the sense that it is concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced, produced or constituted. While different versions of qualitative research might understand or approach these elements in different ways (for example, focusing on social meanings, interpretations, practices, discourses, processes, or constructions), all will see at least some of these as meaningful elements in a complex—possibly multilayered and textured—social world.

Qualitative research based on methods of data generation is both flexible and sensitive to the social context in which data is produced (rather than rigidly standardised or structured, or entirely abstracted from "real-life" contexts).

Qualitative research based on methods of analysis, explanation and argument building involves understandings of complexity, detail and context. Moreover, qualitative research aims to produce rounded and contextual understandings on the basis of rich, nuanced and detailed data. There is more emphasis on “holistic” forms of analysis and explanation in this sense, than on charting surface patterns, trends and correlations. Qualitative research often uses some form of quantification, but statistical forms of analysis are not seen as critical. In addition, qualitative research is characteristically exploratory, fluid and flexible, data-driven and context-sensitive (Mason 2002:3-4).

1.6. Methodology

Dwight Hopkins describes Steve Biko as “a theologian from and with the masses of black people. He (Biko) never became bogged down with strict doctrinal or theological categories of thought or elaborated long-winded treatises. Quite the opposite ... he involved himself in theological issues pertaining to the very life and death of his community” (Maluleke in Mngxitama *et al.* 2008:121).

Biko challenged black preachers to engage in deeper analysis. Instead of church practice adding to the burdens of the black masses, the question was how to make the black church and its praxis more supportive of the harassed black masses. The challenge was one of developing a theology that would provide better analytical tools than those that were being used at that time (Maluleke in Mngxitama *et al.* 2008:123).

Maluleke suggests that if Biko and his generation helped South Africans with tools with which to understand the role of religion, the psyche and consciousness in a violent colonial situation, they now need similar but new tools to analyse the role of religion in the post-colony called South Africa (or Africa) which is often misnamed a young democracy (Maluleke in Mngxitama *et al.* 2008:124).

It is, therefore, apparent that the church in its mission needs a relevant and meaningful theological method. A dynamic theological method that leads to – and

that emerges out of–action so that theologising does not alienate those doing mission from people, but connects them in organic ways (Kritzinger 2002:147).

1.6.1. Positive Deconstruction: An appropriate methodological tool for missiological research

Positive deconstruction is an appropriate methodological tool for missiological research for several reasons. These reasons are explored in this section.

Epistemological Foundation: The term “epistemology” relates to the branch of philosophy that is concerned with the theory of knowledge. In essence, it seeks to ask and answer the question “How do we know what we know?” Indeed, “How can we know at all?” (Swinton & Mowat 2006:32).

Qualitative research takes place within what has been described as an *interpretative paradigm*. Lincoln and Guba put it this way:

The net that contains the researcher’s epistemological, ontological, and methodological premises may be termed a paradigm, or an interpretative framework, a “basic set of beliefs that guides action” (Guba in Swinton & Mowat 2006:34–35). All research is interpretative; it is guided by a set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied. Some beliefs may be taken for granted, invisible, only assumed, whereas others are highly problematic and controversial. Each interpretative paradigm makes particular demands on the researcher, including the questions he or she asks and the interpretations the researcher brings to them. (Lincoln & Guba in Swinton & Mowat 2006:34–35)

An important underlying epistemological assumption within qualitative research is the perspective of *constructivism*. Constructivism assumes that truth and knowledge and the ways in which they are perceived by human beings and human communities are, to a greater or lesser extent, constructed by individuals and communities (Lincoln & Guba in Swinton & Mowat 2006:35).

All reality is interpreted and formulated via an interpretative process within which the researcher is inevitably enmeshed. With this epistemological framework in mind, it becomes clear why it is that within qualitative research the quest is not for objectivity and explanation, but for meaning and a deeper understanding of situations. Within the interpretative paradigm, human beings are recognised as actively creative agents who are constantly interpreting situations and ascribing meaning and purpose to events; creatures who constantly create complex networks of narratives to explain the world and their place within it (Lincoln & Guba in Swinton & Mowat 2006:37).

Narrative is an implicit dimension for most qualitative approaches. The telling of stories and the accurate recording, transcription and analysis of this data forms the heart of the qualitative research enterprise. For the qualitative researcher, narrative knowledge is perceived to be a legitimate, rigorous and valid form of knowledge that informs the researcher about the world in ways which are publicly significant. Stories are not simply meaningless personal anecdotes; they are important sources of knowledge (Lincoln & Guba in Swinton & Mowat 2006:38).

Positive deconstruction, in relation to Christian apologetics (giving a reasoned defence for your faith) is a term first used by Nick Pollard in his book *Evangelism Made Slightly Less Difficult* (drawing on Dr David Cook). The book describes a methodology for engaging with worldviews in Christian apologetics. A worldview is a set of beliefs or an interpretative framework that provides an understanding of the nature of reality (Miller & West 1993; Koltko-Rivera 2004:3 in Alexander *et al.* 2013:172).

Pollard uses the following anecdote to describe positive deconstruction. When he was an undergraduate he bought his first car. It had a good chassis and most of the bodywork was of an average quality. However, that was about all that could be said in its favour. The engine was worn out, the gearbox crunched pathetically and the suspension was broken. It just about got him around, but it was not really much good.

Some time later, he heard about another car of the same make and model. It contained lots of new parts which were in good condition, but unfortunately it had just been written off in an accident. He immediately bought it and set about taking both cars apart completely.

This was not the negative deconstruction of a vandal, but, rather, the positive deconstruction of a mechanic. He looked carefully at each part to see whether it was any good. If it was, he kept it. If it was not, he threw it away. Eventually, he put all the pieces together, started it up and found he now had a very good car. There was not much left of his original car. Some parts were good enough to keep; most of them were now replaced. He was delighted for he had something better (Pollard 1997:44-45).

In light of this analogy, one can see that the term *positive deconstruction* refers to the process where people are being helped to deconstruct (take apart) what they believe in order to look carefully at the belief and analyse it. The process is *positive* because this *deconstruction* is done in a positive way—in order to replace it with something better. There are none of the negative connotations that are sometimes associated with the branch of literary criticism known as deconstructionism, but rather a positive search for truth (Pollard 1997:44).

The process is one of *deconstruction* because it involves “dismantling” the worldview in order to identify areas of conflict with a Christian worldview. It is positive because the intention is not to destroy a person’s ideas and belief system, but to build on areas of agreement between the two worldviews in order to argue for the truth of the Christian worldview.

Pollard identifies four key aspects of deconstruction:

- Identify the worldview: What beliefs, values and attitudes are being communicated?
- Analyse the worldview: What are the correspondence, coherence and pragmatic theories of truth?

- Affirm the truth: What aspects of the worldview are in agreement with a Christian worldview?
- Deny the error: What aspects of the worldview are in conflict with a Christian view? (Pollard 1997:*passim*)

1.6.2. Positive deconstruction: A critique

According to Pollard, *positive deconstruction* is not the simple key that will make evangelism (mission or missiology) easy. But, if combined with earnest prayer, clear Gospel proclamation, reasoned apologetics and genuine relationships demonstrating practical love, *positive deconstruction* will help to find evangelism (mission or missiology) slightly less difficult.

1.6.3. Application of positive deconstruction for this study

The present study adopts *positive deconstruction* as a methodology for research with some contextual adaptations and considerations, of course, reflecting on *the struggle of LECSA/PEMS in Meadowlands in becoming a missional ecclesia in a local context*.

The study looks at what works and what does not work at LECSA/PEMS at the denominational and parish level, especially at the Meadowlands parish. The study asks whether there is anything that needs to be maintained (preserved) or discarded with regard to the missional praxis of the church. An analysis of the denomination is conducted, looking at various aspects of the church, such as the historical background, tradition, theology, polity, and mission.

1.7. Sources

The sources that the researcher will employ for this study are the following:

- Written sources from South Africa, Lesotho, Africa, the Third World, Europe and North America; and
- Oral sources in the form of recordings of interviews with the research subjects.

1.8. Chapter Division

Chapter One serves as an introduction to the research by outlining the background, problem, aim(s), research questions and the methodology of the study.

In Chapter Two, the researcher gives a synoptic history of the LECSA/PEMS as a Protestant denomination. It was founded during a mission enterprise historical epoch by the French missionaries per invitation of the founding king of the Basotho nation, Morena Moshoeshoe.

In Chapter Three, an introduction to the genesis and development of the South Western Township (Soweto) is given and highlights the notion that the township is a direct product of apartheid laws bent to further colonise and enslave black African people.

Chapter Four of the study looks into the history of the Western Areas of Johannesburg and Meadowlands as one of the more than thirty townships of Soweto. The Western Areas of Johannesburg cover Sophiatown, Newclare, Martindale and Western Native Township (WNT).

In Chapter Five, the study continues from the previous one and zooms to the township where some of the forcefully removed residents of the “former” Western Areas of Johannesburg were resettled, namely Meadowlands.

Finally, Chapter Six recapitulates on the first chapter and summarises all the subsequent ones. In this chapter, the researcher also states his findings, judgement and recommendations to chart the way forward.

CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE LESOTHO EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF SOUTHERN AFRICA (LECSA)/PARIS EVANGELICAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY (PEMS)

2.1. Introduction

The history of the Lesotho Evangelical Church of Southern Africa/Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (LECSA/PEMS) begins with King Moshoeshoe (hereafter called Morena Moshoeshoe), the paramount chief and founding father of the Basotho nation. Morena Moshoeshoe was born at Menkhoaneng to the royal clan of the Bakoena ba Mokhachane in about 1780 and he was named Lepoqo (Smith 1996:37). Lepoqo (Morena Moshoeshoe) was mentored by the most remarkable person of the Basotho: Mohlomi; the seer, a visionary, doctor, diviner and rainmaker (De Clark 2000:22; Sundkler & Steed 2000:374).

It was after a successful foray that, in the manner of the Basotho who give names to fit qualities and exploits, he was named Moshoeshoe, meaning “the shaver”. His intrepidity, military skill, patience, magnanimity and prescience all made him a great leader of men; he conceived the plan of federating the tribes during the *Lifaqane-Mfecane*, in the early 1800s, and rose to paramount chieftaincy. Morena Moshoeshoe gathered people under his authority who had belonged to various Sotho-Tswana groups, some of Nguni origin (De Clark 2000:23), and covered at least 20 tribes (Smith 1996:36).

It was during the plundering of their lands, in other words Lesotho, that Morena Moshoeshoe desired to have “teachers of peace” for his people. A Griqua hunter, Adam Krotz (Mohapeloa 1985:1), had—it seems—informed the king about the missionaries and there are speculations that the main motive for Morena Moshoeshoe of inviting the missionaries to his land was to acquire guns and, if not, to use them (the missionaries) as a buffer between him and his attackers (Gill *et al.* 2009:48; Du Plessis 1965:313).

Generally, the reaction of the chief to the missionaries was one of restrained curiosity, combined with opportunism and a desire for material and political

benefits. Political advantages of having missionaries as mediators between blacks and the colony proved an irresistible lure (Williams 1978:4).

The first missionary society, the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS), in the persons of Thomas Arbousset, Eugene Casalis and Constant Gosselin from France, arrived in Lesotho in 1833 through the invitation of Morena Moshoeshoe, who was 47 years old at the time. Moshoeshoe gave them a site for a mission station at Makhoarane, which they renamed Morija – Moriah in Hebrew, meaning “God will provide” (Du Plessis 1965:*passim*).

Morena Moshoeshoe was friendly to the missionaries and keen for his people to be educated and by 1860 PEMS had over 50 schools with Basotho teachers. The church sent out its own missionaries in 1877 when Francis Coillard, his family and 24 Basotho Christians travelled to the Barotsi people near the Zambesi River (:324) and, thus, PEMS is perceived as a “parent church” of the Western Province Presbytery which today is under the auspices of the United Church of Zambia (Molao oa Motheo 2012:2).

The Paris Society missionaries were also instrumental in the training of the Swiss mission missionaries, Ernest Creux and Paul Berthoud, and the founding of the mission in the northern portion of the Transvaal – today’s Limpopo region (Couzens 2003:396; Du Plessis 1965:330). Thus, PEMS is a “sister church” to the Evangelical Presbyterian Church of South Africa (EPCSA), formerly known as the Tsonga Presbyterian Church (Molao oa Motheo 2012:2).

The church founded by the French missionaries was renamed the Lesotho Evangelical Church (of Southern Africa) and churches in South Africa – especially those in the Free State and Gauteng – retained the name PEMS although they remain under the auspices of LECSA, constituting one of their presbytery.

Therefore, LECSA/PEMS belongs to the Reformed tradition; they are proud of their Basotho culture and trace their background and existence from 1833.

2.2. Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS)

To a large extent, *Le Réveil* (The Awakening) was a reaction to the materialism and rationalism that had entered the Reformed churches during the Enlightenment. Through it, people sought not only to reaffirm classical Calvinist doctrine, but to practise their faith on a daily basis. Emphases on the authority of the Bible, the sovereignty of God, the depravity of the human condition and the necessity of personal conversion became central. Also central was the call to mission and in France it led directly to the founding, in 1822, of the *Société des Missions Évangéliques chez les peuples non-chrétiens á Paris* (SMEP) or, as it became known in English, the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS).

The PEMS was established as an interdenominational body along the same lines as the London Missionary Society (LMS)—to spread the knowledge of Christ among “heathen” and other unenlightened nations—which was established a quarter of a century earlier (Quest for Peace – Three Evangelical Missions:99). The LMS stated its “fundamental principle” in the following terms:

Our design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church Order and Government ... but the Glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the “heathen”. (Quoted by Walls 1988:149 in Bosch 1991:330)

A “denominational” society was, of course, formed three years earlier than the LMS; the “Particular Baptist Society for Propagating of the Gospel among the ‘Heathen’” was founded under William Carey’s leadership in 1792. It is, however, important to note that Carey advanced no theological arguments in favour of a denominational society. His arguments were purely pragmatic: “In the present divided state of Christendom, it would be more likely for good to be done by each denomination engaging separately in the work” (quoted by Walls 1988:148 in Bosch 1991). As a matter of fact, Carey’s pragmatic reasons for initiating a denominational society were almost identical to those of the founding fathers of the non-denominational LMS three years later.

This comparison was made by Jean Bianquis, Honorary Director of the PEMS, in his book on the history of the PEMS. Bianquis notes that the PEMS never felt the need to write down a declaration of principle. But, from its foundation, it would have subscribed without reservation to the same two principles as its elder sister organisation, the London Missionary Society (Bianquis 1930:43).

Despite the predominance of Reformed Christians from France in its early years, the PEMS had an international and interdenominational flavour from the beginning through the participation of both Swiss and English leaders working in France. The primary goal of the new society was to spread the Gospel among non-Christians, but initially it did not send missionaries overseas. It was only towards the end of the decade that the society turned its attention to foreign missions, due in large measure to the encouragement of Rev. Dr Phillip of the LMS (Quest for Peace – Three Evangelical Missions:99).

When peace was restored in France after the fall of the First Empire and the Huguenots enjoyed complete liberty, they turned their thoughts to gathering in the scattered members of their flock and to evangelising to their fellow countrymen who were outside the churches. Under the leadership of such men as Baron Auguste de Staël, grandson of Necker, the famous financier, and son of the more famous writer, Madame de Staël, the Bible Society of France was founded in 1819. Three years later, the Paris Missionary Society came into existence under the presidency of Admiral Ver-Huell, whom Napoleon had named “the bravest of the brave”; candidates for Foreign Service were placed for training under the care of Mr Grand Pierre at the Mission House in Paris (Smith 1996:26).

The missionary society decided to send evangelists to the Hottentot slaves of South Africa where such names as Malherbe, Du Toit, De Villiers and Du Plessis testified to the presence of descendants of Huguenots among the British and Dutch inhabitants.

In 1829, the first party, made up of Isaac Bisseux of Lemé and Prosper Lemue d’Esquehéries, left France. In 1831, the second party, consisting of Lemue, Rolland and Pellissier, left France for South Africa (Casalis 1971:47,49). The missionary

society also wanted to send missionaries to the recently conquered Algeria but the government refused to allow it. Casalis had been designated for that field and had, in view of it, embarked on the study of Arabic. However, it was decided to send him (Casalis) to South Africa instead together with his fellow student Thomas Arbousset and Constant Gosselin, a mason from Amiens (Smith 1996:26-27).

They embarked at Gravesend on November 11, 1832, on the English brig, *Test*, and after a voyage of three and a half months landed at Cape Town. A few days were passed in the hospitable company of Dr John Philip, the sagacious and fearless missionary statesman, and then took ship round the coast to Algoa Bay (Smith 1996:27). They arrived on 23 February 1833 and, unfortunately, learnt that while they were at sea the mission they were coming to reinforce had been completely ruined; in fact, it no longer existed. Mosilikatsi, a powerful and a sanguinary chief, had entirely dispersed the tribes among which Lemue, Rolland and Pellissier had begun their promising labours (Casalis 1971:68).

Casalis (1971:71 – 97) devotes three chapters of his book to lamenting the race relations of the people of Cape Town, especially the slavery treatment of indigenous peoples by those of Dutch and French descent. He also notes that mission was first done by the Moravian missionary, Schmidt, and later by Van der Kemp. The Dutch who were the colonisers never attempted to convert the natives to the Christian religion. Ironically, the Huguenots, French Protestants, were racially discriminating, owned slaves and participated with impunity in the persecution of the natives.

The threesome decided to head for Kuruman, Moffat's station, in Bechuana country (today's Botswana), where their brethren had fallen back to. Their decision meant that they had to travel into the interior of Caffraria and it was when they reached Philippolis that they encountered a mulatto, Adam Krotz, who was a very intelligent hunter that changed their course of history. In contrast, Du Plessis (1965:191) – and other mission historiographers – refers to Adam Kok, a chief of the Philippolis Griquas. Nevertheless, it seems that Krotz and Kok is the same person and the names may be used interchangeably. Krotz told the three missionaries about a mountain chief, Morena Moshoeshoe, who wanted to have permanently placed

missionaries near him so that he may secure peace for his Basotho nation. The Basotho natives had been victims of depredations committed against them by the Koranas, Griquas, called Bergenaars, and Boers who made incursions stealing their cattle and land (Casalis 1971:136–140).

Adam Krotz offered to be their guide and aide, and brought with him his cortège of hunters, Booi Armans, Hans Lubbe, a Mosotho interpreter, Sépéami, and three other Basotho, and an army of Bushmen. They reached their destination in June 1833 and made a commitment to Morena Moshoeshoe to serve him and his people, the Basotho (Casalis 1971:140,182-183).

2.2.1. Motivation of the PEMS missionaries

From the very onset, the early LMS and PEMS missionaries had something businesslike, something distinctly modern, about the launching of the new societies, whether denominational or not. Carey, of the Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, took his analogy neither from Scripture nor from theological tradition, but from the contemporary commercial world—the organisation of an overseas trading company which carefully studied all the relevant information, selected its stock, ships and crews, and was willing to brave dangerous seas and unfriendly climates in order to achieve its objectives.

Carey proposed that, in similar fashion, a company of serious Christians might be formed with the objective of evangelising distant peoples. He argued that it should be an “instrumental” society, that is, a society established with a clearly defined purpose along explicitly formulated lines. Therefore, the organising of such a society was something like floating a mercantile company (Walls 1988:145 in Bosch 1991:330).

Therefore, it is meaningful to assess the theological convictions and motivations of the missionaries who were sent to Lesotho from their own writings rather than from the tenets of the founders and directors of their society, or from the circumstances that led to its creation. PEMS missionaries shared several main motivations. Because they believed that all non-Christians were doomed to eternal punishment—even

when they had never been given the opportunity of embracing Christianity – they wanted to save their fellow human beings from this terrible fate, and thereby help them gain access to everlasting bliss (De Clark 2000:48).

Similarly to their British colleagues, the early PEMS missionaries came from a petit-bourgeois background; they may very well have shared social ambition that motivated them to pursue missionary careers, which gave them the opportunity to acquire an influence they could not otherwise hope for. However, De Clark (2000:48) hastens to mention that the PEMS missionaries were highly educated compared to their LMS counterparts and could have made it anyway.

PEMS ministers were also motivated by their gratefulness to their God: to the Creator Father for their existence and to Christ for saving their souls by His message and His sacrifice. Being grateful, they wished to do their God's will (De Clark 2000:49). De Clark also mentions the importation of European civilisation because, as far as they were concerned, their culture was more compatible with the Christian faith (De Clark 2000:51).

At a personal level, Eugene Casalis (1971:32) mentions that since he learnt about the founding of the Evangelical Missionary Society of Paris, he had a presentiment that the question of his earthly future was decided. The appeals which the directors were addressing to the Protestant youth of France seemed made especially for him. They (the directors) revived and increased the interest which the readings of his early childhood had inspired in him towards oppressed races. All of this happened during the time when the word "missionary" was detested by everyone who flattered themselves on the possession of a spice of philosophy and liberalism, thanks to the Jesuits (Casalis 1971:33).

Commenting on their work in Lesotho, Casalis said there was something singularly strengthening to their spiritual life in the thought that they were there in virtue of a direct order from Christ, that they were representatives of His Church in places which had been closed against it up to their arrival (:206). Ironically, Williams (1978:65) acknowledges the presence of the Basotho in mission stations in Caffraria

as early as the 1820s—long before the arrival of French missionaries in Lesotho in 1833. Moreover, as mentioned before, the three PEMS missionaries were guided by Adam Krotz (a Christian Griqua chief) and his team which included Basotho interpreters, who welcomed and gave them residence to the Basotho in his land long before the arrival of French missionaries. This may insinuate that some of the Basotho had a much earlier encounter with Christianity and there is a possibility that there may also have been much earlier or seminal missionary agents prior to 1833 (Williams 1978:65).

It is with interest that Sundkler and Steed (2000:375) record that the first missionaries arriving in 1833 were not the first Christians to appear among the Basotho. There were in fact two different categories of Basotho Christians who had already been influenced by the new religion (Christianity) when abroad, far from home. Casalis noticed that the first Basotho Christians had already come into contact with Christianity as servants in the Colony of the Cape. There was also a gathered Christian Basotho community: Basotho returnees from abroad who settled within the borders of Lesotho and formed the nucleus of the new mission station where they settled, Beersheba.

In 1833, Moshoeshe asked the Griqua chief, Andries Waterboer who was placed at Griquatown, that Basotho refugees—dispersed through the *Lifaqane/Mfecane*—should be allowed to return peacefully to their home country, Lesotho. Moffat estimates that about 100 Basotho returned and they were considered an important acquisition to the French missionaries for they could read in their official language, Dutch.

Casalis records that it was long after their arrival, towards the approach of his death, that Morena Moshoeshe openly declared himself a Christian—thus missionaries attributed his conversion to their labours (Casalis 1971:232)—even though he was never baptised, for he died on the very day he was supposed to be (Sundkler & Steed 2000:376). They, the first generation of missionaries, also claim that the first fruit of their labour was the conversion of Sékhésa, a young man at Moriah (Morija) (Casalis 1971:240) while Du Plessis (1965:198) writes that the first spiritual results

were not long in making their appearance and it occurred at Bethulie with 27 converts. At the Jubilee celebration in 2014, David Ntlaleng was said to be the first catechumen to be baptised in 1839.

The first church decade in Lesotho was closely linked with royalty and with people of nobility. It was an elitist movement and at their first baptism, at Christmas in 1839, mostly it was members of the royal family and nobility (people of high rank) who were baptised (Sundkler & Steed 2000:376).

2.2.2. Labours of PEMS missionaries

Sundkler and Steed (2000:375) purport that the French missionaries' activity in Lesotho can be divided into, firstly, a period of initial influence (1833–48), secondly, a brief period of pagan reaction (1848–54), and, finally, a period of long-term steady growth (1854–1900). Moreover, any success the missionaries accomplished was as a result of their relationship with the king, Morena Moshoeshoe.

Missionaries of the first generation claim to have secured the material progress of Lesotho, in which they laboured, in the area of agriculture. They introduced horses and their breeding, better breeds of dogs, cats, pigs, ducks, geese, and turkeys in addition to their domesticated animals (Casalis 1971:234) and introduced new ways of constructing houses—including the use of salt. Of paramount importance is that the French missionaries captured the Sesotho language in writing and developed it further, taking from their predecessors who were working among the Batswana and noticed similarities between Setswana and Sesotho.

Missionaries presided over settlements which promised relative peace and protection to numbers of displaced peoples resulting from the war's extermination waged by Chaka, Dingaan and Moselekatse in the fourth decade of the nineteenth century (Du Plessis 1965:195).

The missionaries were the counsellors of the chiefs under whom they dwelt and laboured (:310). The missionaries of the Paris Society were in a very real sense contributing towards the re-settlement of the territory along the Caledon River, the

increase of Morena Moshoeshoe's power, prestige and the consequent uplifting of the nation of Basotho (:199), including securing the British Protectorate (:316-317).

It is worth noting that at the close of the first half of the century 11 stations had already been occupied: Motito (J. Frédoux), Bethulie (J.P. Pellissier), Morija (Arbousset and Maeder), Beersheba (Rolland and Ludorf), Thaba Bosiu (Casalis and Dr J.P. Lauté), Mekuatleng (Daumas), Berea (J. Maitin), Bethesda (Schrumpt and Gosselin), Cana (D. Keck), Hebron (L. Cochet) and Carmel, where the Normal School had been established (Lemue and Lauga). There were thus 16 male missionaries in all, and more than 1200 natives had been received as members of the Church of Christ (:199). All of this they did amidst difficulties posed by the several Wars, inter alia the Boundary, Kaffir and Gun War, and interruptions, nativism (heathenism), such as the Basotho reverting from time to time to their forefathers' ways (Du Plessis 1965:314; Williams 1978:83).

Their first synod was called in 1872 and ordained their Mosotho pastor, Carlisle Motebang, in 1891 and in 1897 the Missionary Conference gave way to the *Seboka* where missionaries and Basotho leaders together could tackle their ecclesiastical issues or matters (Sundkler & Steed 2000:383).

2.2.3. Pitfalls of PEMS missionary activity

The missionaries' disloyalty was evinced when Morena Moshoeshoe and Basotho in general decided to go to war during the war against Sekonyela of the Tlokoa. The French missionaries advised their faithful against this martial adventure and even placed recalcitrant members under church discipline. This very act, on the part of the missionaries, seemed a blatant case of white disloyalty to Basotho's national interest. It resulted in associating Christianity with cowardice and disloyalty (Sundkler & Steed 2000:379).

Moreover, the missionaries treated royalty differently from ordinary folks. For example, Morena Moshoeshoe was buried according to Christian rites though he was not a convert and had a shorter attendance of catechism classes (:376).

Williams (1978:*passim*) points out that, as a harbinger of white control, missionary activity was associated with the colonial thrust and with unfortunate consequences, especially during the early period. Moreover, suspicion and resentment on the part of blacks remained alive. Missionaries were agents of both the colonial powers of the day and of the “Gospel” –in other words of civilisation and the uplifting of the aborigines –namely, the Basotho. The missionaries acted as emissaries of Occident civilisation and condemned black societies and their culture. They condemned *lobola-mahali*, initiation schools (male circumcision), polygamy, levirate and other cultural practices without an attempt to understand their value for society (Williams 1978:79–82).

Their Constantinian strategies of converting the Basotho nation from the top had failed and only later on did they target the rank and file (Sundkler & Steed 2000:380).

It is quite interesting that around the 1860s Rev. Tiyo Soga was visiting in Basutoland and when he saw the Paris Missionary Society stations and Christian natives he was not impressed. He observed that the Basotho were lagging far behind his Xhosa people even in outward things (Williams 1978:37).

2.3. Thuthuho (Coming of Age)

Before the events of 18–19 April 1964, marking the *Thuthuho* –the coming of age of the mission or church – LECSA/PEMS was known as the Church of Basutoland.

The Paris Evangelical Missionary Society had always aimed at establishing a Lesotho church and this had to differ from a “mission” (Mohapeloa 1985:38).

A letter in August 1964 reported that Basotho Christians were saying that their church did not have self-government because all churches were under one Lord, that they had to work together and that the mission and the church would co-operate in the service of their master (:46).

The Church of Basutoland refused to regard the events of 1964 as their autonomy or self-government, preferring to call it the acceptance of added responsibilities and a coming of age – *Thuthuho* (:47).

Most, if not all, of the LECSA consulted literature on the three-selves (self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing) omits the account of the ecumenical events and decisions taken regarding the autonomy or independence of Third World mission-younger “churches”, such as the integration of the International Missionary Council, founded in 1921, into the World Council of Churches (WCC) in 1961 (Bosch 1991:459). This shows that occurrences in the region in the socio-politico-economical spheres of which the LECSA or the church and missionary societies were part of were not immune.

For example, the political situation in Lesotho and race relations in southern Africa worried some of the missionaries. They wondered whether the Basotho thought the missionaries, being white, were rich: whether they regarded the mission as part of the process of colonisation. They feared that in southern Africa a Christian mission could be associated with apartheid and got the impression that the young were saying: “What do you want here? When are you leaving?” (Mohapeloa 1985:46).

Saayman (2010:6) alludes to the fact that the rejection of (colonial) “missionaries” was now more pronounced than it had ever been in Zambia (Africa), for they (Dutch Reformed missionaries) were considered to be the handmaidens of the illegitimate South African regime. He recounts this history not to rake over old coals, but to make it clear that he has firsthand experience and he is, therefore, very aware of the ambivalent and indeed duplicitous role “missionaries” have played in African history (:6).

The entanglement between mission and colonialism seemed a natural phenomenon at the time and was indeed considered to be a boon in most Western Christian circles (Bosch 1991:22-35).

But in the era of decolonisation after the Second World War, especially in the 1960s, it became quite common to hear calls such as: “Missionary, go home!” and read books with the title, *The Ugly Missionary* (cf. Bosch 1991:2). It was very clear, therefore, as David Bosch puts it (1991:6), that mission had gone “from confidence to malaise” (Saayman 2010:7).

Today, Lesotho is 96% Christian and LECSA/PEMS boasts 12 presbyteries – 11 in Lesotho and 1 in Gauteng, encompassing South Africa as a whole. Moreover, Lesotho has a total of 109 parishes, 14 of which are in South Africa. Numerically, they are as follows:

Leribe Presbytery boasts 12 parishes and they are: Leribe, Mate, Hlotse, Mahobong, Pitseng, Hleoheng, Peka, Kolonyama, Maliba-Matšo, Moselinyane, Thaba-Phatšoa, and Potsane.

Berea Presbytery is made up of 10 parishes, namely Berea, Koeneng, Malimong, Mapoteng, Cana, Teya-Teyaneng, Lekokoaneng, Piting, Sefikeng and Kolojane.

Qalo Presbytery encompasses 7 parishes which are Qalo, Qholaqhoe, Butha-Buthe, Matlakeng, Motete, Makokoane and Boribeng.

Thaba-Bosiu Presbytery consists of 13 parishes, namely Thaba-Bosiu, Maseru, Qoaling, Lithabaneng, Masianokeng, Popa, Metšoarong, Letsunyane, Phororong, Phomolong, Thamae, Mabote and Liraoheleng.

Morija Presbytery boasts 10 parishes: Morija, Khotla, Matelile, Matsieng, Qhomane, Tlametlu, Khubetsoana, Serooeng, Tšoeneng and Thupa-Likaka.

Hermone Presbytery brings together 9 parishes which are Hermone, Tšakholo, Mapotu, Mathebe, Likhoele, Thabana-Morena, Mafeteng, Kolo and Sekameng.

Maphutšeng Presbytery also boasts 9 parishes, namely Maphutšeng, Mohalinyane, Siloe, Masemouse, Mohale's Hoek, Maqoala, Mekaling, Phamong and Ketane.

Masitise Presbytery encompasses 5 parishes and they are Masitise, Moyeni, Sebapala, Qomo-Qomong and Quthing.

Tsoelike Presbytery is made up of 8 parishes and they are Tsoelike, Qasha's Nek, Tebellong, Seforong, Tšitsong, Mphaki, Patlong and Leqooa.

Molumong Presbytery boasts 6 parishes which are Molumong, Mokhotlong, Malingoaneng, Mapholaneng, Linakaneng and Sehong-hong.

Matšonyane Presbytery also consists of 6 parishes and they are Matšoanyane, Mohlanapeng, Thaba-Tseka, Lesobeng, Noka-Ntšo and Molika-Liko.

Gauteng (South Africa) Presbytery boasts 14 parishes and they are Village Main, Welkom, Qwa-qwa, Springs, Ktlehong, Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Rustenburg, Klerksdorp, Carletonville, Moletsane, Orlando, Jabavu and Meadowlands.

2.4. Jubilees

The LECSA/PEMS commemorated its existence by celebrating a number of Jubilees: 1833–1853 (25th Anniversary), 1833–1883 (50th Anniversary), 1833–1908 (75th Anniversary), 1833–1933 (100th Anniversary), 1833–1958 (125th Anniversary), 1833–1983 (150th Anniversary), and 1833–2008 (175th Anniversary) (Gill *et al.* 2009).

The researcher had the privilege of attending and witnessing their 50th Anniversary Jubilee celebration on 26–27 April 2014 at Morija, Lesotho, since their Thuthuho (Jubilee) in 1964. The occasion was graced by the attendance of the Queen Masenate, Prime Minister Thomas Thabane, former Prime Minister Phakalitha Mosisili, Roman Catholic Archbishop Lerotholi representing the Lesotho Christian Council (LCC), CEVAA (Communauté Évangélique d’Action Apostolique – Evangelical Community for Apostolic Action) representatives and high ranking peoples and officials.

The sermon was delivered by the only surviving former moderator, Rev. J.R. Mokhahlane, and he shared from Leviticus 25:8 and Matthew 10:5 under the theme: “*Jehova o re thusitse ho fihlela mona*” (1 Samuel 17:12d).

The Rev. Mafatlane, who was ordained at the 1964 Thuthuho (Jubilee) occasion to symbolically mark the coming of age of the Church of Basotholand, which was renamed the Lesotho Evangelical Church (LEC), gave an address relating to the events of the Thuthuho. Two plaques were unveiled to mark this historical event and a torch was handed over to the present moderator, Rev. T.S. Masemene, symbolising the continuation of the church as a bearer of hope in the nation of Basotho.

The moderator, Rev. T.S. Masemene, among others addressed the church congregated at open grounds at Morija. He gave a brief history of the LECSA/PEMS and highlighted developments since the Thuthuho (Jubilee) of 1964 and the challenges faced by the church.

With regard to the developments or progress made by the LECSA/PEMS, Masemene mentioned the following:

- Parish: Parish numbers were 49 in 1964 and they increased to 109 by 2014;
- Membership: The church boasts 700 000 members (though according to the WCC membership is at 340 500 – LECSA accessed 22 June 2014);
- Pastorate: The church has 102 active pastors and 9 pastors on pension (retirement) and 36 of these are female pastors;
- Evangelists: There are 104 evangelists and 28 are already on pension (retirement);
- Schools: 536 primary schools, 80 high schools and 2 vocational schools;
- Company: Kereke ea Evangeli Lesotho (KEL) Company manages all church property and businesses;
- Printing Works: Printing Works has improved and moved in 1982;
- Museum and Archives: Have been started and are running;
- Morija Church Building: Has been renovated and restored in 1956 and 1988;
- Leeto la Thapelo: Began in 2012 at Morija and hoped to be an annual event to afford the faithful ample time to prayer and spiritual nourishment;
- Books: *Buka ea Mekete* and many others written and compiled to improve the ministry of the church; and
- Unity in the country: Unity in the land of Lesotho was celebrated in 1999.

Moreover, he spoke about the challenges and hardships that the LECSA/PEMS have endured which include:

- Political persecution of their pastors in 1970 and the burning of schools;
- Political strife in the country in 1988 and 1998;
- Political involvement of some of their pastors; and

- Schism with the Gauteng Presbytery split in 1997.

Masemene also spoke about the role of the LECSA/PEMS in the future which would include political intervention through an apolitical position and keeping the light of hope both in the church and society.

2.5. LECSA/PEMS Institutions

There have been several institutions started through the LECSA/PEMS. Some of these institutions are discussed in this section.

Morija Theological Seminary (MTS) and Bible School: The MTS, a product of the second generation of French missionaries, was established in 1882 with the main aim of training ministers for the church (Casalis 1971:30). The Bible School was also established with the purpose of training evangelists for the church.

Morija Sesuto Book Depot: The Depot supplies school textbooks and essential stationery for use throughout Lesotho and beyond. An item which is of great ecumenical use that is distributed by the Depot is the popular *Lifela tsa Sione*—a product of the missionaries. Eugene, in retrospect, writes that after long years of ministry among the “heathen”, he had the happiness of reciting and singing to Cesar Malan some of his hymns translated into Sesuto (Sesotho) and reminisced about what a joy that was to him (Cesar Malan) (Casalis 1971:30).

Morija Printing Works: Missionaries wrote books about grammar and literacy, history, geography, hygiene and other topics to broaden the outlook of the nation and raise the literacy rate of Lesotho. These were supplemented by an ever-growing number of books written by the Basotho. For Christian Education, *Matšohlo* (simplified Bible lessons) books were in schools to promote Christianity from childhood (Gill *et al.* 2009:329). The church weekly newspaper, *Leselinyana* which was first published in 1864 (Mohapeloa 1985:2), is still published today and was a primary source of news and enlightened comment on national (in other words, Lesotho) issues (Gill *et al.* 2009:140–141).

Scott Hospital: Some of the early missionaries helped communities with home nursing care and dental problems before a health centre opened. It was developed

into a general hospital in 1938 established and run on Christian principles delivering services not only to the communities around Morija but also to patients from many parts of Lesotho (: *passim*).

Morija Museum & Archives: The Morija Museum formally opened in 1956 and entered its present permanent facilities in 1989. Its purpose is to carry on the tradition of Morija, as a centre of learning, innovation and excellence in Lesotho. Morija Museum is home to many cultural treasures including traditional Basotho artefacts as well as Lifaqane and Boer War memorabilia. The archives portion of the museum includes documents dating as far back as 1826.

Morija Ecumenical Youth Centre also known as the Mophato oa Morija: Built in 1956 and officially opened on 13 April 1958, it offers training for youth development and discipleship. Services are interdenominational in nature among Protestant churches (Mohapeloa 1985:29; Buka ea Molao 1990:41).

Basuto Teachers College and Schools: The church, through its missionaries, founded many schools in Lesotho and maintained 563 of these and a teachers' college before handing them over to the national department of education in Lesotho.

Morija Village Management Board (MVMB): This body was founded to help co-ordinate the work of the abovementioned and various institutions, programmes and develop their joint initiatives.

Kereke ea Evangeli Lesotho (KEL) Company: It manages all church property and businesses in Lesotho.

2.6. LECSA/PEMS Church Groups or Movements (Mekhatlo)

According to the constitution of LECSA (2014), the church has groups in its parishes that are constitutionally recognised and through these is able or should be able to engage in missional activities. These missional activities are as follows:

- *Bo'Ma Bana (Mothers' Union):* These are made up of mainly adult and married women who are supposed to embed the life of prayerful and dedicated women of the Christian faith. They pray and fellowship not only among

themselves but interdenominationally or ecumenically in their local communities and reach out to meet the material and spiritual needs of others.

- *Basali ba Kereke (Women's League)*: Gender and age determines membership to this group for they welcome all women who are mature, including single women who do not qualify to join *Bo'Ma Bana (Mothers' Union)*. Their ministry is almost synonymous to that of *Bo'Ma Bana (Mothers' Union)*.
- *Banna le Bahlankana (Men's and Young Men's Fellowship)*: Members of this group are both adult and young adult men charged with the responsibility of mentoring the young men, holding the celebration of their Bosocho-Christian tradition and reaching out to other men in the country.
- *Ba Bacha (Youth)*: This is a ministry and mission to the youth and is engaged in the discipleship of the young generation of the church. The group is founded on four "T" principles, based on the symbol of the cross: Thapelo (Prayer), Thuto (Instruction), Tšebetso (Service or Ministry) and Thabisano (Celebration).
 - Thapelo (Prayer): The youth are encouraged to fellowship with fellow Christians to inculcate the discipline and practice of Christian prayer.
 - Thuto (Instruction): According to 1 Timothy 4:12, the youth are encouraged "not to let anyone look down on them because they are young but they must set an example for the believers in speech, in life, love, in faith and in purity".
 - Tšebetso (Service/Ministry): The youth are encouraged to engage in service in their group (Mokhatlo), at their homes, at their churches and community or society.
 - Thabisano (Celebration): The youth are encouraged to engage in activities that will nurture and develop them, wholistically, in the areas of sports and the (performing) arts.
- *Morija Ecumenical Youth Centre* also known as *Mophato oa Morija*: Built in 1956 and primarily owned by LECSA/PEMS, the centre offers training in the areas mentioned above and its services are interdenominational in nature among Protestant churches (Mohapeloa 1985:29; Buka ea Molao 1990:41).

- *Libini tsa Kereke (Church Choir)*: Charged with the responsibility of communicating the Gospel musically and through entertainment, this group is made up of all age groups in the parish. They keep the tradition of the church alive and inculturate the Basotho cultural heritage.
- *Sefapano se Seputsoa (Blue Cross)*: This is an international movement dealing with social ills worldwide in collaboration with churches and within the LECSA/PEMS context. Among the Basotho, they are especially focusing on substance abuse, particularly, alcohol.

The problem of drunkenness among Basotho dates as far back as the aftermath of the Gun War of 1880–1881 (Smith 1996:243–244). Mohapeloa (1985:4) alludes to the fact that since the war, the situation had become worse and excessive brandy drinking (and the drinking of other kinds of liquor) was to remain a problem for many years to come. However, the church preached against drunkenness and the Blue Cross group was established in the late 1930s to strengthen the campaign against strong drink (Mohapeloa 1985:19).

Nowadays, the Blue Cross is involved in preaching and teaching against substance abuse, including using illegal drugs, and covers general issues of health as well. In the church calendar, annually a Sunday is dedicated to Blue Cross to conduct a service pertinent to a theme chosen for that particular year. At a local level, organisations with expertise in the area of substance abuse, like the South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence (SANCA), are invited to make presentations and raise awareness around substance abuse and the use of illegal drugs.

2.7. LECSA's Mission: A Summative Understanding

LECSA's mission is based on six principles.

Ministerial Formation: The church believes that students and candidates at their training institution, Morija Theological Seminary, have enrolled in response to the calling to engage in mission. Furthermore, once ministerial formation is completed the graduates are released to do missions.

Minister Transfers: They have a policy of transferring their ministers to another parish every four or five years around the month of June. The transference of a minister from one parish to the next is purely understood as mission (thomo in Sesotho) from one context to another.

Ecumenical Collaboration: The denomination (Mohapelo 1985:58; Buka ea Molao 1990:2) is part of ecumenical bodies like the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) now called the World Union of Reformed Churches (WURC), Lesotho Council of Churches (LCC), All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC), World Council of Churches (WCC), Evangelical Community for Apostolic Action (ECAA) and, in the recent past, South African Council of Churches (SACC) represented by PEMS. At the moment, the church has not renewed its membership with the SACC. The church sees its ecumenical collaboration, involvement and participation in the form of deploying its human, material and financial resources as missional missionary.

Teaching: In their homiletical practice, the church emphasises the didactical aspect of the art and thus is able to instruct, empower and challenge its congregants to engage in diaconal acts and missional activities like in community projects.

Commissions: The denomination has, at the international level (Lesotho, South Africa), commissions for education (basic), evangelism mission (Tsamaiso ea Lentsoe) and health (Bophelo-Bongaka).

Language policy: LECSA/PEMS consciously and deliberately adopted a language policy that is culturally relevant to the people they are reaching, namely the Sesotho. They present their teaching-preaching, conduct their business and write their official documents in Sesotho; thus, they remain faithful to their missional cultural context.

2.8. (In)conclusion

Rev. Tiyo Soga, reflecting on the divine plan for black people (Africans), avers that black society, regenerated and confident, could play its role in the divine plan for the continent (Africa) which has been unfolding in North Africa with the advent of the

Christian Church, and, in South(ern) Africa, with the coming of the missionaries (Williams 1978:122).

When concluding his biography, Casalis said: “May it not indeed be that, becoming in their turn missionary centres, they will, in the exercise of that rich temperament and of that capacity which distinguish the Basotho among the African races, prove the great means of bringing about the Saviour’s reign in what has so justly been called ‘the Dark Continent!’ Herein is my expectation and my hope, and for this cause do I bless God for sending me as His messenger into their midst” (Casalis 1971:293).

Tiyo Soga differs very much with Eugene Casalis on the issue of ethnicity and isolating Basotho from the rest of the African peoples, for Soga is more of an African nationalist. Nevertheless, both missionaries, Soga and Casalis, who lived and served during the nineteenth century mission enterprise, agree that the Almighty God has a grand plan for Africa and the African church is at the centre of it. It is of paramount importance to realise that the LECSA/PEMS as an African church should rise up to the occasion and become a missional church.

CHAPTER THREE: SOUTH WESTERN TOWNSHIP (SOWETO)

3.1. Background Information

A report published by Statistics South Africa entitled *Community Survey 2007: The RDP commitment: What South Africans Say* has startling information for the Lesotho Evangelical Church in Southern Africa (LECSA). The report is based on the new provincial boundaries. It reports that the total population of South Africa has increased from 44,8 million people in October 2001 to 48,5 million people in February 2007. Gauteng – where Soweto is situated – is the smallest province in the area yet it has the largest number of people living in it of all the provinces (10 451 713) and it has increased by approximately 14% compared to what it was in 2001. The province of Gauteng grew at an average rate of 2,4% per annum. Provincial distribution population indicates that Gauteng is now the most populous province in the country (Community Survey 2007:9).

In addition, Soweto is the most populous black urban residential area in South Africa which provides a home for about 1 in 30 of the country's total inhabitants (Alexander *et al.* 2013:1). According to the 2001 census, Soweto has a population of around a million (1 101 103) people (Alexander *et al.* 2013:57). Due to its proximity to Johannesburg, the economic hub of South Africa, it is also the most metropolitan township in the country – setting trends in politics, fashion, music, dance and language.

The township was, from its genesis, a product of segregationist planning. Similarly to other townships bordering city centres in South Africa, Soweto was created as the geographical expression of apartheid's ideologies of racial segregation and influx control. While this vision was solidified in the apartheid period, its beginning lay in the racist segregation policies of the government of the Union of South Africa and its concern about the multiracial slum environment developing within Johannesburg (Seekings 2011).

It was back in 1903 that Kliptown/Klipspruit – including Pimville, the oldest of a cluster of townships that constitute present day Soweto – was established following

the end of the Anglo-Boer War in 1902. As the newly formed Johannesburg municipal council strongly objected to the developing slum, they attempted to clear the slums through two Acts, and many others that followed, namely the Natives Land Act, No. 27 of 1913, and the Native Urban Areas Act, No. 21 of 1923. These Acts enabled them to relocate Africans to the townships of Klipspruit (1904) and later Orlando (1931).

Orlando was the first township constructed in the heart of what was called Soweto (Alexander *et al.* 2013:35–38). But it was not until 1963 that the acronym Soweto was adopted as the official name for the South Western Townships, following a four-year public competition on an appropriate name for the sprawling township. Their reason for doing so was that slums posed a serious health threat to the city of Johannesburg (Parnell 1988:116) but it is a known fact that the township was created to house black labourers who worked in mines and other industries in the city centre. African families who were removed to the slums did everything they could to resist being resettled there and the inner city was later reserved for white occupation as the policy of segregation took root (see Chapter Four).

The perennial problems of Soweto have, since its inception, included poor housing, overcrowding, high unemployment and poor infrastructure. With the growth of the working class during post-World War II, Soweto witnessed an influx resulting in overcrowding and the rise of squatter movements under the leadership of James ‘Sofasonke’ Mpanza. Due to the defiant and illegal nature of these squatter movements, the Johannesburg City Council hastily developed plans to set up temporary accommodation in the emergency camps of Jabavu (in 1944)—the hometown of the researcher—and Moroka in 1947 (Kane-Berman 1978:58; Beavon 2004:127). This has seen settlements of shacks made of corrugated iron sheets and hessian shelters becoming part of the Soweto landscape.

The brutal outcome of apartheid’s focus on the African middle classes was the programmes of forced removal of property-owning Africans from houses in the freehold townships of Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare to the new townships of Meadowlands and Diepkloof in Soweto (discussed in Chapter Four). The system

continued to develop other townships within the township according to tribal lines and ethnic groups. Naledi, Mapetla, Tladi, Moletsane and Phiri were designated as Sepedi-, Sesotho-, and Setswana-speaking zones; Chiawelo/Tshiawelo was set aside for Xitsonga- and Tshivenda-speaking people; and Dlamini, Senaoane, Zola, Zondi, Jabulani, Emdeni and White City were for isiZulu and isiXhosa speakers (Alexander, *et al.* 2013:*passim*). Mofolo was also added to the fray. The African middle class was allocated to Diepkloof, Dube and Rockville (*Ibid*).

Apartheid planning did not provide much in terms of infrastructure and it is only in recent years that the democratic government has spearheaded moves to plant trees, tar roads, develop parks, and install electricity and running water to some parts of the township.

3.1.1. Struggle and resistance in Soweto

Soweto has been a hotbed of many political campaigns that took place in South Africa, the most memorable of which was the 1976 student uprising. Increased repression and a growing sense of urban identity were associated with rising resentment in Soweto. This was given expression through the teachings of Steve Biko, the charismatic leader of the South African Student Organisation (SASO), which was launched at the University of Natal in 1969. His philosophy of Black Consciousness spoke to the psychological oppression of apartheid and the need to foster positive feelings of self-worth within the black population in order to resist injustice (Alexander *et al.* 2013: 42).

The politics of Black Consciousness, which preached the liberation of the mind from the negative self-image of the oppressor, gave rise to active political resistance to the Bantu Education system and the Soweto Uprising of 1976. Twenty thousand Soweto school children marched on the morning of 16 June 1976 in protest against the government decision to enforce the use of Afrikaans as a language of instruction in secondary schools. The march began as a joyful and peaceful student protest, but when the police opened fire on the marchers, violence broke out between the police

and the Soweto community which lasted for a week and claimed at least 176 lives (Kane-Berman 1978:1).

The student's protest against the system was joined by young unemployed workers. Widespread mobilisation followed the uprising as calls for workers to engage in stay-away strikes were often met with great success (Hirson 1979). The Committee of Ten arose out of the student protest as workers and parents sought to support and advise the student movement (Mthambeleni 1999). The Committee was made up of prominent Sowetans, led by (the late) Dr Nthato Motlana and was aimed at challenging the government-sponsored municipal authorities (Alexander *et al.* 2013:39,43).

Politically-charged campaigns to have germinated in Soweto include the squatter movement of the 1940s and the defiance campaigns of the mid- to late 1980s. Thus, Soweto is reputed as being a township with a propensity for resistance (Beall, Crankshaw & Parnell 2003:58). Other campaigns, movements and organisations that either started or gained momentum in the township include the Soweto Civic Association (SCA) in 1979 which was a key civic, whose core consisted of the previous members of the Committee of Ten, to set up branches and establish Street Committees throughout the township to mobilise on issues of rent and service charges and the recognition of Sowetans as permanent South Africans. The Congress of South African Students (COSAS) was also founded in Soweto in 1979 as a student body which contributed to reviving the Charterist tradition and reintroducing the African National Congress (ANC) ideology in the township. Another group that was started was the Soweto Youth Congress (SOYCO) in 1983. SOYCO was one of the Charterist bodies which attracted and gave a sense of purpose to the 53% unemployed youth in the township. The more radical and militant members of this group were later known as the comrades (Shubane 1991:262-263; Bonner & Segal 1998:112-113).

In addition, the United Democratic Front (UDF) was founded in 1983. It was an umbrella body that helped with the co-ordination and facilitation of urban resistance and linked local struggles to the national resistance movement. The main role played

by this body was ideological as it set out to provide a national framework for local struggles (Seekings 1992:94). The formation of People's Courts played a judicial role in the township and the Soweto People's Delegation (SPD), formed in 1987, was a new body that replaced SCA to enter into negotiations with the government, demanding, inter alia, a single tax base for Johannesburg and Soweto, an end to racial segregation and the creation of one city (Shubane 1991:271; Bonner & Segal 1998:131). Moreover, the popular Soweto Accord was signed in the township on 24 September 1990 (Zuern 2011:87).

3.1.2. Soweto in recent years

Recent data and demographics of Soweto are as follows:

- Area: 150 km² (52.9sq mi)
- Population: 1,300,000
- Density: 8,666.7/km² (22,446.6/sq mi) (<http://www.soweto.gov.za/>)

Soweto was counted as part of Johannesburg in South Africa's 2008 census and its population stood at 1,3 million people – recent demographic statistics are not readily available. It has been estimated that 40% of Johannesburg's residents live in Soweto. However, the 2008 census put its population at 1,3 million (2010) or about one-third of the city's total population. Soweto's population is predominantly black. Like in all black South Africa, the life expectancy of Sowetans is approximately 48 years (Alexander *et al*, 2013:48–259). All 11 of the country's official languages are spoken in Soweto and the main linguistic groups (in descending order of size) are isiZulu, Sesotho, Setswana, tshi-Venda and xi-Tsonga (<http://www.soweto.gov.za/>). However, two African languages, namely Sesotho and isiZulu, are the most widely spoken in Soweto (Alexander *et al*. 2013:191).

The unbanning of black political organisations and the release of political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela – a resident of Soweto – in February 1990, sent a wave of joy and celebration throughout Soweto. Expectations soared as Sowetans came to believe that great changes would happen overnight. Urban black South Africans expected that the change in power for which they had fought would result in

substantial change in their lives, but this has not been the case for many of the poor and working class in Soweto (:48–49).

The neo-liberal path that resulted from the negotiation process has had severe implications for Sowetans, especially in the area of service delivery. In 1999, the City of Johannesburg publicised its plans to privatise service through its iGoli 2002, 2010 and 2030 programmes (Ngwane 2003:44), shifting priorities even further away from the shortage of housing and services for the poor and onto the growth of business in Johannesburg. The policies of the post-apartheid state and local government reinforce the economic, social and spatial separation of Johannesburg (Tomlinson *et al.* 2003:18). The impact of this on the livelihoods of the poor can be seen at the everyday level of basic services and it is also at this level that renewed political resistance has taken place.

In Johannesburg, the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF) was established in 2000 by activists involved in the struggle against privatisation in the workplace and communities (Dawson 2010:272). The Soweto Electricity Crises Committee (SECC) is the Anti-Privatisation Forum's largest affiliate and was formed by Trevor Ngwane and other activists in 2000 with a focus on the issue of electricity as a means through which to engage Soweto's residents in a broader struggle against neo-liberalism (Alexander 2005).

In the 1950s, the vast bulk of Sowetans had no choice but to accept the standard "matchbox" house. By the 1990s, however, state reforms that privatised the provision of housing meant that Sowetans lived under increasingly differentiated housing conditions. On the one hand, reforms that introduced home-ownership offered the wealthy few opportunities to purchase housing of a relatively high standard (Beall, Crankshaw & Parnell 2003:200–201), hence the extensions built in the 1980s to house the emerging middle class, mostly civil servants, have added colour to the township. On the other hand, the withdrawal of the state from low-cost housing provision led to the overcrowding of formal houses and the proliferation of shacks in backyards on open land (*Ibid.*).

A survey by the University of Witwatersrand conducted in Soweto in 1997 reported that approximately 57% of Sowetans lived in council-built housing, 20% in backyard shacks, 9% in private houses, 6% in informal settlements and 4% in workers' accommodation, and these constituted one of the poorest segments of the population (Morris *et al.* 1999:5). About 60% of residents of any kind of former council house were born in Soweto. People in former council houses seem to be most settled: 70% of Sowetans who were born in Soweto are currently living in some kind of former council house, compared to 45% who arrived in the township as adults. In contrast, backyard rooms and shacks accommodate a much greater proportion of people who were born outside the township, particularly recent arrivals, and they happen to be young (Alexander *et al.* 2013:93).

Recent years have seen Soweto become a site of massive development projects, including tarring the roads and greening the township, making Soweto a major tourist attraction in the country. Gangs come and go, fashions come and go, but the ubiquitous township continues to grow. In 2004, Soweto celebrated 100 years of existence (www.joburg.org.za/soweto).

3.1.3. Soweto: The economy

Both poverty and upward mobility have become more visible in and around Soweto since the advent of democracy (Alexander *et al.* 2013:145). Many parts of Soweto rank among the poorest in Johannesburg, although individual townships tend to have a mix of wealthier and poorer residents. In general, households in the outlying areas to the northwest and southeast have lower incomes, while those in south-western areas tend to have higher incomes. Economic inequality and racial privilege persist in post-apartheid South Africa and many Sowetans are located in a disadvantaged position in terms of both race and class (:185).

In terms of the experiences of poverty in Soweto, most people would like their situation to be addressed through the creation of employment, housing, infrastructure development and service delivery. Often the experience of poverty intersects with other forms of identity, such as gender, age, and the length of time

spent in the township. The older generations are focused more on the affordability of services, so that to be poor is to not be able to pay for services, resulting in the accumulation of huge debts for services and electricity. In contrast, the youth associate poverty with having nowhere to go and nothing to do, especially in terms of the lack of sports recreational facilities (Beall, Crankshaw & Parnell 2003:207).

People from any other 'race' group living in the township are below the average for their counterparts in the Johannesburg Metro as a whole (Alexander *et al.* 2013:59). A very rough calculation using Census 2001 data for Soweto puts about 24% of households below the rule-of-thumb "dollar-a-day" poverty line (around R250 a month or R3000 a year, per capita) mentioned by the Presidency (in 2007) in its poverty headcount. As many as one-fifth of Sowetans may have been living on or below the poverty line, suggested by the Treasury, of R430 per capita per month in 2006. In 2006, the township's unemployment rate was 32%, well above the national level of 25% (:76,79,81). Moreover, 69% of adult Sowetans are either not in the labour force, unemployed or engaged in survivalist activities (:3).

The economic development of Soweto was severely curtailed by the apartheid state, which provided very limited infrastructure and prevented residents from creating their own businesses. Roads remained unpaved and many residents had to share one tap between four houses. Soweto was meant to exist only as a dormitory town for black Africans who worked in white houses, factories, and industries. The 1957 Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act and its predecessors restricted residents between 1923 and 1976 to 7 self-employment categories in Soweto itself.

Von Holdt and Webster (2005:6) contend that, among people of working age, there are more people unemployed or selling on the street than are employed in this country, and one-third of the employed are in precarious work. Sowetans' work takes a variety of forms beyond paid employment. Both narrow (official) and broad (expanded) unemployment rates are substantially higher for Soweto than the average for the country. By March 2006, the official narrow unemployment rate was 25.6% nationally for all races (Stats SA 2006:iii) and 23% in Gauteng.

Sowetans, prior to the advent of democracy, could operate general shops, butcheries, eating houses, sell milk or vegetables, and hawk goods. The overall number of such enterprises at any time was strictly controlled. As a result, informal trading developed outside the legally-recognised activities. However, in the new dispensation, it appears that Sowetans' employment are dominating in service industries such as retail, public service and cleaning (Alexander *et al.* 2013:109). The restrictions on economic activities were lifted in 1977, spurring the growth of the taxi industry as an alternative to Soweto's inadequate bus and train transport systems.

By 1976, Soweto had only two cinemas and two hotels and only 83% of houses had electricity. Up to 93% of residents had no running water. Using fire for cooking and heating resulted in respiratory problems that contributed to high infant mortality rates (54 per 1000 compared to 18 for whites, 1976 figures).

In 1994, Sowetans earned on average almost six and a half times less than their counterparts in wealthier areas of Johannesburg (1994 estimates). Sowetans contribute less than 2% to Johannesburg's rates. Some Sowetans remain impoverished and others live in shanty towns with little or no services. About 85% of Kliptown comprises informal houses. The Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee argues that Sowetans are unable to pay for electricity. The committee believes that the South African government's privatisation drives will worsen the situation. In addition, research shows that 62% of residents in Orlando East and Pimville are either unemployed or pensioners.

However, recently there have been signs indicating economic improvement. The Johannesburg City Council began to provide more street lights and to pave roads. Private initiatives to tap into Sowetan's combined spending power of R4.3 billion, or R10.4 billion according to marketers in 2003 (Alexander *et al.* 2013:73), were also planned, including the construction of Bara Mall, Protea Mall, Jabulani Mall, Protea Glen Mall and Maponya Mall, an up-market hotel in Kliptown, and the Orlando Ekhaya entertainment centre. Soweto has also become a centre for nightlife and culture.

3.1.4. Soweto: Society and culture

Soweto has become a unique social and cultural setting. Being part of the urban agglomerations of Gauteng, Soweto shares much of the same media as the rest of Gauteng. There are, however, some media sources dedicated to Soweto itself:

- Soweto TV is a community television channel, available on SABC channel 5 and DStv channel 150.
- Jozi FM is a community radio station catering mainly for Soweto and some of the surrounding areas.
- The *Sowetan* newspaper which has a readership of around 1.6 million in and around Soweto and countrywide.

Moreover, several museums, monuments and memorials have been built in Soweto such as the:

- Hector Pieterse Museum in Orlando West;
- Nelson Mandela National Museum in Orlando West;
- Regina Mundi Church in Rockville;
- Kliptown Exhibition in Kliptown, near Kliptown Holiday Inn Hotel; and
- Soweto Theatre in Jabulani.

Moreover, Soweto is home to the biggest hospital in the southern hemisphere: the Chris Hani Baragwanath Academic Hospital.

In addition, Soweto is credited for being one of the founding places for kwaito, which is a style of hip hop specific to South Africa. This form of music, which combines elements of house music, American hip hop, and traditional African music, became a strong force among black South Africans. The spread of Soweto in popular culture worked both ways, as American hip hop artists Hieroglyphics rap about the terrible conditions and changing social order in their song “Soweto”, saying that cowardice has ruled this area, but how now the “gems”, or black youth, need to express themselves. This appears to be Hieroglyphics attempt to urge a critical, political version of hip hop in South Africa.

Other cultural events unique to the area include the Soweto Wine Festival and the Soweto Beer Festival. These are traditionally held at the University of Johannesburg (UJ) Soweto Campus.

There are also sport events held in Soweto such as:

- The Soweto Open Tennis Tournament, part of the Challenger Tour which is hosted annually in Soweto, Jabavu.
- The annual Soweto marathon which is run over a 42.2 km (26.2 mi) course through Soweto (<http://www.soweto.gov.za/>).
- FNB Stadium which hosted the official opening of the FIFA World Tournament in the year 2010 and is situated on the outskirts of Soweto and the South African Football Association (SAFA) headquarters.

Soweto is also home to three major and older soccer teams, namely Orlando Pirates, Moroka Swallows and Kaizer Chiefs. Soweto is also home to scores of top soccer players in the country both in yesteryears and in recent years.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE HISTORY OF MEADOWLANDS AND THE WESTERN AREAS OF JOHANNESBURG

4.1. Introduction

Recognising the resources that respectability gave to a place like Sophiatown may be of use in a post-apartheid society. The problems of crime, of an education system stretched to breaking point, of HIV and AIDS and of an economy struggling to use the energies of its potential workforce seem less daunting in the light of the many nameless residents of Sophiatown, Newclare and Western Native Township (WNT). They sweated hard to make a place for themselves and their families, sometimes even their congregations, in the dirt-poor world of the apartheid city. They were not crushed by their many troubles and setbacks, but resisted them. Their efforts to build a peaceful community are worthy of praise and offer hope to those facing the tremendous challenges of building peaceful communities in South Africa in the twenty-first century (Goodhew 2004:171).

4.2. The Origin of the Western Areas of Johannesburg

Industrialisation came to South Africa with astonishing swiftness. The discovery of gold in the 1880s turned the rural backwater of the Rand into a teeming mining camp and then a modern city, full of splendour and squalor. At its heart lay Johannesburg, a town made by mine workers. Then, further out of town, townships gradually sprung up, consisting mostly of black people seeking work in the city. In its early decades, the social formations thrown up by Johannesburg were as extraordinary as the economic forces that had thrown up the city (Goodhew 2004:1-2).

Mr Tobiansky had purchased some land on the rocky promontory (seven kilometres) west of the centre of Johannesburg intending to develop an attractive white suburb on the site (Purkey & Stein 1993:iv). According to Purkey and Stein (1993), the Johannesburg Town Council, however, successfully destroyed Tobiansky's dream when they decided to build sewerage disposal facilities in an area next to the township and whites lost interest in buying property there. After

various attempts to sell the land, he began to sell individual plots to whoever would buy them, whether the purchasers were black or white. Tobiansky with commendable self-effacement named the town, not after himself, but after his wife, Sophia, and also named some of the streets after his children: Edith, Gerty, Bertha and Sol (Kagan 1978:32–33).

The Western Areas consisted of three neighbouring townships: Sophiatown, Newclare and WNT, which were situated some six kilometres west of the centre of Johannesburg. Sophiatown and Newclare were areas where land could be bought freehold by all races and were inhabited from the turn of the century. WNT, built in 1919, was a municipally-owned township solely for Africans (Kagan 1978).

After World War I, the Rand continued to grow rapidly in size, but as a city it was experiencing a form of middle-age spread, beginning to sprawl away from its centre. Part of the energy encouraging such a sprawl was the increasingly segregationist mood of the white electorate. In Johannesburg, segregation meant extruding those black people in the centre of the city to its periphery, to places like Sophiatown. Segregation ideology meant that laws were passed to keep black people out of jobs reserved for whites. Consequently, the years of worldwide economic depression in the 1930s hit the black population the hardest (Goodhew 2004:2).

Although the years after 1933 saw massive and sustained economic growth in South Africa, remarkably little benefit trickled down to African workers in Johannesburg and surveys conducted towards the end of the decade suggest that the wages were virtually unchanged. Even allowing for spending on items such as clothing, wages remained several pounds below the minimum needed for the barest subsistence (:5).

Modisane (1990:162) alludes to the fact that economic independence is something the African will never be permitted, for the economy of South Africa and the continued prosperity of the white man are consolidated on the structure of native wages.

Modisane (1990:97–98) refers to statistics that show that in Johannesburg the minimum wage required to sustain a family of five was estimated at £33 per month and the average unskilled wage was £16 per month, which meant that 80% of the

African families in Johannesburg lived below the poverty datum line. These statistics become even more frustrating when confronted with the fact that South Africa is a land of plenty. Dr Nkomo once said that South Africa is rich enough to satisfy all our needs, but not enough for all our greed.

4.3. Mecca of Multicultural Milieu

Though the Sophiatown Tobiansky had dreamed of was not to be, in its place grew another Sophiatown—a colourful, vibrant, violent and sometimes sordid place that was to become both a name linked with a flourishing period of creativity in writing, music and politics, and a powerful metaphor for the destruction brought about by the Nationalist Government’s policy of “separate development”: apartheid (Purkey & Stein 1993:iv; Modisane 1990:xviii).

Journalists of the day such as Lewis Nkosi, Can “Von” Themba, Doc “Old Carcass” Bikitsha, Henry Nxumalo, Es’kia Mphahlele, Casey Moses Motsisi, Nat Nakasa and many others were social commentators and cultural activists—all from Sophiatown or associated with the township (Thema 1999:45).

In the 1950s, the stage musical King Kong toured half the world with the best singers, dancers and musicians of the day from Sophiatown, telling the story of the Back of the Moon shebeen and maverick boxer: Ezekiel Dlamini (*Ibid*).

The glitterati and artists of Sophiatown included, inter alia, philanthropist Dave Motsamai, Dambuza Nathan Mdledle, Mirriam Makeba, Harry Mekela, Dorothy Masuku, the Manhattan Brothers, the Woody Woodpeckers and the Merry Blackbirds (Thema 1999:46).

In soccer, there were some people from Sophiatown who made a name for themselves and they included Don Mattera, Boikie American Rapela, Morris “More and More” More (father of George “Best” More who later played for Orlando Pirates), Caswell More, Mack “Six-at-the-Back” West, Josiah “Home Rhee” Maripe, Jesse “Uncle Louis” Kharumi, Steve “Stwata” Radebe, Sporta Ncumeya, Ernest “Atom Bomb” Pooe, Rodney Mabidikane and Andries Nelson (:47).

Sophiatown was above all a lively place and more. It had a vitality and exuberance which belonged to no other suburb of South Africa (Modisane 1990:xviii). Sophiatown and the rest of the Western Areas were later known as an ethnic melting pot, comprised of people from across the diversity that was black South Africa. A variety of indicators—from the number of languages used in church services to a survey of the backgrounds of Johannesburg’s teachers—suggest this was true from its earliest years. When a priest for the Western Areas was being selected in 1926, one candidate stood out because:

His father was a Malay and his mother was a coloured woman of Basotho origin; he himself speaks four languages, so he will have many points of contact with the varied population of Sophiatown and WNT. (Goodhew 2004:4)

The Odin cinema was found in Good Street which was known as the Undermoon Hall in the 1930s, the spot where African jazz was born (Thema 1999:18).

4.4. Basotho Natives: Brewing Trade and Migrant Labour

Newclare contained a segment given over largely to the families of mine workers, predominantly from the Basotho group, who lodged in the township and brewed beer. Basotho youths, especially those who had recently arrived from the country, formed a disproportionate number of youths who fell afoul of the law. WNT, as its name implied, was meant for Africans only and Indians and Chinese people were not allowed to reside there (Goodhew 2004:4).

Moreover, it turns out that classically proletarian figures such as some migrant workers were rather more likely to identify upward with the state than other, more respectable, figures (:xxii-xxiii).

A migrant labour system and rural impoverishment combined to drive Basotho women onto the Rand in a desperate struggle for economic survival. The employer preferred the rural native over the urban native because the former was claimed to be more honest, reliable and respectful, accepted lower wages and was prepared to

put up with working and living conditions which were not acceptable to the urban native (:69).

Bonner (1990) states that in the 1930s it was Basotho women who became most visible in the brewing trade: their earlier concentration in Newclare developed into one of the key centres of liquor production and the area acquired a reputation as one of the most violent districts on the Rand. Most customers were migrant miners and every weekend would see large-scale fighting, sometimes involving hundreds of men, although a few were drawn in from the neighbouring WNT. Often, but not always, such clashes had a Sotho/Nguni character and Basotho women were prominent in urging on their (Basotho) side. They formed the impoverished and distinctive community of *Setikitiking*, capable in later years of exploding in resistance to the state and imploding the carious practice of black political unity.

Concern over brewing was linked to antipathy between the residents of the Western Areas and Basotho Russians gang of Newclare South. The culture of the latter was bound up with the Basotho migrant workers, for whom it remained a focal point on the Rand, with brewing at the heart of this community (Goodhew 2004:71,76,77).

The apartheid laws prohibited Africans from brewing African beer although they were allowed to drink what was contemptuously referred to as Kaffir beer, made and sold by the government. African beer was drunk at depots known as beer halls. Many African women illegally brewed traditional African beer and also contrived some hideous concoctions with the kick of a mule. Even their names made one's flesh crawl. There was "Barborton", also known as "mbamba", "flying machine", "pineapple", "mampuru", "hops", "sebapala le masenke" (which means "staggering on the fences"), "isiqomfana", also known as "skokiaan", and "nylon" (Thema 1999:17).

The laws only served to raise the price and lower the quality of liquor in shebeens that mushroomed everywhere. There was Aunt Babe's in Edith Street, Bright's Place in Turker Street and, opposite that, the Carlton Hotel run by a Chinese owner. There was Club House, the House on Telegraph Hill in Milner Street, the Back of the Moon

on the corner of Gibson and Milner Streets, the 39 Steps on the corner of Good and Gerty Streets. Moreover, there were Cabin in the Sky, the Sanctuary, Little Heaven, Purple Grotto and Falling Leaves (:44).

The Basotho and their regents, the Russians gang, were in most cases passive or sabotaging when it came to struggle involvement or participation (Goodhew 2004:*passim*).

4.5. The Forced Removals

A white population always fearful of its black compatriots turned violently to the right by electing a nationalist government in 1948; thus, economics and politics combined to produce the pressure cooker that was the decade of the 1950s (Goodhew 2004:65).

4.5.1. The Afrikaners' nationalist ideology

The Nationalists or Afrikaners saw themselves as the chosen people whom God has seen fit to place in authority, government and guidance over the black races, to which God – in His infinite wisdom – has damned beyond redemption, from which they cannot be saved even by the dying of Christ on the cross. The question of the relation between the Afrikaner and the African, they (the Afrikaners) maintained, was wholly and solely the responsibility of the Afrikaner; a matter between him and the God of Calvinism. They genuinely saw themselves as the last defenders of white civilisation and were so convinced in the rightness of their course that they were arming to fight with their backs against the wall (Modisane 1990:161).

Modisane (1990:165) agonises that the converted insisted that the African had sinned, offended God as the heathens and disregarded His commandments. They saw the unfortunate position of the African as having been willed by God in His infinite wisdom: the dispensation of divine wrath which shall descend even unto the third and fourth generation. Apartheid was God's punishment for their sins.

However, as apartheid began to be implemented in the early 1950s, it was met by a volley of protests on issues such as the right of black people to own land, the right to

a decent education, and the need for good policing. Such campaigns took place within a milieu in which days of prayer, biblical quotations, and clerical advocacy were normal parts of the political process (Goodhew 2004:xxii).

4.5.2. Apartheid: A political tool

Riding on the wave of discontent about South African participation in World War II, Rev. Dr D.F. Malan and his Afrikaner-rooted Herenigde Nasionale Party – the Reunited National Party – campaigned in the 1948 elections on a simple declaration: “A course of equality between white and black races must eventually mean national suicide for the white race”. Instead, he promised the party would institute a system of total segregation, or, in Afrikaans, apartheid (Brown 2013:17).

For the Nationalists, led by Rev. D.F. Malan, the key to white security was the rigid separation of the races – apartheid. It was this policy that led to the eventual removal of black people from Sophiatown in the mid-1950s (Goodhew 2004:121).

The township had drawn the government’s ire because here, as in Durban’s Cato Manor and Cape Town’s District Six, racial integration was a lived reality. Africans shared streets with people of Chinese, Indian, white and mixed descent, frequenting the same stores, schools and shebeens in a community drawn together by the cross-racial experience of poverty (Brown 2013:42).

The voters of Westdene, the white suburb adjacent to Sophiatown, complained about the black spot on their doorstep, and so Sophiatown was declared a white area. In Kliptown (one of the townships in Soweto), just outside of Johannesburg, the whites wanted to move out because of the proximity of the black location, but the minister ignored their wishes and re-zoned the area for whites (Modisane 1990:131,164).

Sophiatown died, not because it was a social embarrassment, but because it was a political corn inside the apartheid boot. The then Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Dr Verwoerd (who had a theological training background), condemned Sophiatown because it was a slum. It was true that up to 80 people were huddled in backyard shacks on 50 by 100 feet areas, but it was also true that Moroka

was an approved shanty started in 1946 as an emergency camp where every family was housed in hessian shacks (:14).

In 1955, the apartheid state began ejecting tens of thousands of black people from Sophiatown, among who was Dr Alfred Xuma, former president of the ANC. Sophiatown stood a few miles west of central Johannesburg on the main gold-bearing region of South Africa, the Witwatersrand (the Rand). Founded at the beginning of the century, it was occupied by a community rich in human resources but poor in material terms. Sophiatown had lasted barely 50 years (Goodhew 2004:xv).

Sophiatown and its neighbouring township of Newclare and WNT were known as the Western Areas of Johannesburg. They may not have lasted long, but together they formed the most significant black centre of population on the Rand—and in South Africa—in the 1940s and 1950s. The district was a seedbed of political activism and a fertile environment for black culture. Despite dogged opposition by the ANC and a host of groupings and individuals, black people were removed from the Western Areas between 1955 and 1962 and sent to various parts of what is now Soweto—South Western Township. Sophiatown itself was rezoned a white area and renamed Triomf (:xv–xvi).

4.5.3. Resistance

Resistance is a term widely used in discussions of South African history, but which contains several layers. It can be divided loosely into formal and informal resistance. In turn, formal resistance to the state included many options from deferential requests for change through non-violent protests to riots. The full range of options was explored by the people of the Western Areas (Goodhew 2004:xxi). Informal resistance is difficult to define but encompasses anything where the human spirit refuses to be crushed by the weight placed on it (Genovese 1975:*passim*).

Educated, uninhibited and relentlessly clever, the men and women of fringe country chose to challenge apartheid not through overt protests, but simply by refusing to let it dictate their daily social and intellectual pursuits. They formed jazz clubs and

dissident newspapers, wrote musicals and published novels, attended multiracial parties and dated across the colour line, carving out a pulsing physical and mental space for black thinkers and white bohemians against the foreboding backdrop of a racially repressive state (Brown 2013:39).

Sophiatown and the Western Areas emerged centre stage in the struggle against apartheid. Transport had long been a bone of contention between the black urban population and the authorities in Johannesburg. Most of those in employment required transport to reach their places of work that lay several kilometres east in the centre of Johannesburg, but Newclare had a railway station and a fleet of buses served Sophiatown. The tram service was primarily used by the residents of WNT where the tram terminus was situated, that led the protest inaugurating the new period of politicisation which was to characterise the area until its demise (Goodhew 2004:126–127).

While Sophiatown and Newclare struggled long and hard to get even piped water and sewerage, these were standard in WNT, which even had some modest sports facilities. Observers described WNT as neat and orderly, in marked contrast with much of black Johannesburg. Activism within WNT offered particular opportunities but with them came particular constraints. The local government routinely dismissed any protest offered (:46).

There was one festering sore that troubled relations between the City Council and its tenants: rent. Residents had always found it extremely difficult to pay rent promptly and in full, while the Council rigidly adhered to a strict policy of prosecution after one month with no rent paid. From 1929, significant amounts of rent had to be written off as a result of the desperate informal resistance of tenants who fled the township rather than paid rent. Most tenants were usually in arrears by several months and while the reduction in rent in 1936 saw a sharp fall in the number of people who fled rather than paid, paying one or two months in arrears had become established as the norm (:46–47).

The Western Areas received little attention from national organisations such as the Transvaal African Congress (TAC), which was part of the ANC, and the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) during the 1920s. They concentrated on the centre of Johannesburg which was still seen as the focal point of black life in the city. Yet the district was growing in prominence and the start of the worldwide depression in 1929 saw the beginning of more intensive campaigning in Sophiatown and the Western Areas, particularly over the issue of passes. In particular, these years saw the beginnings of Communist Party work in the district which was to be the site of some of the party's most intensive local activism until the banning of the party in 1950 (Goodhew 1989:48).

The ANC had a presence in the area in the 1930s, but it had a much less localised flavour than the Communist Party. During the 1930s, meetings of the ANC were occasionally reported as having taken place in the Western Areas and prominent figures from the district were to be found at meetings elsewhere, but without exception they were concerned with the overall policy and the officeholders of the ANC rather than the interest of the district (2004:51-52). Elements of the TAC, the Communist Party and the Anti-Pass Propaganda were not the only groups campaigning against the pass laws in the Western Areas (:48). It was the Communists who provided the main opposition within the Western Areas to the system by which South Africa was governed (:54).

The freehold townships of the Western Areas were badly neglected by the Johannesburg City Council, provoking attacks by the press and religious leaders at the lack of water and sanitation. The following decade saw a complete turnaround in the city council's attitude, as it became highly interested in events in the townships in an attempt to restrict the growth of the area's population. The bone of contention was the right of landowners to sublet their properties to tenants. The poverty of owners and the lack of alternative accommodation to tenants (partly due to the City Council preventing black people from living in the rest of Johannesburg) made this vital for both parties, yet the City Council saw the removal of tenants as the only way to ensure that Sophiatown and Newclare did not become slums (:50-51).

While the production of alcohol by black people was frowned upon, the authorities were keen to sell alcohol to black people as a means of raising funds. They opened a beer hall that adjoined the township and the residents responded by staging a boycott, among other forms of protests, demanding the legalisation of beer brewing. Much was made of the infringement on the accepted practice in rural areas of brewing beer and the great need for services in the township that could have been provided with the money used to pay for the beer hall. The blow to black self-esteem of the Council's provision of alcohol and readiness to fund the erection of beer halls but not other facilities such as schools or health care centres was significant. It ensured material loss to those who brewed but also continued support for the boycott (:55-56).

The example of the people of Sophiatown offers hope amid present upheaval that the values of community may triumph over the forces of destruction (:xvi).

4.5.4. Actual removals

Late in January 1955, the government announced that the date of the removal would be 12 February. A huge protest meeting was held at Freedom Square (the site of many memorable political meetings). The residents established the Western Areas Protest Committee to organise mass resistance. Moreover, the ANC called for 5000 freedom volunteers to mobilise the people around the slogan of defiance "*Asihambi*" (we are not leaving). A non-violent stay-away was planned for 12 February 1955, the day the removals were due to start (Purkey & Stein 1993:viii).

However, the government did not wait until the scheduled date of 12 February 1955 before it moved in on the residents of Sophiatown. On 8 February, the policemen began telling people to pack up their belongings for removal on the next day, 9 February. That night, Sophiatown swung into action and volunteers were called in to move the belongings of those who had resolved to resist. The operation succeeded in obstructing the removal of 50 of the 150 families who had been designated for removal on 9 February (:viii).

However, on 10 February – 2 days before the due date – 2000 police armed with sten guns, rifles and knobkerries moved into Sophiatown before dawn. People were unprepared, many had not even packed, but they were forced out of their houses and their belongings were loaded onto military lorries and taken from Sophiatown to the new location of Meadowlands. On that day, in the soaking rain, 110 families were moved (:ix).

Modisane (1990:109) records that there was a heaviness over Sophiatown during that raining night as they expected the explosion which they had hoped would persuade the government into reconsidering its policy of removing Sophiatown, but policy was pursued, the first families were moved through a cordon of police lining the route almost all the way from Sophiatown to Meadowlands. The politicians continued a feeble protest and the people of Sophiatown raged their frustration with little schemes like moving out of the troubled zones, crowding into the centre of the township, refusing to sell their properties and heckling about details.

The people of Sophiatown surrendered up their resistance and grudgingly sold their properties to the Resettlement Board at prices assessed by devaluators of the board and as they were moved their homes fell before the bulldozers (Modisane 1990:116).

By the first day of the removals it had become apparent that the Western Areas Campaign had failed. What caused the failure of the resistance on which so many householders had placed their hopes? At least part of the reason was that there was no cohesion between property owners, tenants and sub-tenants. The property owners, through the Ratepayers Association, had emphasised that the question of freehold was a crucial element in the conflict with government. They made no serious effort to enlist the support of their tenants and sub-tenants (Purkey & Stein 1993:ix).

Purkey and Stein (1993:ix) record that, in fact, many tenants were indeed “happy travellers”. The type of housing offered in Meadowlands appeared to be a welcome alternative to the exploitation of many of Sophiatown’s landlords and the uncomfortable, overcrowded conditions in which many lived. The new houses

promised space, privacy, access to water at all times and private lavatories. Most importantly, they offered security of tenure which was a crucial issue. In Sophiatown many tenants had become victims of eviction not because they were defaulters but because other potential tenants promised either to pay higher rents or offered property owners large sums of money to make rooms available to them.

Still, the resistance did produce some cohesion in the community, the strangest element of which was the involvement of the gangs. *Tsotsis* (gangsters) made a truce between themselves and started to attend ANC meetings at Freedom Square. The atmosphere changed and people could walk at night without fear of being robbed or molested. The spirit of solidarity among the residents was outstanding because the people fought against the removals as a community and the divisions of social status were buried (:xi). Despite this, the process of removals continued for 5 years, from 1955 to 1960, and by 1958 Sophiatown was in ruins (:x).

According to Modisane (1990:103), residents of Sophiatown lost the struggle to protect their township against bulldozers because they concerned themselves with the morality of the scheme, reacting to the principle that natives should not be encouraged to develop a sense of permanency in the urban areas. Instead of challenging the structure of the government's native policy, they concerned themselves with symptoms instead of the root cause.

The permit system, in terms of Section 10 (1) (b) of Act 25 of 1945 as amended, was introduced to Sophiatown when the Resettlement Board took over the administration of the Western Areas: Martindale, Sophiatown and Newclare. The system was implemented with the intention to protect the "legal" residents of Sophiatown in their "legitimate right" to a house in Meadowlands and to protect them against poaching pirates from other areas (people not entitled to be "re-housed") seeking to be settled in the model township set aside for the "rightful residents" of Sophiatown (:110-111).

In the end, Sophiatown became a white township, renamed Triomf (meaning triumph) while Newclare and WNT became townships for so-called coloured

people. All African residents were moved from their homes to various parts of what is now called Soweto (Goodhew 2004:145).

4.5.5. Meadowlands

Meadowlands is a township of Soweto adjoining Orlando which is to the east. It is situated east of Dobsonville and north of Dube. It takes its name from agricultural holdings laid out in 1924. The name is descriptive of the low-lying grassland (Raper 2004:236).

The homes in Meadowlands may have been regimented and tiny, but for most of the tenants crammed into Sophiatown and Newclare they represented a substantial improvement in living conditions. Besides housing, there were tarred roads and main water and sewerage facilities. Beer brewing was permitted and electricity was installed well before neighbouring townships (Goodhew 2004:152).

Meadowlands was a sanitary improvement on Sophiatown; it provided proper housing to thousands of families who hitherto lived in rooming houses. However, physically Meadowlands was soul-destroying and a depressing monotony. The houses looked like thousands of mushrooms on a hillside. They were small unit detached houses dispatched without love or propriety. There were the creations of monolithic monsters from the architect's boards of the National Building Research Institute (Modisane 1990:105).

Diepkloof was the middle-class development scheme where Africans of means put down a deposit and selected a house of their choice from about four architect's models (:113).

4.6. The Role of the Church and Religion

Religion remained as prominent a force in black townships in the decades after the destruction of Sophiatown as it had been before. Through figures such as Desmond Mpilo Tutu and the South African Council of Churches (SACC) it became more prominent in resistance than hitherto. Its relative absence from the history of South

Africa's townships constitutes a major omission and a major research opportunity (Goodhew 2000:*passim*).

According to Goodhew (2004:xx), Christianity, colonialism and capitalism led to the rise of a privileged black elite whose interests were implicitly or explicitly antagonistic to the black working class. The resistance against apartheid laws was always led by educated blacks who got their education from missionary schools or from overseas.

Liquor production has been portrayed as being particularly linked with extreme poverty, marital breakdown and the desire of women to break from male control that was often extremely brutal. This was true in Sophiatown as well—amidst intense poverty, large numbers of widows and deserted wives turned to brewing. Other Africans noted how brewing was an effective means of accumulating wealth and could be perfectly compatible with devout church membership, even though some churches taught the opposite (Bonner 1990:*passim*).

One of the unusual documents on the area's history is a report on shebeens written by the Sophiatown writer, Can Themba (Goodhew 2004:71), for the City Health Department of Johannesburg. Themba concluded that "queens" owned "the latest models of cars and elegant houses" whose interiors were well furnished and profits might well be ploughed into their children's education. Such individuals could be pillars of respectability, many of whom were leading supporters of the churches.

Churches and some liberal groups encouraged black people to acquire what they thought were respectable values, such as religion, education and commitment to law and order, as a path to social inclusion. At the same time, the state, increasingly swayed by a fearful white electorate, worked to keep black people "in their place" and sought social exclusion as the path to social harmony.

The alacrity with which churches moved into the Western Areas was shown by the council's desire in 1919 to avoid using up land in the newly founded WNT for church sites, since there were sufficient churches in the immediate vicinity to supply the needs of the location. Pressure from churches for sites was initially resisted, but

the council eventually gave in and by the end of the interwar period nine churches with six schools and four other church-run institutions had been built in WNT alone (: 21 – 22).

4.6.1. Church denominations, attendance and ministries

A census of churchgoers around the interwar period counted 4233 people as having attended church across the Western Areas on one particular Sunday. It is unclear whether this figure included residents who attended church twice on Sundays or whether the survey included all the smaller independent churches in these figures. However, taken at face value they represent some 10–15% of the population. Such religiosity was far from evenly spread; independent, black-controlled denominations were not allowed (officially at least) in the municipally-controlled WNT which pushed them disproportionately toward the freehold areas of Sophiatown and Newclare (Goodhew 2004:22).

If the number of churches with buildings is taken as a crude indication of the strength of religious feeling, Newclare was considerably less religious than Sophiatown and WNT. This is possibly a reflection of its particular character as a centre for migrant workers on the Rand who were less influenced by formal Christianity (:22).

The need for interpreters in services and for hymns in the various languages spoken indicates ethnically diverse congregations. Yet the large and increasing number of church members (especially younger members) fluent in English also suggests the partial exclusion of those in the area who were not. Women who migrated to the city were literate and invariably Christian. Yet, simultaneously, syncretism was also bound up in mission Christianity, with older beliefs concerning magic and healing sitting alongside orthodoxy (:23).

Church attendance was only one of a number of ways in which the people of the Western Areas came into contact with Christianity. Schooling in the area was entirely in the hands of the mission churches, apart from two government schools that only admitted coloured people and several small schools run by residents

themselves. Mission schools were suffused with the teachings of their particular denomination and did much to draw in support for those churches (:23–24).

In 1933 when Orlando (the forerunner of Soweto) opened, it lacked provisions for schooling and parents opened their own school to fill the gap. Ellen Hellman's study of young black people in the late 1930s confirmed that such schools were common (details were only given for Pimville, a township south of Johannesburg, where there were five private schools) and were usually linked to separatist churches and always ran on a shoestring budget. Such schooling as was available was consistently mediocre in quality because of chronic underfunding. Churches operated a diffuse spectrum of welfare work, including a large settlement for children, two homes for juvenile delinquents and a hospital (:24,28–29).

Mission churches (those led by a white hierarchy) were able to access greater resources and had a larger presence in the Western Areas than Ethiopian or Zionist churches. The exclusion of them from WNT had the unintentional effect of encouraging Sophiatown to be the centre for the Independent African Churches (AIC), with a few adherents coming from splits from mission congregations. They include the Bantu Methodist Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Church (:24).

The AIC's, though it would seem that many sprung up on the Reef, attracted the less educated and were looked down on by the more educated; however, a substantial number of educated Africans were drawn to them, including political leaders whose religious beliefs were meshed with a general belief in self-improvement (:24–25,91).

One indicator of religiosity was the number of marriages solemnised by Christian rites as opposed to those contracted by other means. A survey of couples from WNT in the mid-1930s suggests that Christian rites played a part in some 40% of all marriages, although later data suggests that WNT had a higher proportion of such marriages than other townships. There seems to have been a gradual increase in the proportion of Christian marriages, though they remained less than half of the total at the beginning of the 1950s (Modisane 1990:28–32; Goodhew 2004:25,91–92).

Death and dying represented the key areas of religious influence. Whether conducted by a minister of religion or not, funerals saw a synthesis of Christianity and traditional custom, though a thorough analysis of this process would require much more research (Goodhew 2004:25).

Many younger church members lived in two worlds. There were considerable links between many young people and the churches, including those most alienated from the rest of the society and the church. Two-thirds of the youths who fell afoul of the law expressed an affiliation to one church or another. The murderous Russians gang, which preferred more “Animist” religious beliefs, was known to precede some battles with Christian prayer. Moreover, a survey of 87 youths at Diepkloof Reformatory showed that two-thirds were members of a church and attended church regularly or irregularly (:25,93,98).

4.6.2. Church and politics

Christianity in the Western Areas became politicised in the 1940s and 1950s through the work of the Anglican priest Trevor Huddleston, one of the most effective opponents of early apartheid. But such radicalism was, to a degree, in continuity with previous practice and engagement with the political era that occurred in the 1920s and 1930s. Church leaders could certainly be found shoring up the existing order (Ashley 1980:25).

Modisane (1990:179–180) writes that the precepts of race domination are found within the doctrines of the Dutch Reformed Churches (DRC) and their cause was championed by disciples like Rev. N.P.J. Steyn of Krugersdorp, who was reported to have received a double doctorate from London University for submitting a thesis which demonstrated that apartheid, as applied to the native races of South Africa, is a God-given command that is scriptural, legal, just and fair.

A report on race relations drawn up by three professors of the DRC concluded that “apartheid is incompatible with the idea that all human beings are equal”. The three professors, S. Du Toit, W.J. Snyman and B.J. Marais, advanced the foundation for establishing this incompatibility with the contention that the manifestation of God’s

purpose in the history of revelation does indicate that sometimes He allows the subjection of one people by another, if only as chastisement (:180).

Sophiatown mission was joined by Rev. Trevor Huddleston in 1943 (Thema 1999:27). As well as sustaining the tradition of grassroots protest, he began high-level lobbying by attacking the government and working with other radical groups. He was at the heart of the two most prominent campaigns in the Western Areas, namely the protest against forced removals and the Bantu Education Act. The level of esteem in which he was held is evinced by the presentation of the Isithwalandwe Award at the 1955 Congress of the People to Huddleston, along with Albert Luthuli and Yusef Dadoo (leaders of the ANC and the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) respectively) (Goodhew 2004:94).

Priests found themselves constantly in demand from township residents. If there was sickness the people would send for the priest and expect him to pray for them. They were looked on as arbiters in family squabbles, as medical and legal advisers and as bankers. Callers at the church office were the main business in the morning, seeking aid about eviction, over loans, concerning children, and about pass offences. Priests found themselves called in to try and curb police excesses, stop fights, give medical aid and even deliver babies. This immersion in daily life was backed by a coherent and, for the time, radical theology. A core principle was the need to couple proselytism with action to alleviate the poverty of the residents which in turn led to a commitment to seek fairer treatment from government (:26).

However, the involvement of the church with a system which was hated and must be destroyed can be assessed against the acts of violence committed against the church during race riots. During these riots church buildings were among the first edifices of oppression which were stoned and burnt down and acts of violation were committed against nuns (Modisane 1990:185).

In general, the counsel of sangomas was much sought after, mainly by people who wished to be promoted at work. Sangomas would give them ointments to smear on their eyebrows or something to chew when talking to their bosses. Criminals with

pending cases sought muti (medicine) from them. They believed that sangomas had the power to make a judge fall asleep during proceedings or make him suddenly feel lethargic and simply grant a reprieve. Mostly, sangomas fulfilled the role of psychologists and counsellors (Thema 1999:22).

A study of the place of religion in the Western Areas in the 1930s shows that it was at the heart of township life. Committed churchgoers made up a significant minority of the population, while the diffuse influence of Christianity touched the majority of the population through a multiplicity of mediating forms. This influence pointed in a variety of directions: towards the muzzling of black culture or an expression of it; towards political quiescence or towards opposition to the status quo (Goodhew 2004:27).

4.6.3. African church affiliation in the Western Areas

A survey in 1951 showed that almost all Africans in the Western Areas of Johannesburg expressed affiliation to one Christian denomination or another. The Anglican Church was the best supported, boasting 19% of the sample surveyed, followed by the Lutherans with 17% and the Methodists with 16%. Then came a host of denominations with smaller followings. In all, approximately 70% of residents expressed affiliation to mission churches while only 8% expressed no religious affiliation at all. Unfortunately, there is no survey of the actual number of churchgoers comparable to Phillip's work in the 1930s and it is impossible to estimate accurately the proportion of active church members in the total population (Goodhew 2004:88-89). A summary of the amount of people affiliated with the different churches is shown in the table below.

Church	No. of Persons Affiliated	Percentage
Anglican	243	19
Roman Catholic	65	5
Lutheran	211	17
Methodist	196	16
Ethiopian	21	2

Church	No. of Persons Affiliated	Percentage
Baptist	7	*
African Methodist Episcopal	50	4
Zionist	20	2
Seventh-Day Adventist	7	*
American Board	9	*
Apostolic	28	2
Congregational	15	1
Calvinistic +	151	12
Other	41	3
None	104	8
Unknown	79	6
Total	1247	100

* Less than 1%.

+ Calvinistic includes Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed, Swiss Mission, Berlin Mission and PEMS.

4.6.4. The PEMS church in the Western Native Township

On 24 February 2014, the researcher had the privilege of visiting the then PEMS in today's Westbury – in the then WNT. The church building is situated on the corner of Kretschmar and Du Plessis Street in Westbury, 497. Currently, the building is occupied by the El-Elyon Ministries under the pastorate of Pastor Bazil Jardine and they belong to the Pentecostal tradition. Previously, it was called the Free Baptist Church which was earlier known as the Sion Church under the leadership of Pastor Sam Burgers in 1960–1994. They bought the building from the Swiss Mission in the late 1950s, according to Pastor Bazil Jardine.

4.7. Youth and Education

Education's main attraction lay in the hope that it might lead to greater opportunities to acquire wealth and status (Modisane 1990:35,182). The value of

education is frequently so exaggerated as to make education appear to have magical virtue. Nearly all parents who were interviewed (by Ellen Hellman) emphatically desire that their children should be educated. Their main reason was their belief that education secures economic benefits because it would offer their children positions that are less arduous and better paid. Few parents had reached the stage of the disillusionment of a number of the older school-leavers who realised that few occupational opportunities other than those available to the mass of native labourers offer themselves to the educated native (Goodhew 2004:30).

With regard to education, the native parents and youth realised that there were limited vacancies, for the majority of employers in Johannesburg would rather employ an uneducated native with previous references in preference to an educated native with matriculation or higher qualifications. The belief among employers was that the educated native was “spoiled” and consequently did not submit to discipline. This excluded many natives who had gone to great strides to achieve decent education and gave rise to much disillusionment and frustration (:98).

4.7.1. Job reservation

Natives did not realise that they would never, in white South Africa, be able to rise above the limitations imposed on them by their skin pigmentation; more eloquently articulated by Dr Verwoerd: “Natives should not be permitted to rise above certain levels of labour” (Modisane 1990:81). All South Africans have been conditioned to the attitudes and the prejudices of society. South Africans are educated into acceptance that they are racially different and that the white man has advanced to such a high degree of civilisation that it will take the native 2000 years to achieve the same level. This single fact existed as a premise in the minds of people who may otherwise not necessarily be prejudiced (:93).

Given the lack of provision for schooling and the opportunity for work in anything but the most menial occupations, it was not surprising that there arose concern about young black people and crime. Such unease grew steadily among officials, churches and the black population itself (Goodhew 2004:31).

As Modisane (1990:55) argues:

South Africans are separated and segregated from the cradle to the grave, and violence is often the term of reference in our relationships because in South Africa every white man is every black man's boss. We supplicate, we prostrate ourselves, wearing the mask of submission and servility for the purpose of blackmailing favours from the white masters, to skate around and out of trouble with the police. We transform into the traditional good native, the respectful, non-cheeky native who has been educated and conditioned into an acceptance of his inferiority.

4.7.2. Tsotsism

The white man fears the tsotsis who are perhaps among the only Africans who have personal dignity; they answer white arrogance with black arrogance and take their just desserts from discriminating economy by robbery and pillage. The educated African is confined by academic rationalisation, while the tsotsi is a practical realist. He is sensitive and responds to the denials and the prejudices with the only kinds of logic Western men understand and respect (Modisane 1990:227-228).

It was not surprising then that the scarred malefactors known as tsotsis, hoodlums, were the African aristocracy. They not only made more money and led a more comfortable life, but they were often more lively and intelligent than their law-abiding brothers (Thema 1999:22). A phase of conflict began between a substantial portion of the area's youth and older residents, officials and church leaders, which was to last with varying intensity through the final clearance of the Western Areas (Goodhew 2004:31).

The African would direct his aggression, perhaps more viciously, against his own group, particularly against the more successful Africans who were resented for being successful. The public image of South Africa was white, and white was the standard of civilisation; what was not white was black, and black was the badge of ignorance and savagery, and the South African searching for acceptance surrounded

himself with the symbols and the values of white civilisation; thus the successful African was immediately identified with the white (Modisane 1990:59).

The link between delinquency and poor provision for schooling or limited opportunities for employment was important but complex. Of the young people charged, no more than half were unemployed and, in most years from 1935 to 1939, rather more were at work than at school. Over two-thirds had obtained some schooling and were church adherents, with girls significantly more likely to be touched by education and religion than boys (Goodhew 2004:32). As Harry Bloom once wrote, "More Africans go to prison than to school" (Modisane 1990:38).

In fact, a significant cause of the frustration that lay behind delinquency was because schooling and an urban upbringing generated aspirations that had little hope of being fulfilled (Goodhew 2004:32). The Minister of Native Affairs and later Prime Minister, Hendrik Verwoerd, explained: "What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice" (Brown 2013:25).

A breakdown of the ethnicity of 900 Africans classed as juvenile delinquents exhibited some distinct trends. Over half were Sotho and nearly a third was Zulu, while some 10% were Xhosa. Other groups accounted for a mere handful. The number of Sotho juvenile delinquents was disproportionate compared to the population as a whole, and such evidence would suggest a strong link between the influx of Sotho women onto the Rand in the 1930s, with their independence from male control and particular role as beer brewers and the growth of delinquency (Goodhew 2004:33).

Delinquency was not spread evenly across black Johannesburg; rather, it was concentrated in the Western Areas and in Sophiatown in particular which had twice as many offenders as any other townships. This was a reflection of the early development of the Western Areas (:33).

Crime was one of the results of a profoundly unjust social order and an indictment of the forces that upheld that order, but it also represented a key constraint on daily life. Consequently, the suggestion by historians that township crime can be seen as

resistance to the state is a reversal of the truth as far as the Western Areas of Johannesburg were concerned (:107).

CHAPTER FIVE: THE LESOTHO EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF SOUTHERN AFRICA (LECSA) IN MEADOWLANDS, SOWETO

5.1. Meadowlands: The Township

Meadowlands, a township in Greater Soweto, was first established during the 1950s, a period during which most of the existing housing stock in Johannesburg's African townships was constructed. The original residents of Meadowlands had been forcibly removed (on 10 February 1955) from within central Johannesburg itself (from the Western Areas of Johannesburg such as Sophiatown and WNT). Meadowlands was established when, in accordance with the Native Resettlement Act of 1952, the apartheid government forced the Johannesburg authorities to remove African tenants and sub-tenants from multiracial neighbourhoods as part of the Western Areas slum clearance scheme (see Chapter Three).

Consequently, all formal family housing in Meadowlands took the form of the well-known "matchbox" house. The original "matchbox" houses were built in three slightly different designs. The most common type, measuring 40 m², is the "51/6" and comprises two bedrooms, a kitchen, and a living room. A later design, the "51/9", incorporates a small bathroom (with a basin, a bath and a lavatory) and is slightly larger at 44 m². Most stands in Soweto are 260 m² in size. Soweto houses had no electricity until the late 1970s, but by 1988 all formal houses were supplied with electricity (Beall, Crankshaw & Parnell in Tomlinson *et al.* 2003:200).

Meadowlands also had a hostel for rural migrants, another typical feature of African townships built during this period. Towards the end of the 1960s, the apartheid government began to channel funds for housing from townships such as Meadowlands to townships in the so-called "homelands". As early as the late 1970s, the shortage of housing manifested itself as residents were forced to overcrowd their standardised four-roomed houses and to build temporary shacks in their backyards to accommodate their adult offspring (*Ibid*).

In the 1980s, Meadowlands saw a proliferation of backyard dwellings built in the face of government restrictions on the supply of family housing provision in urban

areas and a growing urban population. Since the late 1980s, many squatter camps were established on vacant land within the greater Soweto and on its periphery. No such squatter settlements were established within Meadowlands or on its northern boundary (:198).

The 1996 Population Census estimates that 22% of households in Meadowlands live in backyard accommodation, half of which are formal rooms and half of which are shacks. By contrast, only 2% of residents live in shacks outside of backyards. The most common feature about backyard tenants is that they are recent arrivals, significantly younger, likely to be immigrants and reluctant to participate in local politics (:201-202).

Almost half (46%) of all residents who were not born in Meadowlands moved to their current home in the 1950s and early 1960s when most of the township was being built. Another 39% moved from 1966 to 1980. Of all residents, estimated at 127 568 people, 55% were born in the house they currently occupy. By 1996 most Sowetans owned their houses and 92% of Meadowlands residents owned their properties (: 199-203).

Social differentiation in Meadowlands, as in the greater Soweto more generally, is characterised not only by the differential access of individuals to employment and income but also by differential access to housing and basic services, such as water supply and sanitation, refuse removal and electricity (: 85). Meadowlands is often characterised as having been “backwards in coming forwards” in terms of the national liberation struggle and was quiescent during the 1960s and 1970s. Even during the Soweto Student Uprisings of 1976, Meadowlands was on the periphery of events, although it participated in the “rent boycotts” and saw the act of non-payment as symbolic protest against the apartheid system (:205).

Meadowlands, in Soweto, is not called a suburb (Alexander *et al.* 2013:55). Today most of the population of Meadowlands speaks isiZulu (33.5%) and Setswana (27%) with the younger generation opting for the lingua franca of the townships,

sometimes known as *tsotsi taal* (gangster language) (Beall, Crankshaw & Parnell in Tomlinson *et al.* 2003:198).

Challenges faced by Meadowlands residents include unemployment, pensioners – especially elderly women – who have to provide for their families, infrastructure and services for the youth (:206-207). The 1996 statistics show that 29 326 people are employed either part-time or full-time and 11 172 people earn less than R500 per month (Group for Environmental Monitoring in Ramalata 1999). Meadowlands is said to be the community of the aged, hence the most organised ANC veterans' League is in Meadowlands (Beall, Crankshaw & Parnell in Tomlinson *et al.* 2003:208-210).

5.2. The Church in Soweto

The 2001 census shows that a large number of South Africans (79.8%) consider themselves to be Christian (Hendriks & Erasmus 2005:91). In the Classifying Soweto survey, it was found that an even greater proportion of Sowetans (87%) categorise themselves as Christian (Alexander *et al.* 2013:210).

People who follow the family tradition often attend mainline churches. Mainline churches are associated largely with a middle-class clientele, although the scale of general attendance and involvement in these churches has dwindled over recent years (Hendriks & Erasmus 2005:91).

The AIC are said to constitute the majority of Christians in Soweto, about 25%, and yet only 5% of them are housed in formal church buildings (Bompani 2010:*passim*).

Pentecostalism is seen as a “band aid” for the poor, according to Andre Czegledy (2008:288). In contrast, there are Pentecostal congregations that have greatly benefited financially from religious activities. Of these, the most discernible in Soweto are the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (Freston 2005:40; Bledsoe 2010:69-98) and the Grace Bible Church (Alexander *et al.* 2013:215).

According to De Vaus and McAllister (1987:472), women tend to be more religious than men and this view is attested to by their attendance at their congregations

during the time of worship services. Church attendance, funerals and family rituals are said to contribute to social cohesion (Alexander *et al.* 2013:235), especially during recent times of global economic uncertainty manifested in domestic socio-political-economic upheavals.

5.2.1. Church and ministry organisation in Soweto

The World Christian Encyclopaedia records that only one-third (33%) of the world's evangelicals are in the Western world; two-thirds (67%) are in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The continent with the most evangelicals is Africa, at 70 million; this compares favourably to the 41 million in the U.S. or 21 million in all of Europe (Barrett, Kurian & Johnson 2001). Exponential growth among Evangelical-Pentecostal-Charismatic churches is a phenomenon worldwide and Soweto is no exception.

Soweto is experiencing a mushrooming of churches and ministries and these operate independently of each other. There is no coordination of their work and most of them find their home in the Soweto Ministers' Fraternal (SMF). Most of these churches and ministries are not affiliated to any ecumenical or denominational bodies.

Many of these churches and ministries do not have permanent places of worship and conduct their church services in government schools and tents. Since they are fairly "new" churches and ministries, they struggle to secure land and sites for they lack financial muscle. They also have difficulty with complying with the municipality's by-laws and interpret these as persecution from the powers that be.

Postmodern recruitment to the small community model yielded more to the advances of Evangelical and Pentecostal churches, which did not hesitate to set up radically decentralised and declericalised models of pastoral leadership (Wijsen & Mejía 2005:9). The majority of pastors leading these churches and ministries responded to their calling as ministers in their adult life and do not have adequate theological or ministerial training.

These leaders carry diverse titles such as pastors, reverends, bishops, evangelists, prophets and apostles. A preponderance number of these leaders do not see the importance or the value of being accountable to one another. There is another group of pastors that Rick Warren (2002) terms bi-vocational pastors who faithfully and lovingly serve in churches that are not large enough to provide a full-time salary. They are not able to attend and be a part of SMF meetings but still minister in Soweto.

Church leaders from the mainline (ecumenical) churches no longer attend and participate in SMF meetings and events even though they were very instrumental in its inception, particularly during the dark days of apartheid. Balcomb (2001) claims that the new situation has taken over all those whom were the main players in the church during the 1980s. Those in the vanguard of the liberation struggle have become the new status quo (most of the architects of the *Kairos Document* are now state functionaries), while those occupying the middle ground, or third way, largely occupy the ranks of the official opposition, and many of the evangelicals who were at best a-political and at worst upholders of the status quo in the older regime have now become vociferous opponents of the liberation of society, especially in the areas of abortion and gay rights (Balcomb 2001:9-10).

SMF came to existence during the epoch of high political upheavals in South Africa and church leaders in Soweto came together to address local issues and provide pastoral leadership to the people of Soweto. Their ministry was prophetic in nature and embodied by ecclesial personalities in the likes of, inter alia, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Archbishop Buti Tlhagale, Bishop Manas Buthelezi, Rev. Dr Frank Chikane, Rev. Caesar Molebatsi, Bishop P. Phaswana, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela and Rev. Dr Paul Siaki.

Mostly churches and Christians which constitute and attend SMF consider themselves as evangelical. Their evangelicalism encompasses those belonging to traditions of Pentecostalism, Conservative Evangelicalism, Radical/Political Evangelicalism, Charismata and Reformed Christians. These are popularly known as Bazalwane in the black townships. The term “Bazalwane” includes all evangelical

believers and does include Pentecostals and Charismatics. The Pentecostal-Charismatics are renowned for their evangelistic fervour as a church. They have consistently shown unwavering commitment to the great commission. Pentecostal-Charismatic evangelicals are passionate about evangelism (Kretzschmar & Ntlha 2005:32).

The following is a list of some of the churches, ministries and organisations involved in the SMF: African Enterprise, African Methodist Episcopal, Agape Church, Alpha and Omega, Alpha S.A., Apostolic Faith Mission, Assemblies of God Movement, Assembly of God, Assembly of God Fellowship, Believers, Centre, Bible League, Blue Heaven Church in Zion, Bread of Life Christian Fellowship, Calvary Worship Centre, Christ The Word of Life Bible Church, Christian Apostolic, Christians for Peace in Africa, Church of the Nazarene, Command of Faith, Confirmed Word Christian Centre, E.B.C.P. Ministry, Ebenezer Evangelical Church, Evangelical Lutheran Church of S.A., Excellency Faith Church, Faith Church Life in Abundance, Faithways Community Church, Go Ye Christian Ministries, God is Life Ministries, Good News Bible Church, Grace Bible Church, His Kingdom Ministries, Holy Cross Anglican Church, Hope Community Ministries, I.C.G., IMCREATT Ministries, Interchurch Women Fellowship, Light Ministries (Pamoja), Living in Christ, Living Waters Bible Church, Maranatha Ministries, Ministry Resource Centre International, Mount Horeb Family Church, Mpho ya Bophelo Ministries International, New Ark Jerusalem, Nyeupe Initiative, Oasis of Life Family Church, P.L.W.C., Praise the Lord Christian Centre, Prevention Tomes (P.L.C.C.), Reach for Life, Reach Out for Christ, Sanctuary of God Ministry, The Christian Assembly, The Living Bread Bible Church, True Assembly Ministry, Ungcede Human Development Strategy, United Apostolic Faith Church, Witness Apostolic, Yadah and Open Communication, ZAG and Zoe Bible Church.

Churches and ministries within the vicinity of the LECSA Meadowlands Parish are inter alia: the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) in Zone One, Modubane Street; the San Felpe in Zone One, Motseki Street; the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (ELCSA) in Zone Three, Boikhutso Street; the Seventh-Day Adventist Church

in Zone Three, Mpolokeng Street; the International Pentecostal Christian Church (IPCC) in Zone Two, Frederick S. Modise Drive; the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) in Zone One, Phudufudu and Moretloga Street; the Lutheran Church in Zone Two, Sekhukhune and Modjadji Street; the Jubilee AD 2000 in Zone Two, Modjadji and Van Onselen Street; the St. Michael Catholic Church in Zone Two, Modjadji and Sebele Street; the Uniting Presbyterian Church in Zone Two, Van Onselen and Sebele Street and, of course, the numerous churches that congregate at schools and houses in the area.

5.3. LECSA/PEMS in Meadowlands, Soweto

LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands is supposedly a localised expression of the missional character of the church, as described above, and is situated in Meadowlands Zone One, Soweto, as a parish. The church's physical structure was built in 1972—two years after the researcher was christened at the age of five months old, at the LECSA/PEMS in Jabavu.

As mentioned in Chapter Three, most of the residents of Meadowlands came from WNT, Newclare and Sophiatown as a result of the forced removals of 1955. The role of the LECSA/PEMS during the forced removals is quite opaque, for there is no record of such. One can only deduce from their earlier attitude and stance when the “winds of change” or decolonisation were blowing through the rest of Africa in the 1950s and 1960s that the church under the leadership of (European) missionaries took an apolitical stance in Lesotho (Mohapeloa 1985:41-42). According to evangelist (‘Moleli), Mr M.P. Matloane and elder, Mr M.P. Selala, there was a pastoral vacuum during the forced removals and resettlement in Meadowlands for the denomination in South Africa was under the white (European) missionaries who were aloof from the “peoples” struggles.

Political changes and challenges in recent years are significantly altering the context in which many churches exist and, therefore, how they seek to understand themselves (WCC 2005:9). Steven Gill *et al.* (2009:149) record the heightened political consciousness among the Basotho, including those belonging to the Calvinist Church

of Basotho, during the foresaid epoch, which led to the expulsion, by British colonial authorities, of personalities such as Zephaniah Mothopeng, who was a teacher in Basutoland High School in Maseru, Lesotho, in 1955. Zephaniah Mothopeng later became a political activist in South Africa, was imprisoned on Robben Island and on his release became the President of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

They could not find any figure, be it a minister or lay-person, who was overtly involved in alleviating the plight of the victims of forced removals. This exhibits their long-taken position of being quiescent and not fully identifying with the “suffering”.

The most recent example of this attitude of non-involvement was displayed when the LECSA/PEMS said and did nothing regarding the Marikana-Lonmin Massacre during which 34 miners, including Basotho miners, were “massacred” (Lesotho Times 30 August-05 September 2012:15). Ironically, the founding President of National Union Mineworkers (NUM), James Motlatsi (Butler 2007:*passim*), happens to be a staunch member of the LECSA/PEMS.

When the LECSA/PEMS WNT, Newclare and Sophiatown parish were removed, most of its members were settled in Meadowlands and Rockville in 1956, according to their present evangelist (‘Moleli) Mr M.P. Matlooane who grew up in 107 Tucker Street Sophiatown. As a young man he and his parents were forcefully removed from their home.

According to a long serving elder, Ms Lisebo Sephaka, who also witnessed the forced removals as a child living in the Western Areas of Johannesburg, they began meeting and conducting their services at Malise’s home in Meadowlands, 105 Vincent Street (now renamed Rev. Frederick S. Modise Drive), as a prayer group (Thapelo). Later, they moved and rented a classroom at Masekhene Primary School, still in Meadowlands, under the leadership of the elder, Mr Mohapi, and later an evangelist (‘Moleli), Mr Challa. In 1970 or 1972, they moved to their current church building at 846 Mongagana Street, Zone 1 in Meadowlands, Soweto. The general knowledge about their present physical church structure is that it was initially

allocated to the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa (DRCA), in other words, the black section of the DRC. Their original allocated space was at today's Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa (URCSA) in 779 Rev. Frederick Modise Street at Zone One in Meadowlands. The LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish attained its parish status in 2007 and currently boasts around 220 members.

Mr Marks Selala sang in the choir at their WNT parish before the forced removals and is serving as an elder at the moment. He concurs with the abovementioned leaders that the congregation (church) has been served at different times by different leaders such as elders (baholo), evangelists (baboleli) and ordained ministers (baruti). Their names are as follows and, of course, are not given in a particular order: Mr Malise, Mr Rammoneng, Mr Patose, Mr Sehloho, Mr Tšenoli, Mr Letlatsa, Mr Tšukulu, Mr Molefi, Mr Lebakeng, Mr Molefi (Junior), Mr Matšosa, Mr Matlooane, Rev. Makana, Rev. Lesholu, Rev. Kheleli, Rev. Ramatlapeng, Rev. Tsiki and Rev. Morapeli. At the moment, it is led by the so-called minister-in-charge, Mr M. Mapeshoane.

5.3.1. Schism: PEMS, LECSA and ECSA

Rev. B.R. Seha, the current moderator of ECSA succeeded the long-serving moderator, Rev. Masopha, who stepped down due to ill-health and passed on in 2013. Rev. Seha gave ECSA's perspective on the schism that occurred in 1997.

At the time, the Meadowlands parish was a congregation (kerekana) under the auspices of LEC/PEMS Moletsane Parish with several Lithapelo (prayer groups) under it. When the split occurred in 1997, Phiri-Mapetla and Meadowlands, as congregations, became part of ECSA and they were given parish status.

5.3.2. Reasons for the schism

This section discusses the reasons that were given for the schism.

Stipend: Most of the LECSA ministers received their stipend very late, for example after three months, with no apology or explanation. While LECSA/PEMS ministers

are not allowed to hold jobs elsewhere beside their vocation, at ECSA ministers are permitted to be bi-vocational.

Central Fund: Ninety-nine percent (99%) of church income goes to Lesotho. The remainder is used for municipality rates and income of two Sundays of a month is used for other financial needs of the church, according to Rev. Sehau. The advantage of having the fund administered centrally, according to Rev. Sehau, is that the financial reports (Seipone) encourage parishes to contribute towards the upkeep of ministers. However, the disadvantages are that most of the time the financial statements are not audited (externally or independently) and favouritism is always at play whereby ministers are not “remunerated” the same and timeously. For most of the elders of LECSA Meadowlands Parish, the issue of unaudited financial statements has been a bone of contention for a protracted period of time. Albeit, ECSA has a Central Fund and ministers’ stipend is prioritised and they are given a “thirteenth cheque”.

According to the 1996 Census, 70% of Meadowlands population over 15 years of age earn either nothing at all or under R500 a month; only 12% have incomes of more than R3 500 per month. Although a small number of professionals are service workers (such as teachers and nurses), only 49% of the economically active population is formally employed (Beall, Crankshaw & Parnell in Tomlinson *et al.* 2003:197).

With such statistics, how do people survive? Child support grants or other government grants are their main source of income, while others are dependent primarily on another person’s salary or wage (Alexander *et al.* 2013:116).

Name Issue: The LECSA/PEMS Gauteng (South Africa) Presbytery has had a challenge regarding their name in South Africa. During 1989–1995 it was using the name Paris Evangelical Church in South Africa (PECSA) in order to access funding from the U.S. and Canada and in the year 1996 they adopted the name Evangelical Church of South Africa (ECSA). The Seboka (General Synod) of May 1997 – held at Thabeng High School, Morija, Lesotho – objected to the new name and the ECSA

delegates saw inconsistencies on the part of the Executive for they (ECSA) had been corresponding with them for about a year and the Executive never said anything and continued using the very same name. Hence, the ECSA delegates staged a walk-out and have ceased attending the LECSA Seboka (General Synod) to date.

5.3.3. State of the parishes prior to the 1997 schism

The following parishes existed before the 1997 schism:

1. *Village-Main*: Thembisa, Alexandra and Pretoria
2. *Orlando*: Pimville and Jabavu
3. *Sebokeng*: Bophelong
4. *Sharpeville*: Sasolburg
5. *Katlehong*: Thokoza and Vosloorus
6. *Klerksdorp*: Surrounding mining areas
7. *Carletonville*: Randfontein and surrounding mining areas
8. *Rustenburg*: Surrounding mining areas
9. *QwaQwa*
10. *Springs*: Daveyton, Wattville and Nigel
11. *Moletsane*: Meadowlands and Phiri-Mapetla

5.3.4. State of the parishes after 1997

The table below lists the parishes that **now** exist after the schism.

LECSA/PEMS	ECSA
1. Village-Main	1. Alexandra
2. Orlando	2. Orlando
3. Jabavu	3. Pimville
4. Sebokeng	4. Sharpeville
5. Katlehong	5. Katlehong
6. Klerksdorp	6. Klerksdorp
7. Carletonville	7. Rustenburg
8. Springs	8. QwaQwa

LECSA/PEMS	ECSA
9. Moletsane	9. Daveyton
10. Meadowlands	10. Phiri-Mapetla

5.3.5. Meadowlands' understanding of mission

When Rev. Sebau is asked about the mission understanding of the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish, he has the following to say:

- *Church attendance due to parentage:* The majority of congregants go to church because they were christened there by their parents and not because of a personal conviction and relationship with Jesus Christ, the head of church.
- *Money not channelled to mission:* There is no deliberate effort to set money aside for mission purposes or to support a particular missional or missionary endeavour.
- *Lack of spiritual and numerical growth:* There is a lack of concerted effort and drive towards the spiritual and numerical growth of the congregation, especially on the part of leadership.
- *The cabal runs the church:* Several personalities are self-appointed gatekeepers and are retarding the work, ministry and mission of the church.
- *Leadership without vision:* Those occupying leadership positions lack vision and thus the inability to move the congregation to becoming missional.

5.3.6. Responses of some selected elders to the study's questions

It should be noted that the selection of respondents has been a serious challenge because of language issues since the majority of the elders or leaders at LECSA Meadowlands Parish are not proficient in English. Opting for those who are able to read and write in English has disadvantaged this research. In order to protect the identity of the respondents, only alphabets are used for their identity.

Questionnaires were given to four individuals who have served as leaders at the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish (referred to hereafter as parish) for no less than four years. The respondents represent diverse generations, for example, they came

from Lesotho or were residents of the Western Areas of Johannesburg. Moreover, the respondents were middle-aged or fairly young when they joined the denomination in Meadowlands, Soweto. Unfortunately, all respondents are male and two have attended tertiary education. One respondent is still studying at an institution of higher learning and the last respondent only attended high school. Of the 18 questions posed, 3 of the respondents responded to all except P.B. who responded to only 9 questions which are questions 1,2,3,12,13,14,15,17 and 18.

The table below shows the answers of the participants of the study.

Question	Respondent	Response
1. What is the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish's understanding of mission? How is it carried out?	K.M.	1. Supposed to spread the Word, Good News, through house visits but unfortunately this is not done.
	A.N.	1. There is no understanding of mission because (a) No written vision and mission statement for the church. (b) Whatever is being done is not done to fulfil any mission. (c) Activities of the church at large are not guided by any mission to accomplish. (d) The church leadership does not know where it is taking the church to, since there is no vision and mission to carry out. (e) Activities in the church are just a tradition aimed at achieving nothing.
	J.S.	1. Understanding is very little – members come to church to pray as individuals for immediate families, friends and those who are sick.
	P.B.	1. LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands, one of its missions is to share Jesus' love with a child in need, as we do a specific and special contribution for orphans. Therefore, the understanding is clear and put into practice.
2. How is LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands a missional congregation?	K.M.	2. Members conduct home visitations.
	A.N.	2. It is not a missional congregation.



Question	Respondent	Response
		Church services and other activities are carried out solely on the basis of tradition.
	J.S.	2. The church does practise in a very small way as a missional congregation.
	P.B.	2. LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands is a missional congregation because, not only do [we] share the same mission with Jesus, but we implement it by visiting sick and ill people at their homes/hospitals and spread the Word of God to revive even the hopeless.
3. Are there impediments to LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands in being or becoming a missional congregation?	K.M.	3. Lack of financial resources.
	A.N.	3. There are impediments. (a) No vision and mission statement. (b) No evaluation or assessments performed to determine whether or not the vision and mission is accomplished. (c) Our activities in the church are not informed and guided by the Bible. (d) Leadership in the church is not elected in accordance with the definition of the Bible and strictly so, i.e. 1 Timothy 3:1-13. (e) There is talk but it is not followed by action.
	J.S.	3. There are no impediments.
	P.B.	3. There are actually no real impediments. People need to be revived during the sermons and house-to-house visiting to get to know how our congregation really lives like, to show we care as the leaders respectively.
4. How relevant is the missional agenda of the LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands?	K.M.	4. Very much relevant, through programmes like HIV & AIDS Awareness and Education, attending to Orphans.
	A.N.	4. Not relevant but based on old traditions. (a) Change not embraced and obsolete methods still used—singing is still choral or verbal with no instruments—no use of technology like computers etc. Leaders does not come and go but instead grow old in leadership positions.

Question	Respondent	Response
	J.S.	4. It is fairly relevant, but lacks the aspect of community responsibility.
5. How is or can the laity be involved in the mission of the LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands?	K.M.	5. Home/house visitation to encourage and counsel others and attend to the sick.
	A.N.	5. The laity can be involved as follows: (a) Through communication of vision and mission of the church. (b) To have vision and mission statement written down as a document. (c) The vision and mission document to be put where the laity can easily see it like on the notice board. (d) The vision and mission statement to be made part of the induction programme of new converts in the church. (e) The vision and mission statement should be made as easy and simple as possible for the laity to remember it and easily share it with others. In that way everybody in the church, including the laity, will know to which direction the church is moving and as such will be happy and supportive to its mission. The mission of the church should not be a responsibility of the executive only.
	J.S.	5. Based on our structure, prayers start at homes in small groups.
6. What is the thinking of the LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands regarding the “Central Chest”?	K.M.	6. Sending money to Lesotho headquarters has become burdensome thus a decision [has been made] not to send anything until local projects have been finished.
	A.N.	6. The thinking is in two categories: (a) Fundraising; Offering from membership of the church and recycling of bottles and other waste material. (b) Utilising money in the parish to people who participated in its contribution; Two rooms and garage built and already in use; New toilets built for both male and females; The project to construct the security wall around the premises is in the pipeline.
	J.S.	6. The parish of Meadowlands is in reality



Question	Respondent	Response
		against the “Central Chest”. It serves no purpose for the parish.
7. How effective and beneficial is the “Central Chest” for the LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands?	K.M.	7. Very little indeed. Most finances go to Lesotho.
	A.N.	7. Lack of effectiveness: (a) Ever dwindling membership and attendance to church services which result in less and less offering for the church. (b) The church has never recruited or converted new members which also negatively affect the finances of the church as a result. (c) The recycling project is also going at a snail’s pace. (d) Funds cannot be obtained from other huge and renowned organisations because of other technicalities, namely unregistered church name and church named after Lesotho.
	J.S.	7. The “Central Chest” bears no benefit or financial help to the parish of Meadowlands.
8. What is the experience of the LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands’ communicants and congregants regarding the LECSA/PEMS language policy?	K.M.	8. Sesotho only is stereotyped and in other places in Lesotho both English and Sesotho is used to conduct Sunday services; however, church business is conducted strictly in Sesotho.
	A.N.	8. Communication is only in Southern Sotho.
	J.S.	8. Basically preaching is done in Sesotho but we do encourage the reading of the Bible in other languages.
9. How does the LECSA/PEMS language policy impact on the missional work of the LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands?	K.M.	9. It alienates and marginalises people from other cultural backgrounds.
	A.N.	9. Has got a negative impact as follows: (a) Hampers growth and development of the church, only Southern Sotho speaking people are targeted as potential Christians



Question	Respondent	Response
		among so many other nationals in South Africa at large, especially in the Gauteng Province. Just imagine how much the parish would grow if other nationals could be targeted as a result of a change in language policy. (b) Other nationals feel discriminated and excluded and leave the church as a result. (c) Friends and colleagues cannot be converted since they speak other languages other than Southern Sotho and therefore feel unwelcome. (d) When congregants get into matrimony with other nationals other than Southern Sotho speaking (they) leave the church since they feel that their spouses are excluded.
	J.S.	9. Our language policy is an impediment towards the growth of our church.
10. How does the past membership of the LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands with the breakaway Evangelical Church in Southern Africa (ECSA) affect its standing and relationship in the LECSA/PEMS?	K.M.	10. Uncertain.
	A.N.	10. The relationship is improving as a result of alleged ongoing interventions between the leadership of both ECSA and LECSA at a national level.
	J.S.	10. The breakaway affected Meadowlands in terms of seasoned leaders, but we remained in big numbers.
11. Is there a constitutional amendment to facilitate the LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands to become more missional as a church in its local context?	K.M.	11. No constitutional amendments needed.
	A.N.	11. No constitutional amendments.
	J.S.	11. There is no constitutional amendment

Question	Respondent	Response
		that can facilitate the church to become more missional.
12. What minimum educational qualification should a minister or evangelist ('Moleli) at the LECSA/PEMS have? And, why?	K.M.	12. Matric. Somebody well-versed with other languages (multilingual).
	A.N.	12. Currently a diploma and a degree in the near future. The future challenges as brought about by innovation and change, requires that people should continue studying. The contemporary corporate world demands new methods, new ideas, new technology and new processes for enhanced efficiency and effectiveness as well as increased productivity. So the church and her ministers are no exception to these too. Studies will equip ministers with the know-how to preach the Word of God to more literate people of today and convert them to become Christians. They will also be able to engage with intellectuals at the highest level. Technology can help our ministers as follows: Read Bible from a cell phone or computer; use social media in ministering the Word of God; using presentations in PowerPoint to minister the Word of God.
	J.S.	12. Ministers who have a high school academic education. Evangelists, two types: (a) One promoted on merit by church members. (b) The other one go to Bible School in Morija and must be recommended by the Consistory.
	P.B.	12. The minimum qualification is matric for the minister-in-charge or evangelist to be literate and enable them to further their studies and have a broad understanding as to how to deal with different characters and emotions.



Question	Respondent	Response
13. What is or should be the role of the evangelist ('Moleli) over and above being an assistant or substitute of the (ordained) minister?	K.M.	13. Understudy to the ordained minister.
	A.N.	13. The evangelist primary role should be: (a) To preach the Word of God. (b) To convert people into being Christians. (c) To officiate in revivals in the church. (d) To visit the sick and families of Christians to ensure well-being.
	J.S.	13. Does all except baptise, unveiling of tombstones, serve Holy Communion, bury senior members of the church.
	P.B.	13. An evangelist will perform all duties except baptism.
14. How can guilds (mekhatlo) do or engage in evangelistic ministry or mission?	K.M.	14. Engage with other families and the community.
	A.N.	14. The guilds can be trusted with carrying the vision and mission of the church in order to ensure that it is fulfilled.
	J.S.	14. Guilds can help recruit members, visit the sick and promote special tasks assigned to them by the church.
	P.B.	14. They solely assist in worshipping or giving hymns and give a hand during contribution.
15. What is the present membership of LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands? And, what are the demographics?	K.M.	15. ±300 of which ±100 are active and mostly are pensioners (±65 years of age).
	A.N.	15. Estimated at 100. It comprises of Basotho of Lesotho strictly.
	J.S.	15. We have a membership of ±200 as senior members and 25 youth. 35% are pensioners.
	P.B.	15. Few members do have jobs and ¾ of the congregation comprises of pensioners and jobless congregants.
16. When last did the	K.M.	16. Recently.

Question	Respondent	Response
parish conduct a baptism? And, how many children and adults?		
	A.N.	16. Can't remember date and figures as well.
	J.S.	16. During Easter Weekend.
17. What is the source of income of the membership? And, what are their levels?	K.M.	17. Mostly are pensioners.
	A.N.	17. Mostly low income levels. Majority are unskilled, illiterate, work as domestic helpers, not registered employees. Very few are registered employees, skilled and educated earning a middle to high income salary.
	J.S.	17. The source of income is from Sunday collections, Kabelo, Mokotla I & II, Lilopotsea, Thutuho, Meaho.
	P.B.	17. The main source is pension money, and those that (have) jobs will do their best. Their level of employment differs some are clerks, cashiers, air-hostess and supervisors.
18. What's the unemployment rate (a guess or estimation)?	K.M.	18. High.
	A.N.	18. Unemployment rate can be estimated at 50% of the total number of the members and mostly affected is the youth.
	J.S.	18. Of our 200 members, 40% are youth and pensioners, of the 60%, 35% are unemployed.
	P.B.	18. $\frac{3}{4}$ which is 70%.

5.3.7. Analysis of the elders' responses

Responses to questions 1 and 2 provide a glimpse of the respondents' understanding of what it means to do mission and be missional. However, A.N. responded to question 1 not in a missiological sense but in terms of what is generally known and applied to organisations and businesses. The respondents captured in their

understanding of mission, among others, the propagation of the Gospel, ministering to the orphans, pastoral visits and dealing with issues around HIV and AIDS. Their response to question 3 is varied but they agree that there are no impediments; P.B. speaks of reviving congregants while A.N. agitates for strategic awakening and K.M. mentions financial and human resources. On question 4, respondents contradicted each other and thus their response is opaque.

Responses to question 5 are also diverse in the sense that K.M. mentions pastoral care as key in involving the laity in doing missions, while J.S. emphasises the organisational structure of the parish which encourages and facilitates the laity's participation. A.N. argues for the same point and says that everything stands and falls on the leadership having a vision and mission. Questions 6 and 7 about the "Central Chest" received unanimous responses stating that it is of no benefit to their parish hence their decision to cease paying their dues to their headquarters in Lesotho.

In response to the language issue in questions 8 and 9, the respondents are in unison regarding the challenges posed by the singular language policy in a multicultural setting such as Meadowlands or Soweto. However, their response to question 10 evinced that they have not thought deeply about the issue, especially how it affects or affected their relationship with LECSA/PEMS as a whole. On question 11, the respondents agreed that there is no constitutional amendment necessary to facilitate the missional praxis of the parish. The researcher cannot help but find contradictions on their part regarding this question for they have been lamenting the fact that their headquarters in Maseru, Lesotho, are evoking some clause(s) in their constitution to demand money from them. Some members of the church have, therefore, supported the idea of amending or reviewing some clause(s) in their constitution.

The respondents indicated two different responses about the question of a minimum qualification for ministerial service in question 12. One respondent indicates that a candidate who wants to prepare for ministerial training should have a matric certificate while the other implies that a minimum qualification should be a post-matriculation certificate or qualification. The idea of a post-matriculation

qualification differs, as one respondent argued for a diploma while others argued for a degree. However, the emphasis is on continued (further) study. Whatever qualification, the ministers must be able to further their studies at tertiary level and be conversant with technological development.

When asked about the role of the 'Moleli (evangelist) in question 13, the respondents maintained that the status quo should prevail. However, A.N. advocated for an outward and non-parochial approach. Their response to question 14 with respect to Mekhatlo (guilds) engaging in missional activities of the parish repeat their responses given in question 2 and they add fundraising and recruitment of new members to these duties. There is no consensus with regard to membership statistics and demographics as posed in question 15 and the same applies to their responses to question 16.

Responses to questions 17 and 18 provide a sense of the parish members' source of income and their employment. It shows that the majority of members are pensioners and those who are employable are in actual fact unemployed. A preponderance of those employed members is unskilled, which is an indicator that they may not be earning much.

5.4. Conclusion

This chapter covered a brief historical background of Soweto and highlighted the struggle and resistance features that made the township popular not only in the local socio-politico-religious spectrum but internationally as well. Recent developments in areas of culture and local economy were deliberated on, highlighting the vibrancy and adaptability of its residents even during harsh economic times. Meadowlands, as a township within the greater South Western Township (Soweto), is surveyed looking into its residents local economic survival and activity and the languages predominantly spoken in the area.

An overview of the church in Soweto, though brief, is covered and it has been noted that though there may be numerous churches in the township, not all are represented by the ecumenical bodies like the SMF, as is the case with LECSA

Meadowlands. A brief historical background about LECSA in Meadowlands is presented, covering diverse epochs under different leadership and eldership since their arrival from the Western Townships of Johannesburg (see Chapter Three). Finally, the chapter points to a painful period when LECSA Meadowlands was embroiled in the schism that inflicted the church in the recent past (1997). Included in this chapter is the table and analysis of responses from some of the eldership at LECSA Meadowlands Parish.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

6.1. Summary of the Chapters

In this study, Chapter One served as an introduction to the research by outlining the background, problem, aim(s), research questions and the methodology of the study.

The study was influenced by the researcher's need to understand the LECSA/PEMS as a denomination since he was approached by their Meadowlands parish to take up ordained ministry as a minister. The researcher was also approached by the Gauteng (South Africa) Presbytery Committee to be part of the Evangelism/Mission Commission (*Komisi ea Lentsoe*) and assume the position of secretary.

The researcher's seminal ministerial involvement was wrought with several challenges and necessitated an in-depth study of the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish. Among others, the challenges that the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands were facing were pertaining to language policy, finances, ministerial formation, unity issues, membership exodus, lay ministry development, institutionalisation of ministry, ecumenical participation, mission and evangelism. Moreover, all these were making it extremely difficult for the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish to become missional in its local context: Meadowlands, Soweto.

The study has been an attempt, in a small way, to assist the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish in its struggle to become a missional ecclesia in its locality.

The study's research methodology is *positive deconstruction* (from Pollard 1997) which refers to the process whereby people are being helped to deconstruct (take apart) what they believe in order to look carefully at the belief and analyse it. The process is *positive* because this *deconstruction* is done in a positive way – in order to replace it with something better.

Positive deconstruction, as a methodology, was employed in the study on the one hand to identify what is positive in the missional praxis of the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish and endeavour to retain or conserve it. And, on the other hand, it was employed to identify what is not effective and purge the church of it.

However, in order to truly retain what is working, dismantling must happen and the church must get rid of that which has been constructed in the past and has become obsolete (this is discussed in Chapter One).

Overarching questions were then developed to inform the study and, of course, following the qualitative method, undergirded by the postmodernist perspective. The study aimed to address these overarching questions:

- Whose prerogative is it at LECSA/PEMS regarding missions? With whom does the buck stop, when it comes to missions at LECSA/PEMS?
- What do founding documents of the LECSA/PEMS state with regard to missions?
- Is there a theology of missions at LECSA/PEMS and how does it work itself out in the structures and life of the church?
- Does LECSA/PEMS need to develop a new theology of missions?
- What is the experience of other churches in the tradition of the LECSA/PEMS and are there lessons to be learnt?
- Is LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish growing spiritually?
- How can LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish become a missional ecclesia in its context?

In Chapter Two, the researcher gave a synoptic history of the LECSA/PEMS as a Protestant denomination founded during the mission enterprise historical epoch of the French missionaries per invitation of the founding king of the Basotho nation, Morena Moshoeshoe. The chapter succinctly captured not only the role played by the first generation of French missionaries in Lesotho in the person of Eugene Casalis, Thomas Arbousset and Constant Gosselin, but also that of African peoples in the likes of Adam Krotz (a Christian Griqua chief) and his team, which included Basotho interpreters, who welcomed and gave residence to Basotho in his land long before the arrival of French missionaries.

This early partnership between the Europeans and Africans is not always acknowledged and celebrated in mission historiography. It was noted that long

before the French missionaries encountered the Basotho of Lesotho there was already a handful of Basotho who had embraced the Christian faith from the mission stations in other parts of the Cape Colony. These groups of Basotho were very helpful, or should one say useful, to the early first generation of the French missionaries in propagating the Gospel. This fact was also evinced when the second generation of missionaries in the person of Francis Coillard, his family and 24 Basotho Christians travelled to the Barotsi people near the Zambesi River and founded the Western Province Presbytery which today is known as the United Church of Zambia.

The chapter endeavoured to trace the motive and the theological foundation of the PEMS missionary enterprise engagement and it was to no avail. It was found that the French mission—a product of *Le Réveil* (The Awakening) which is a reaction to the materialism and rationalism that had entered the Reformed Churches during the Enlightenment and had an interdenominational flavour—followed the model of the LMS which was informed by the mercantile company model of doing business. However, individual missionary's motive, such as Eugene Casalis, was informed by their personal conviction that the heathens or savages needed to be saved from eternal damnation and hell and be imported into the European civilisation because they considered their culture as more compatible with the Christian faith.

The Constantinian model of Christianising the Basotho did bear fruit, but only in the royal family and it was not sustainable. For every time when there was a misunderstanding or discord between the royal house and the missionaries, the Basotho would revert to their ancestral ways of doing things, for example *lobola-mahali*, initiation schools (male circumcision), polygamy, levirate and other cultural practices. Thus, the missionaries decided to directly Christianise ordinary members of the Basotho nation.

In 18–19 April 1964, the Church of the Basotholand became of age (Thuthuho) and was handed over to the Basotho hegemony. The researcher laments the fact that there is no acknowledgement in the historiography of the LECSA/PEMS of the external forces that were at play, both continentally and internationally, and left the

French mission with no choice but to relinquish control over to the Basotho church. Sadly, the very Basotho leadership have shunned employing words like independence or autonomy to describe the events of 18–19 April 1964, but rather prefer the phrase coming of age (Thuthuho). For the researcher this smacks of the continued dependency of the African Church on the Occident Church in a post-colonial Africa—a mother/daughter or master/slave church relationship which the ecumenical body such as WCC was and is still discouraging.

The chapter lastly presented the current ministry and mission of the LECSA/PEMS which was mostly started by the “Mission” and was sacrosanctly preserved and maintained by the Basotho hegemony. Today, Lesotho is 96% Christian and LECSA/PEMS boasts 12 Presbyteries (11 in Lesotho and 1 in Gauteng, encompassing South Africa as a whole) and a total of 109 parishes (14 are in South Africa). The LECSA/PEMS does quite a lot in terms of missions through its several institutions and group formations that are based at its headquarters in Morija, Lesotho, but very little in South Africa (Gauteng).

In Chapter Three, an introduction to the genesis and development of the South Western Township (Soweto) was given and highlighted the notion that the township is a direct product of apartheid laws that were bent to further colonise and enslave black African people. Soweto, like many if not all black townships in apartheid South Africa, was meant to be a slave camp of black African people from which the apartheid white capital would tap into to maintain their white supremacist privilege. In principle, Soweto is an extension of the racist segregation policies of the apartheid-government of the Union of South Africa under the leadership of the Herenigde Nasionale Party—the Reunited National Party and later the Nationalist Party.

Soweto is known to have a propensity to resistance and riots because of its struggle history against unjust racist apartheid laws or policies. It is on record that numerous struggle heroes and heroines lived in and walked on the dusty streets of Soweto. A number of resistance campaigns were launched and lead from the internationally renowned township, Soweto. Peoples struggle against injustice always presents a

missional opportunity for the church and little is recorded regarding the churches' involvement. The LECSA/PEMS Gauteng (South Africa) does not feature anywhere regarding the church's missional involvement in the peoples struggle either institutionally or as individual members of the denomination.

The chapter highlighted recent developments in the township and discussed how it is still experiencing a massive influx of migrants. However, the statistics showed that migrants who found themselves in Soweto are mostly young and are struggling with unemployment. This phenomenon presents the church with a missional opportunity to tap into for young people are not only a future resource for the church's missional agenda but a present one. The reality is that Soweto has become a class township where some live in opulence while the majority find themselves in abject poverty. The vision and promises of 1994 and the liberation struggle are still to be realised.

Chapter Four of the study looked into the history of the Western Areas of Johannesburg and Meadowlands as one of the more than 30 townships of Soweto. The Western Areas of Johannesburg cover Sophiatown, Newclare, Martindale and WNT. Sophiatown and Newclare were under free lease hold and more multiracial communities while WNT was under municipal control and used mainly for black Africans. Martindale, in contrast, was designated mainly for white people.

The Western Areas experienced an influx of migrants looking for employment in the areas of Johannesburg and this resulted in overcrowding. Though endowed with the best cultural talent—in writing, performing arts, sports and, of course, political leadership—the areas were inflicted by numerous social ills of their day including gangsterism, illegal beer brewing and excessive drinking of alcohol, hooliganism, prostitution, unemployment, thuggery, delinquency and single parenting.

The Basotho who lived in the areas were reputed as beer brewers, especially Basotho women, and their youngsters were part of the gang subculture. The Basotho, as migrants, displayed disloyalty to the liberation agenda of peoples of the areas and they would from time to time sabotage the struggle and collaborate with the oppressive system of the day.

Even though there was racial harmony in the communities, lack of housing turned the area into a slum—especially in Sophiatown and Newclare. The Apartheid government came up with legislation and schemes to forcefully relocate these communities due to their annoyance with the racial harmony of these communities and the dissatisfaction of their white-only neighbours.

The black Africans resisted the move and started a number of campaigns geared towards fighting against the forced removals. The church that was overtly alongside the “masses” was the Anglican Church in the person of the missionary Rev. Trevor Huddleston. Churches in the areas, across denominational lines, were indeed doing missions through education, orphanages and also ministering to the communities in various ways. However, the LECSA/PEMS and its leadership then seemed to have been quiescent because there is no evidence of its activism during this period.

The researcher takes into account and laments the fact that the arch-engineers and architects of racist apartheid-segregationist policies were church ministers and theologians attached to the Calvinist Dutch Reformed Church, namely Rev. Dr Malan and Dr Verwoerd among others. An interesting fact is the collaboration of the gangs with the communities in their resistance to the forced removals and the reduction in crime against the communities.

In their quest to resist the forced removals, a rift was exposed between ratepayers and tenants. There was ineffective strategy in their resistance for they were divided in the struggle. Besides the heavy deployment and presence of the police and army, the promise of a better life to where the tenants were to be resettled was palatable to many; thus, the resistance was not sustainable. Finally, the Western Areas of Johannesburg were cleared of the “black spot” and they were renamed. The PEMS church building still exists and is situated at the corner of Kretzchmar and Du Plessis Street in Westbury, 497.

In Chapter Five, the study continued from the previous one and zoomed to the township where some of the forcefully removed residents of the “former” Western Areas of Johannesburg were resettled, namely Meadowlands. The design and the

architectural plan of the houses were covered, including the demographics of the population in the area. There is a striking correlation with the demographics of the then Western Areas and the current Meadowlands. In both situations migrant labourers are tenants and the population is mostly made up of young people; furthermore, the youth constitute a greater number of the unemployed in the area. Meadowlands, similarly to Soweto as a whole, is becoming a class community. With the information presented, the researcher exposes an opportunity for missions for the church in Soweto. For where poverty thrives the church ought to intervene to alleviate the poor.

The chapter then traced the presence of the body of Christ in the township through an identification of ecumenical bodies and an attempt to find the participation of the LECSA/PEMS. Not surprisingly, the LECSA/PEMS was not to be found, though the denomination nationally in Lesotho, continentally and internationally is connected ecumenically; however, locally this is not the case.

A summary was given of how the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish came to existence after they were resettled in Meadowlands from the Western Areas. A list of names of the leadership and their roles at different times is provided, including where the place of worship was situated. The schism that occurred in 1997 was mentioned and a perspective was solicited from the moderator of the breakaway, ECSA, regarding the reasons that resulted in the “split”. He (the ECSA moderator) gave his view on the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish missional understanding.

Moreover, the chapter tabulated questions that were posed to the eldership of the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish and their responses and provided an analysis which gave a picture of the missional understanding of the leadership and thus of the church.

Finally, this chapter recapitulates on Chapter One and summarises all of the subsequent ones. In this chapter the researcher will also state his findings, judgement and recommendations to chart a way forward.

6.2. Findings and Judgement

The LECSA/PEMS, at the denominational (national) level, does acknowledge and appreciate that it is a product of the missionary enterprise era and thus is forever indebted to its French missionary ancestry. It (LECSA/PEMS) evinces this through its relationship with the so-called defunct PEMS under the guise of the Evangelical Community for Apostolic Action (ECAA) and DEFAP and by refusing to be totally independent or autonomous from the French mission patronage. The LECSA/PEMS needs to acknowledge and put it on record that among other reasons for its “coming of age” in 1964, is the external factors which had to do with the International Missionary Conference (IMC) becoming the World Council of Churches, recognising that all work done by the Occident mission organisation over centuries must be handed over to indigenous peoples in those very countries and the “winds of change” that captured Africa call for total freedom and independence from the “West”.

Not everything that developed in the mission enterprise era can be declared archaic and obsolete, but the maintenance approach of everything that its mission ancestry did smacks of nostalgia and is not sustainable. Since its “coming of age” (1964–2014) more than 50 years ago, the LECSA/PEMS has done very little in terms of missions, especially in the 21st century. It needs to draw lessons from the mistakes its mission ancestry made when it relied entirely on those in authority, like the royalty, to Christianise the Basotho. In recent times, the LECSA/PEMS is dependent entirely on formal organisation to do its mission, like its ecumenical connections. The *Baboleli* (evangelist) are parochial and see themselves as deputising the ordained parish minister. They should see themselves as the “cutting edge” of the mission agenda of their parishes and distance themselves from the institutional maintenance approach of doing things.

Moreover, the ordained ministry at the LECSA/PEMS is so institutionalised that lay-ministry is stifled. The LECSA/PEMS ministers historically equate the office of the minister in the church with that of a village chief, a model adopted by the early station missionaries. Was it Jesus Christ of Nazareth, when recruiting disciples, who

said: come and follow me for I will make you fishers of men? That is where lay-ministry comes in. The LECSA/PEMS ministers should empower and partner with lay people to do the work of the ministry/mission in their parishes. The mission and ministry of the church currently centre on the clergy and need to be liberated from their clutches.

The LECSA/PEMS Morija Theological Seminary (MTS) and Bible School are struggling and do not meet the required standard of a credible tertiary institution. The period that the researcher spent, about three months, at the MTS was eye-opening. The students' residence was in a dilapidating state, the ablution block was not in usable condition, and the kitchen equipment was not up to standard. They have electricity but use a coal stove for cooking, the geyser does not always work, and students have to use wood to boil water in order to have a warm or hot bath. There are no washing machines and cooking stoves for students, a cafeteria is a luxury and shops are far away should a student be able to afford to buy something. Thus, students spend a lot of their time attending to "domestic" chores and very little attending to their studies.

With regard to teaching and learning, much is left to be desired. Though the researcher did not attend all lectures, the few he managed to attend were appalling to say the least. Some lecturers would ask students to dictate in English, read aloud, in class and, from time to time, to pause to explain mostly in Sesotho what the passage meant. The researcher's expectation was that students at a tertiary level do most of their reading outside of the classroom and in the classroom would raise or engage robustly with what they have read. Those students who attempted to engage with issues in the classroom were silenced. Most lecturers encountered by the researcher were older and hostile to students and outsiders (for example, they were hostile to the researcher for he is a postgraduate from South Africa). This is one culture contrary to the spirit of learning and training in the 21st century, especially at an institution of higher learning. Surprisingly, most lecturers are said to hold Masters' Degrees in their field of study.

The library is quite small and the reading material is outdated for students rely on donations from their Occident benefactors. Furthermore, they are lagging behind when it comes to information, communication and technology. Interviews with some elders at the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish raised this point as a very serious and pertinent one. Their classrooms resemble those in basic education (primary and high school) with chalk boards – they do not appear like lecture rooms. The MTS environment is generally not conducive to higher learning and training. However, it also came to the researcher’s attention that a handful of their Lesotho ministers have registered for a Bachelor of Theology Honours with the University of the Free State which is quite an improvement.

Frantz Fanon posits that power resembles language, especially in colonial and post-colonial countries. Hence the division between “inferior” blacks and “superior” whites reproduces assuming cultures that bear the weight of civilisation. Fanon, therefore, recognises the dual place of language as operating in terms of broader relations of power and as a tool that expresses the world in which people live and their everyday experiences (Fanon 1965:1-3). Consequently, lived experiences changes language and so does the way in which people communicate (Alexander *et al.* 2013:195).

The role of power in language is further examined in the South African context by Neville Alexander (2009) who asserts that the politics of language remain tumultuous, particularly the contestation between English and Afrikaans. However, Charlyn Dyers (2009:266 in Alexander *et al.* 2013) notes that the shifts taking place within South Africa in urban African languages such as *tsotsitaal* – a mixture of various languages including English, Afrikaans, Sesotho and isiZulu primarily employed by gangsters (Alexander *et al.* 2013:202) – illustrate a “creative adaptation of new contexts” (Dyers 2009:263 in Alexander *et al.* 2013:195). In Gauteng townships, particularly, there are multilingual contacts and these townships are considered “fertile ground for the emergence of lingua francas” (Rudwick in Alexander *et al.* 2013:195).

The LECSA/PEMS business or official language is indeed Sesotho, however, parishes are not restricted. The researcher observed the excitement with which the parishioners at the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish embraced the scripture reading from the isiZulu and English Bible. Moreover, the LECSA/PEMS Maseru Parish is known for having two Sunday services, one conducted in Sesotho and the other in English. Thus, they are able to attract and reach many people from diverse nationalities since Maseru is the capital city of Lesotho. Therefore, the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish is permitted to employ any language to carry out its mission in its context. Moreover, this was confirmed by the responses to the questionnaire by the parish's elders. Interestingly, part of the constitution applicable to its Gauteng (South Africa) presbytery is written in English.

The LECSA/PEMS Constitution (Molao oa Motheo 2012:4-5,55-59), especially chapter 1 section 5 and 6 and chapter 23, state vividly that it is a missional church and has clauses that constitute commissions and committees that must ensure that the denomination engages and responds to missional challenges of its day in different contexts. Therefore, policy should be developed to underpin parish missional engagement and avoid centralising organisational collaboration, especially in the Gauteng (South Africa) presbytery.

The researcher was intrigued by the fact that some elders at the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish used to complain about certain clauses in the constitution that compel them to always send money to its headquarters in Maseru, Lesotho. But when asked about any constitutional amendments that need to happen to allow the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish to focus its efforts more locally, they said no constitutional amendments were needed. The impression was that the constitution was standing in LECSA/PEMS's way of becoming effective missionally in its local context. The LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish is on record pleading and in loggerheads with its headquarters in Maseru to be exempted from paying its dues in order to attend to local building projects.

In the opinion of the researcher, the events of 1997 that led to the schism at the LECSA/PEMS which resulted in the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish joining the

breakaway ECSA and later rejoining LECSA/PEMS tarnished its reputation and integrity in the eyes of the denomination as a whole. It is like the proverbial prodigal son who may turn his back on his parents again but they (the parents) do not know when. The LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish is treated and dealt with suspicion and no wonder its complaints and disgruntlement are treated with disdain.

6.3. Conclusion and Way Forward

The LECSA/PEMS, as a denomination, needs to cut the invisible “umbilical cord” from the defunct PEMS and assume its position as an authentic African protestant-reformed church in the 21st century and claim its missional space. External political forces that influenced its missionary independence should be acknowledged in its mission historiography and be transmitted to its ecclesiastical and lay leadership. This should happen so that the denomination may accept that the church operates in the socio-economic-political space, which changes from time to time and should interact missionally with reality.

The high institutionalism is not consistent with its Presbyterian type of church government and thus must be dismantled and replaced with a system that encourages full participation (not just on paper) of the laity in the mission of the church. It needs to be authentic to its tradition and belief in the priesthood of all believers (protestant-reformed tradition). The laity should know that ministers are there to empower them to do mission and the work of the ministry. There should be refresher courses for the long-serving ministers and the MTS and Bible School should research and expose its students to new ways of becoming a missional church.

Lay-ministry training should be taken seriously and not depend on either the time that is available or presbytery conferences. It must be thoroughly researched and informed by the real needs of the church and society. A curriculum of some kind must be developed and delivered by passionate people (both clergy and laity). The best place to conduct this is at the local parish.

The village chief model adopted by its ministers is not relevant in the twenty-first century. Besides, the practice is not consistent with its protestant-reformed theology. They (ministers) must adopt a servant-leadership model (as modelled by Jesus Christ of Nazareth) which resonates with their African adage that “*Morena ke morena ka batho*” (A leader or chief is one by the will of the people). Ministers at the LECSA/PEMS must see themselves as the servants of the people, and not the other way around. Moreover, the laity must learn from their ministers through observation and follow suit.

The entire MTS and Bible School need revamping and must begin to employ international standards to measure itself against. Qualifications of the lecturers should be scrutinised and potential student’s minimum entrance qualifications should be upgraded to Grade twelve (standard ten), for both ministers and evangelists. Collaboration with other institutions in similar traits and traditions must be pursued—including ecumenical collaboration—and exchange programmes must be encouraged to revitalise and expose both lecturers and students to diverse ways of doing things. As a last resort, the MTS and Bible School may consider merging with other protestant-reformed institutions to train their future ministers and evangelists (Kumalo & Richardson 2010:265).

However, in pursuit of a long-term solution, LECSA/PEMS should not find itself compromising its standards like the ECSA which presently uses evangelical (born-again) institutions—of which many are not registered and recognised by the Department of Higher Education—in the training of its ministers. Endeavours should be made for the qualification obtained at the MTS and Bible School to be accredited with authentic institutions of higher learning and government so that its graduands (diploma) may be able to further their studies should they desire to do so.

Moreover, LECSA/PEMS should upgrade its library in terms of space and content (material). The world has become a global village because of technology and life, learning and training is made much simpler with the advent of computers and digital gadgets. Rather than investing in books (hard copies), it should rather go

digital and every student must be computer literate. It just needs to invest in information, communication and technology.

Indeed, language can be a serious barrier to propagating the Gospel or the church in becoming missional; however, for the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish the challenge is not insurmountable. It must decide for itself what language (including the lingua franca) would best enable it to reach its target group in its local context. For already the church community at the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish is multilingual (they or their predecessors originate from the Western Areas of Johannesburg, like Sophiatown, and they are in a multilingual township of Soweto).

The missional mandate is explicit from the constitution and almanac (calendar always include dates that mark environmental issues, HIV & AIDS, etc, of the LECSA/PEMS and the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish leadership and membership must familiarise themselves with the document. As members of the LECSA/PEMS denomination, they need to embrace the document and cease lamenting that they were not fully consulted when it was amended. If they want to amend the constitution, they would have to workshop the document and speak in unison regarding clauses that need amending and lobby for support. However, the researcher is confident that the LECSA/PEMS constitution has a missional element. Despite this, there is a difference between theory and practice and LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish should integrate the two and come up with a missional praxis. A missional praxis requires that it constantly reflects on its missional actions as it continues doing acts of missions.

The LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish should liberate itself from the unfortunate decisions and events of 1997 which led to the schism. It needs to let bygones be bygones, for it cannot undo what happened – what is done is done. What is crucial is that it needs to draw lessons from its experience to avoid recurrence. Strength and encouragement may also be drawn from the memory of the events of the Western Areas of Johannesburg. It also needs to live up to its obligation as an authentic member of the LECSA/PEMS without compromising its ancestral propensity to

struggle and continue struggling within the body of Christ so that it may fully become a missional ecclesia in its local context, Meadowlands, Soweto.

The LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands should purge itself of the quiescent element of the denomination. The quiescent demon that mutes the church when it is supposed to prophetically challenge the status quo must be exorcised. The denomination was quiescent during the forced removals of the Western Areas of Johannesburg, during the Lesotho political strife and recently with its former Prime Minister Thomas Thabane fleeing to and seeking refuge in South Africa because of the murder of the head of the Lesotho Defence Force, General Mahau. Ironically, both prime ministers, the former Thomas Thabane and current Phakalitha Mosisili, are members of the LECSA/PEMS. And yet the church failed to speak prophetically to its communicants. In South Africa, the denomination was silent when miners were massacred at Lonmin Mine in Marikana in the North West, where most of the Basotho men are working as miners. The LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish must continue to clamour and extend itself to the socio-political sphere and agitate for a prophetic voice on the part of its denominational leadership.

The Meadowlands community is predominantly young, while the majority of the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish communicants are aging. The missional praxis of the parish would need to take note of this fact and reach out to young people in the area. It needs to find creative ways of tapping into this dormant resource for the church. However, it should be noted that it should be “the whole church taking the whole Gospel to the whole community”. LECSA/PEMS should further improve on its mission/ministry of providing for orphans, HIV and AIDS awareness and education, pastoral visits, combating substance and alcohol abuse, ministering through music (choir) and being in solidarity (Alexander *et al.* 2013:115) with workless households during these tough economic times.

6.4. A Proposed Plan for the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish

The researcher proposes an intervention plan that will, in a small way, assist in sensitising and galvanising the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands membership to engage in missions and thus become a missional ecclesia.

The proposed plan for LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish	
The problem statement	The struggle of the LECSA/PEMS in Meadowlands, Soweto, in becoming a missional ecclesia in a local context.
The nature of the planned intervention or project	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Conduct a workshop for the leadership to familiarise themselves with the LECSA/PEMS constitution and decide on its lingua francas. 2. Conduct lay minister training on missional church and adopt a missional praxis. 3. Organise a celebration or commemoration on the struggle and resistance in the Western Areas of Johannesburg. 4. Conduct a seminar on prophetic ministry or mission. 5. Hold a session on dealing with and healing the past (address the forced removals and schism). 6. Develop a robust youth ministry programme.
The aims and objectives (intended outcomes) of the intervention	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To share the findings of this study. 2. To have a clear understanding of the LECSA/PEMS constitution. 3. To adopt a missional praxis and programme for the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish. 4. To share experience with the LECSA/PEMS Gauteng (South Africa) Presbytery Committee's Commission on Evangelism/Mission (<i>Komisi ea Lentsoe</i>) 5. To duplicate the plan to all the parishes within the Gauteng (South Africa) Presbytery.
The members of the support group/task team	Their role as leaders in LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish:

The proposed plan for LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish	
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mr Michael P. Matloane: A long serving, senior citizen and passionate <i>'Moleli</i> (evangelist) who grew up in the Western Areas of Johannesburg. 2. Mr Marapo Mapeshoane: The minister-in-charge. 3. Ms Lisebo Sephaka: A long serving senior citizen in the Women Guild (<i>Bo'Mabana</i>) and elder who grew up in the Western Areas of Johannesburg. 4. Mr Joe Ramadibane: A long serving youth leader. 5. Ms Kekeletso Moeno: A long serving middle-aged woman, choir leader, youth leader and an elder. 6. Ms Mpolai Nkhetsi: Another long serving middle-aged woman and an elder. 7. Rev. Teboho Morapeli: An ordained minister of the LECSA/PEMS and moderator of the Gauteng (South Africa) Presbytery. 8. Tsidiso Kganyapa: The researcher of this study.
The time frame for the project (when does it begin and end?)	05 June 2016–26 February 2017

6.5. Further Research/Study

The researcher was intrigued by the silence of the LECSA/PEMS during different historical epochs of the denomination and wonders what the reasons behind this might have been. The quiescent attitude still exists today, amidst grave missional challenges and opportunities for the church. The other muted voice in most consulted material on the LECSA/PEMS genesis, growth, development and mission is that of the Basotho men and women. This may present an opportunity for further study.

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APPENDICES

LECSA/PEMS Vision and Mission Statement

1. Vision

Called and committed to sanctity, newness and fullness of life (John 10:10), the LECSA/PEMS envisions and aspires to be a healing (2 Chronicles 7:14), well-informed and empowered community, able to bring about renewal, transformation and peace with justice (LECSA Constitution 2014).

2. Mission

Affirming anew its faith in Jesus Christ, the Lord of the Church, and accepting its commission to advance God's mission of total salvation for all (hu)mankind (John 3:16) and creation, the LECSA/PEMS accepts, responds to and participates in God's continuing mission in the world. To this end, the LECSA/PEMS summarises its mission in the following manner:

Given the primacy of the person (Genesis 1:26–28) whom it claims wholly for Christ and insisting on transformational and creative education and theology while proactively addressing secularism, globalisation, HIV and AIDS, gender inequality, poverty, culture and environmental degradation (WCC 2005: 10), the LECSA/PEMS undertakes to launch a mission campaign to engage with and revive the entire religious and socio-economic landscape; to generate a range of developmental, transformational and creative programmes, motivated by the four cardinal and overarching relationships; and, finally, inspired and empowered by the Word and the Spirit of Life, to give effect to our projected newness and fullness of life (Gill *et al.* 2009:5).

LIST OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What was the role of LECSA/PEMS or its leadership during the forced removals in Sophiatown or the Western Township?
2. What pastoral or missional role did the LECSA/PEMS or leadership play during the settlement in Meadowlands?
3. Who was in leadership at the LECSA/PEMS during the “forced removals”? Was it the missionaries or Basotho ministers?
4. What happened to the church property of LECSA/PEMS in Sophiatown or the Western Township?
5. What and how was the LECSA/PEMS’ ecumenical collaboration and relation in Sophiatown or the Western Township?
6. What (mission) theology was espoused by the LECSA/PEMS during the time of forced removals, colonisation and apartheid?
7. What is the LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands’ understanding of mission? And, how is it carried out?
8. How is LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands a missional congregation?
9. Are there impediments to the LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands in being or becoming a missional congregation?
10. How relevant is the missional agenda of the LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands?
11. How is or can the laity be involved in the mission of the LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands?
12. What is the thinking of the LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands regarding the “Central Chest”?

13. How effective and beneficial is the “Central Chest” for the LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands?
14. What is the experience of the LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands’ communicants and congregants regarding the LECSA/PEMS language policy?
15. How does the LECSA/PEMS language policy impact on the missional work of the LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands?
16. How does the past membership of the LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands with the breakaway Evangelical Church in Southern Africa (ECSA) affect its standing and relationship in the LECSA/PEMS?
17. Is there a constitutional amendment to facilitate the LECSA/PEMS Parish in Meadowlands to become more missional as a church in its local context?
18. What minimum educational qualification should a minister or evangelist (“Moleli) at the LECSA/PEMS have? And, why?
19. What is or should be the role of the evangelist (“Moleli) over and above being an assistant or substitute of the (ordained) minister?
20. How can guilds (mekhatlo) do or engage in evangelistic ministry or mission?
21. What is the present membership of LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands? And, what are the demographics?
22. When last did the parish conduct a baptism? And, how many children and adults?
23. What are the income generation levels? Where do members earn their income?
24. What is the unemployment rate (a guess or estimation)?

INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

Title of the Research

The struggle of the Lesotho Evangelical Church in Southern Africa (LECSA) and/or Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) in Meadowlands, Soweto, in becoming a missional ecclesia in a local context.

Introduction and Purpose of the Research

This research is inspired and influenced by my (the researcher's) ministerial involvement with LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands, Soweto. In early 2011, the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands had requested me (the researcher) to assume a ministerial role since they had no minister assigned to them. I took up the challenge and in the middle of the year applied to the Synodal Executive in Lesotho to work as a minister at LECSA.

During the period I spent at LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish, from 2009 to date, I learnt that the denomination is bedevilled by a considerable number of challenges both locally and internationally. Among others, the LECSA/PEMS is facing problems pertaining to language policy, finances, ministerial formation, unity issues, membership exodus, lay ministry development, institutionalisation of ministry, ecumenical participation, mission and evangelism.

At the local level, LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish, the Consistory is forever at loggerheads with the headquarters in Lesotho and inundated with financial demands and obligations which are quite challenging to fulfil.

The parish has never baptised an adult believer in a very long time and even infant baptism is quite scant. The majority of its communicants are ageing and no longer able to fully participate in the life and ministry of the church.

Currently, LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish has embarked on a building project and decided not to send "*seabo*" (their financial obligation) to Lesotho headquarters. The ramification of this is that its minister is not getting his stipend.

Recently, I have been asked by the Gauteng (South Africa) Presbytery Committee to be part of the Evangelism/Mission Commission (*Komisi ea Lentsoe*) and assume the position of secretary. The Commission is charged with, inter alia, planning and ensuring that all parishes and guilds within our presbytery, South Africa, engage in evangelism and mission.

This research attempts to do the following:

- To interrogate the LECSA/PEMS missiological position and praxis;
- To reflect theologically on the missional history of the LECSA/PEMS since the African indigenous leadership assumed hegemony and develop a theology that will challenge the status quo;
- To conduct a comparative study of LECSA/PEMS with other church denominations (sister churches) of almost similar traditions and historical background, in order to draw lessons that could be used at LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish;
- To develop a working document for the LECSA/PEMS Gauteng (South Africa) Evangelism/Missions Commission (*Komisi ea Lentsoe*); and
- To come up with a plan for the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands, in order to sensitise and galvanise the membership to engage in missions and thus become a missional ecclesia (church).

Research Procedure

You, the participant, will be interviewed through the employment of informal (oral) and/or semi-structured interviews. The interviews will help in elucidating the missional challenges facing the LECSA/PEMS, especially, the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish.

The research will be conducted in Johannesburg, Soweto. More specifically, the researcher will interview five individuals in Morija and three individuals in Maseru.

Risks

There are no risks involved.

Benefits

If you participate in this research you will contribute to helping the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands, perhaps, LECSA/PEMS as a denomination, in elucidating its missional challenges and develop a plan that will galvanise the membership to engage in missions or evangelistic ministry.

However, there is no financial payment for your participation in this research.

Participation Rights

Participation in this research is voluntary. You, the participant, have the right not to participate or to decide not to continue in the research at any stage. Either choice will not affect your relationship with me, the researcher.

Confidentiality

Your name and other information that may be used to identify you will be kept private and confidential. No information will be disclosed to anyone apart from what will be written in the dissertation. All research data will be destroyed or kept at the University of Pretoria at the end of the research.

Contact

Should you have any question or query you may raise them now or later by contacting me at:

Leonard Tsidiso Kganyapa

P.O. Box 201, Dube 1800, Soweto, Johannesburg

Cell: 083-753-7315

e-mail: kganyapat@webmail.co.za

This research proposal has been reviewed and approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the University of Pretoria whose task is to ensure that research participants are protected from any form of victimisation.

Consent

Participation in this research is voluntary. You (the participant) have the right not to take part or decide not to continue in the research at any stage. Either choice will not affect our relationship, i.e. you, the participant, and myself, the researcher.

By attaching your signature to this document you (the participant) do not give up your legal rights. A copy of this consent form will be kept by you, the participant.

I, the participant, have perused this consent form or it has been read to me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have received answers to any of the questions I had regarding this research. I understand that should there be any additional questions, I may contact the researcher.

Name and Surname of the Participant:

.....

Signature of the Participant:

.....

Date:

I, the witness, have accurately read or witnessed the accurate reading of the consent form to the potential participant and the individual has had the opportunity to ask questions. I confirm that the individual has given consent freely.

Name and Surname of the Witness:

.....

Signature of the Witness:

.....

Date:

A copy of this consent form has been given to the participant.

I, the researcher, have accurately read or witnessed the accurate reading of the consent form to the potential participant and the individual has had the opportunity to ask questions. I confirm that the individual has given consent freely.

Name and Surname of the Researcher:
.....

Signature of the Researcher:
.....

Date:

A copy of this consent form has been given to the participant.

The existence of the Lesotho Evangelical Church in Southern Africa (LECSA) or Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) in the Western Areas of Johannesburg, South Western Township (Soweto) and more poignantly, Meadowlands and their forced removals experience is succinctly captured. The struggle of the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish in becoming a missional ecclesia in a sea of missional challenges in her context are vividly spelt out. They, inter alia, include constitutional matters, language policy, finances, ministerial preparation, lay-ministry development, institutionalisation of ministry, unity issues, prophetic ministry, mission and evangelism. The researcher, then, proposes an intervention – of course not a perfect one – that perhaps will galvanise the LECSA/PEMS Meadowlands Parish members to improve on what they have been doing and become a missional ecclesia in her context, Meadowlands.