

RELIGION IN THE CITY

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“At last.” This is merely two words, but it is my sigh. It has been a few years now, since I have started this task of handing in my Dissertation and at last it is finished. This study has not come easily and I would like to thank a few people.

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Abstract

Religion within the urban environment has been debated for a few years now. The debate does not get easier, nor will it disappear overnight. There seems to be a few problems between these different structures and their systems within. Questions regarding certain religious institutions towards the society are notable to look at. Even the current topic on how to correlate the relationship between society and religion are note-worthy.

These concerns create an opportunity for us to re-evaluate these relationships. Could there be a way to reconcile these relationships? What then can we discern from the perspectives of history, sociology and consumerism when given a description of what cities and religion proclaim to be and what it ought to be? Can we find a way to reconcile religion and our understanding of urban society? Should religion be re-envisioned to fit into a transformed urban society? This study suggests that the Apparatus theory can be of assistance when relating religion and the city.

This study will in no way attempt to provide a detailed overview of these elements: city and religion. Rather, possibilities for areas of dialogue will be considered. Could religion be an Apparatus we need to consider in a society that has totally lost its barriers and means of dialogue in society? The Apparatus theory could be seen as the connection needed to understand all inter-dependant forms that the society builds on. Religion can either promote social cohesion and integration or religion can force social division. Religion has a role to play and a place to fill within the urban barriers. This study wants to emphasize that the characteristics of religion will change over time, but will never die out.

Keywords: *urban environment, correlate, re-evaluate, perspectives, consumerism, transformed, Apparatus theory, city, inter-dependant forms, intergration, characteristics.*

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CHAPTER 1

PROBLEM STATEMENT, HYPOTHESIS AND METHODOLOGY

1.1. Religion in the City

It is needless to say that we are living in a time of urbanization.¹ It is seen throughout statistics that major transitions have happened over the last few decades, when looking at the development of urban areas. It could be hypothesized that religion's face should change because of the ever-changing urban environment. (Religion, looking at the Apparatus theory of Foucault, could be the bridge between societies left in pain and grief due to diversity within the city.) This study will try to introduce a new way religion could be interpreted in the urban society. It is very important to raise the following question; What form and function will religion take on in an urban environment?

Living in an urban society today, depicts the norm. According to Statista, the following percentages are of importance when looking at the degree of urbanization (percentage of urban population in total population) by continent in 2013²;

Northern America	81 %	Worldwide	52 %
Latin America and Caribbean	79 %	Asia	46 %
Europe	71 %	Africa	40 %
Oceania	66 %		

These statistics are of utmost value to someone searching for answers, when debating the question of whether religion still plays a role in the urban environment. Why? Urbanization, an increase in a population in cities and towns versus

¹ (www.unfpa.org/urbanization: 21/07/2015: 12:15)

² (www.statista.com: 28/05/2014: 12:17)

rural areas, could arguably be seen as one of the reasons why religion has changed form and function over the past years. People keep searching for answers. What will provide them certainty in an ever-changing society, if there is any left? Could there still be a space where the spiritual aspect of life can be practised? Is there any freedom that could be enforced by the vision and structure of cities?

A more recent study by the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat have shared the following information in their report, *World Urbanization Prospects The 2014 Revision Highlights*:

- Globally, more people live in urban areas than in rural areas, with 54 per cent of the world's population residing in urban areas in 2014. In 1950, 30 per cent of the world's population was urban, and by 2050, 66 per cent of the world's population is projected to be urban.
- Today, the most urbanized regions include Northern America (82 per cent living in urban areas in 2014), Latin America and the Caribbean (80 per cent), and Europe (73 per cent). In contrast, Africa and Asia remain mostly rural, with 40 and 48 per cent of their respective populations living in urban areas. All regions are expected to urbanize further over the coming decades. Africa and Asia are urbanizing faster than the other regions and are projected to become 56 and 64 per cent urban, respectively, by 2050.
- The rural population of the world has grown slowly since 1950 and is expected to reach its peak in a few years. The global rural population is now close to 3.4 billion and is expected to decline to 3.2 billion by 2050. Africa and Asia are home to nearly 90 per cent of the world's rural population. India has the largest rural population (857 million), followed by China (635 million).
- The urban population of the world has grown rapidly since 1950, from 746 million to 3.9 billion in 2014. Asia, despite its lower level of urbanization, is home to 53 per cent of the world's urban population, followed by Europe (14 per cent) and Latin America and the Caribbean (13 per cent).

- Continuing population growth and urbanization are projected to add 2.5 billion people to the world's urban population by 2050, with nearly 90 per cent of the increase concentrated in Asia and Africa.
- Just three countries—India, China and Nigeria— together are expected to account for 37 per cent of the projected growth of the world's urban population between 2014 and 2050. India is projected to add 404 million urban dwellers, China 292 million and Nigeria 212 million.
- Close to half of the world's urban dwellers reside in relatively small settlements of less than 500,000 inhabitants, while only around one in eight live in the 28 mega-cities with more than 10 million inhabitants.
- Tokyo is the world's largest city with an agglomeration of 38 million inhabitants, followed by Delhi with 25 million, Shanghai with 23 million, and Mexico City, Mumbai and São Paulo, each with around 21 million inhabitants. By 2030, the world is projected to have 41 mega-cities with more than 10 million inhabitants. Tokyo is projected to remain the world's largest city in 2030 with 37 million inhabitants, followed closely by Delhi where the population is projected to rise swiftly to 36 million. Several decades ago most of the world's largest urban agglomerations were found in the more developed regions, but today's large cities are concentrated in the global South. The fastest-growing urban agglomerations are medium-sized cities and cities with less than 1 million inhabitants located in Asia and Africa.
- Some cities have experienced population decline in recent years. Most of these are located in the low-fertility countries of Asia and Europe where the overall population is stagnant or declining. Economic contraction and natural disasters have contributed to population losses in some cities as well.
- As the world continues to urbanize, sustainable development challenges will be increasingly concentrated in cities, particularly in the lower-mid-income countries where the pace of urbanization is fastest. Integrated policies to improve the lives of both urban and rural dwellers are needed.³

³ (<http://esa.un.org/unpd/wup/Highlights/WUP2014-Highlights.pdf>: 22/05/2015: 11:30)

It is very important to raise the following question; What form and function will religion take on in an urban environment?

The urban area (city) became a shared space for different ethnic groups. This space is divided between different cultures, religions and social institutions. Determining how this space could be best utilized, keeping the diversity in mind, must be the core focus. In a briefing paper, *Sharing Space in Divided Cities*, researchers and investigators have found that:

In contested cities people from different communities have motivations for sharing spaces that often are not related to a desire for integration. Instead, sharing may be dependent upon practical concerns such as transport or shopping, reflecting a range of attitudes that forms a 'spectrum of shared spaces'. In times of strife, shared space may host clashes. But it is important to keep in mind that tensions can rise and fall, sometimes unexpectedly, and that areas of shared use are often affected more than others. Sharing space may simply mean that people from either side of ethno-national or religious divides get to see others, observe their customs, and hear their languages as they go about their lives.⁴

This study understands that there is different factors that influence the extent of sharing when it comes to people living in this shared space. Could religion and the mutual understanding of one another's customs be the way forward?

Cities are definitely not new inventions. Throughout history the development could be seen. Shifts in paradigms have had an effect on the way religions function in society. Political effects have significantly changed the face of religion, ever since the fall of the close ties between State and Church in South Africa, just to name an example. Even ecological debates have forced city planners to take into

⁴ (<http://www.urbanconflicts.arct.cam.ac.uk/downloads/briefing-paper-4>: 29/04/2016: 08:06)

consideration the changes needed when creating space for nature. All of these aspects play an integrative part in our understanding of religion within the city.

In a postmodern context religion tends to be a private and internalized matter, requiring no specific physical space, but this is not the case. Religion in a postmodern context still seeks physical space, when looking at certain religious buildings in and around the city. These buildings seem to withstand the challenges of time. The institution still tries to compete with secular buildings springing up all around them and with the developing of new buildings. Even existing buildings are utilised in some cases for religious purposes. The physical presentation of religion is an act of claiming presence and establishing cultural/religious identity.⁵

Rapid and extreme urbanization determines the face of the city. The question addressed here is how does urbanization influence the way the sacred is perceived? The city becomes the shared space for many different religions. What form and function will religion take on in an urban environment? How will different religions perceive their relationship with others with whom they share the city space?

The research done on urban development over the past century resulted in a magnitude of manuscripts. The abundance of material testifies to the prominence of the discussion, but also to the complexity of the issue under investigation.

Theories on the city have always been in abundance. Experts from many disciplines have given their unique perspective; sociologists, geographers, architects, philosophers, economists, missionaries and social workers. It seems to be a field that is completely exhausted.

This is clearly not so. In this study I will try to reflect on different fields of interpretation such as the perspectives of sociologists, geographers, architects, philosophers, economists, missionaries and social workers. And then give an interpretation of a possible way forward, with religion as an intergral part of the urban society.

A perspective on the interpretation of sociological and religious factors needs to be given.

⁵ (Beyers, 2013:1)

This study will also try to determine whether the Apparatus theory of Foucault could be a way to see different religions working together and also whether religion could still be an integral part of the urban space today. Religion could probably be the only intergral part in every theory posed by specialists and guide the way forward. Religion could give space for diversity and a *habitus* in a world unhindered by pluralism and diversity.

For as long as society will remain, religion will be able to function as an integral part of society. “Religion is a social phenomenon. Society and, therefore, religion will continue to exist as long as human beings exist.”⁶

It is this statement that made me think about a study regarding “Religion in the City”. Throughout history, cities were the main concept of all human science. It gave expression to humanity’s ideas and creativity. It was a way to showcase their prowess. There seems to have been a link between different systems (religion, politics, ecology, sociology, geography, architecture and philosophy), within this structure of what we describe as the city.

It is then without doubt that a study of this magnitude will be a study that needs to debate on the terms such as “religion” and “city”, this being done from a sociological and philosophical perspective.

The debate on the nature of the urban environment, and even on the definition of religion, has been part of debates for centuries. The urban context is one that is thriving and different questions have been asked on how it influences the civil society and other systems within this structure. Religion has always been part of this discussion, but when it comes to the relationship between the urban environment (city) and religion, we cannot but to look at the history of these concepts. This relationship, between city and religion, takes on new forms depending on the circumstances, conditions and surroundings in which it is practised. It is without doubt that religion has changed drastically since the development of cities. Religion has become a parameter for society. It has become a parameter of boundaries, civil rights, rite of passage and even a system that tries to correlate a society.

⁶ Durkheim, E., 2008 [1912]., “The Elementary Forms of Religious Life”, Translated by Carol Cosman, Oxford University Press: Oxford.

In his 1965 book *The Secular City*, Cox tried to come to terms with two overarching themes of modern social history: urbanization and secularization. Accepting both the demise of traditional Christian institutions, symbols and rituals, and urbanization as a fundamental reorientation in the way men and women live together, Cox tried to answer German theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer's questions:

How do we speak of God without religion? How do we speak in a secular fashion of God? He suggested that the church has the responsibility to be the servant and healer of the city.⁷

The goal of this study is not to find the ways in which religion and certain religious institutions should talk about religion or transcendence. The aim is to showcase the need of religion in a society that is being torn apart by the process of urbanization.

Urbanization may be seen as a negative factor only, but the positive characteristics needs to be kept in mind too. The primary benefits of urbanization are centralized population and a sustained economy. Communities are brought together and demand urban planners to think creatively and in a way that benefits a diverse group of people. Increased populations also motivates governments to improve public transport and inter-connectedness.

The pro-urbanization side points to the benefits that a concentration of human capital can bring, as different people live together, share ideas and come up with innovative solutions for problems that they may not have discovered if they lived in rural isolation. There are also environmental benefits to urbanization, it takes less energy to run the smaller homes in cities, thus saving resources and decreasing carbon emissions.

But the challenges for religion, politics, economics, culture and morality in the human society has become a source of great worry, not only for religious leaders, but also

⁷ Harvey Cox, *The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective* (Rev. ed. New York, 1966 [Orig. pub. 1965]), 115.

for leaders around the world. There seems to be a major transformation in the way human beings interact with one another and contemporary society.

It has become necessary to look at these challenges. As previously argued, this study assumes that religion could play an intricate part to give answers.

The debate on the role of religion and civil society takes place within the discourse of sociology. Seligman (1992:2) acknowledges that the roots of the debate on civil society do lie partly in social philosophy. Religion is socially determined, that is, religion influences and is influenced by society.⁸

Important to notice here is the theory that religion is determined socially and vice versa. This could then mean that the urban society and context are beginning to change the face of religion. It must be noted that religion forms part of society and could be seen as the method in which all other structures could be brought together. In order to reach this goal, the Apparatus theory as set out by Foucault will be used. The Apparatus theory could probably hold the key for a better understanding of the position of religion within the city.

Looking at the following account of ancient cities, it is clear that there was a definite structure in place for the sacred spaces to develop. It could be stated that cities were constructed, among other reasons, due to religion. The relationship between nature and religion is a very important facet to look at. It should then be noted that the city was not the only place where religion could be practised. Nature played an important role, regarding the practise of religion and the space it allowed.

For thousands of years, sacred space has shaped and provided deep meaning to cities and urban communities as well as to the health, well-being, and quality of life for the inhabitants. For the first time in history, a majority of the world's population is now living in urban areas. Government bonds, tax-

⁸ Seligman, A.B., 1992, *The idea of civil society*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.

increment financing and large-scale corporate returns now shape most growth. Despite the ascendance of economics as the touchstone for value and meaning in cities, sacred spaces are and will remain a vital part of healthy cities.⁹

Religion was/is based in cities because the political and legal professionals have/had their headquarters in the city. This study will also look at these implications.

Sacred spaces and gathering areas for worship have historically had a synergistic correlation with residential patterns of development. This historical trend has changed drastically. Urban areas are experiencing tremendous growth and change, especially with the diverse cultural values and faith traditions that shaped great cities of the past. It could be stated that a new dawn has been reached for religious institutions and sacred spaces. The importance of these sacred spaces have played an important role in the past and must be utilized to do so again. Religion as an Apparatus could be the one feature in the urban environment that could guide the city in the appropriate direction.

Understanding religion as an organism will be key to understanding the features and functions of religions in the city.

The very organic nature of the city enables theories on the city to constantly change as the form and function of cities change over time. It is necessary to state what is implied with “organic nature” in this context.

During the late nineteenth century, rapid social and economic changes negated the prevailing conception of the city as a uniform whole. Confronted with this disparity between the old urban definition and the new city of the late nineteenth century, social thinkers searched for a new concept that would correspond more closely to the divided urban community around them. Borrowing an analogy from natural history, these thinkers conceived of the city as an organism composed of interdependent neighborhoods/forms and

⁹ (<http://faithandform.com/feature/sacred-space-city-adapting-urban-context>: 13/02/2015: 09:44)

sought to translate this concept into ways of dealing with the dislocations and problems in urban life.¹⁰

Understanding and utilizing urban space is very important. Multiple cultures, diverse groups of people and moral values being a dilemma are all factors that needs to be kept in mind when trying to rethink the city. This is where a new understanding and function of religion is necessary. The aim of urbanization is to create a global village. A truly urban world requires contribution, cooperation and commitment of all people and institutions. Religion needs to be part of this process.

The definition of religion has an outstretched history and is not a straight-forward list of ideas. In order for us to understand this history, there needs to be looked at the concept of religion, in other words, what is meant by it. This will give us an idea on the development and arising of spaces and the development of sacred spaces. The aim of this study is to determine whether there is a link between the origin of religion and the development of inhabited area (cities/urban space), vice versa. If we are moving towards a more sustainable society and cities are going to be called an “urban jungle” or “global village”, what are the consequences of this? Will sacred spaces also be transformed into sustainable areas? Will this also influence the way in which religion is being practised? This will be discussed further on, when looking at what the ‘good life’ entails.

The definition of a city compared to that of religion’s are not at all an easy task. The concept of the city and the phenomenon of urbanization are new to human populations. In fact, compared to the entire history of human evolution, it has only been fairly recent that people have begun to live in relatively dense urban contexts. None the less, the speed at which societies have become urbanized is striking, and the extent to which societies of today are urbanized and the size of present day urban contexts are unprecedented.

¹⁰ (Melvin, Patricia Mooney, "The Organic City: Urban Definition and Neighborhood Organization 1880–1920" (1987). *Social History*. Book 5. http://uknowledge.uky.edu/upk_social_history/5)

We may even consider the city, in fact, to be an administrative definition that places a boundary on a contiguous urban area. The difficulty arises from the fact that the concept of urban, from which city boundaries are determined, is an abstraction that involves a series of interrelated factors, some of which are: population size, population density, space, economic function, labour supply and demand, and administration. Yet, for practical statistical collection purposes, national statistical definitions often identify urban places in terms of criteria such as administrative boundaries or in terms of size of population living in a given area.¹¹

In order to conceptualize the present world urban situation and the current notion of urban, we have to concentrate on two main issues. First, this study will review the past, present, and future trends of the city and urbanization. Second, this study will discuss the notion of the city and also whether religion could give guidance in any way. Why? As earlier stated, the aim of this study is to determine whether there is a link between the origin of religion and the development of inhabited area (cities/urban space), vice versa.

1.2. Motivation for this study

Religion has altered every aspect of human life, including humanity's relationship with the transcendence. "There is no culture recorded in human history which has not practiced some form of religion."¹² The way in which humanity shapes and transforms its environment is an anthropological/sociological question and reflects the way in which humanity sees itself within creation and the society it is part of. Before attempting to describe the effect that humanity has had on its environment and society, whether positive or negative, it is necessary to ask why human beings relate to their environment in the way that they do. Once this question has been asked, the way in which we ought to be in relation to the city and the current

¹¹ (Frey, Zimmer 2001: 25)

¹² (<http://www.ancient.eu/religion/>: 17/02/2016: 12:08)

environment thereof comes into question. The aim of this study is to determine whether or not religion is of any importance in urban society. And also to determine whether this changed function is of any importance and how sustainable it would be.

1.3. Problem Statement

We are currently living in a time where the question regarding urban society and religion are reconsidered. There seems to be a few problems between these different structures and their systems within. The imbalance between an urban society and rural environment are a major concern. Questions regarding certain religious institutions towards the society are notable to look at. Even the current topic on how to correlate the relationship between society and religion are note-worthy.

These concerns create an opportunity for us to re-evaluate these relationships. Could there be a way to reconcile these relationships?

What then can we discern from the perspectives of history, sociology and consumerism when given a description of what cities and religion proclaim to be and what it ought to be? Can we find a way to reconcile religion and our understanding of urban society? Should religion be re-envisioned to fit into a transformed urban society? This study suggests that the Apparatus theory can be of assistance when relating religion and the city.

This study will in no way attempt to provide a detailed overview of these elements: city and religion. Rather, possibilities for areas of dialogue will be considered.

Could religion be an Apparatus we need to consider in a society that has totally lost its barriers and means of dialogue in society? The Apparatus theory could be seen as the connection needed to understand all inter-dependant forms that the society builds on.

1.4. Hypothesis

For as long as society will remain, religion will be able to function as an integral part of society.

This study aims to reconcile two claims: Religion will exist as long as society will exist and religion is important in the urban society, it can fulfil an integral part in the urban society. It could be hypothesized here that this study aims to illustrate that religion will fulfil an ethical platform for people in urban society to build on. This could suggest that people from different religions have the same ethical basis that bounds them together. Furthermore religion could also give people hope. Religion could give meaning to life. Religion could also guide the dialogue of mutual respect between diverse cultures.

The question at hand is: What will become of religion as it is known to us? Will it change form? Will religion take on a new function? What will that function be?

The cities of today have grown fast. The census statistics for South Africa¹³, indicate a rapid urbanization of society. More than 20% of people live within the borders of Gauteng province. This province also shows a very high level of immigration. Urban society, within South Africa, increases when adding other metropolises like Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg and Cape Town.

It could be said that its developing phase has nearly ended, except if a new city is born. But something is lacking. Throughout this development phase there weren't always a core feature that stayed the same.

Urbanization is driven by several factors. First, organic population growth allows the natural expansion of population. This is due to the surplus of births over deaths, a phenomenon driven by persistently high fertility rates. Second, there is in-migration – both voluntary and involuntary – from rural areas, with locals seeking a better life in the city and leaving poorer and rural settings behind.

¹³ (www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0302/P03022011.pdf, 2012)

Rural-to-urban migration is driven by both pull and push factors. Pull factors draw rural populations into the city and include economic opportunities, employment, better connectivity, access to essential services and education. Push factors drive people out of rural environments, and include rural conflict, environmental degradation, climate change and resource shortages. These factors can work together to create a vicious cycle, where poor rural conditions are exacerbated by a brain drain as people leave the countryside looking for a better life in town.

Third, labour migration and new forms of connectivity are driving migration across borders, stimulating booms in some cities while draining others of human capital.¹⁴

In South Africa, most religious groups have their holy places located in rural areas. The Zion Christian Church (ZCC) is the largest African church in Southern Africa. The church's main place of worship is located in the Limpopo province. This leaves the members of the church with a dilemma. What happens to the ground and lands of their forefathers when leaving the rural areas to come to the city? What is the impact on the church, but also for religion as a whole?

The period of land expansion has come to an end. The political domain caused the pioneering phase of our culture to be over: Its restlessness, its derring-do, its quick improvisations, its general shiftiness and uncertainty and speculative enterprise, its covert contempt for stable ways and for the funded stock of human experience. These are all qualities that belong to a rapidly fading past.¹⁵

Instead of seeking new territory, we must make the most of what we have, and instead of seeking wealth by expansion, we must seek it by intensive cultivation.¹⁶

...closing of the physical frontiers, led to the opening of spiritual frontiers. The transferal of interest from the material conditions of survival to an

¹⁴ (www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/05/africa-biggest-cities-fragility/: 13/08/2016: 20:38)

¹⁵ (Mumford: Looking Forward: 540)

¹⁶ (Mumford: Looking Forward: 540)

understanding of the arts, the ideas, the values and the natural environment of the conquered territories is a recent change.¹⁷

Religion can be able to use these recent changes to spark a new relationship between these different entities of city and society. Our industrial organization of urbanism and the planning of cities, which from the beginning was keyed to expansion, now face just the opposite conditions: stabilization and balance. There needs to be an element that could help with the facilitating process of a new relationship. Religion can serve as the stabilizing element with urban society.

1.5. Methodology

This study is embedded in a sociological discourse with a philosophical approach and a post foundationalist approach. I will follow a quantitative method in evaluating the literature at hand with other literature. The quantitative method are used to generalize, test, or confirm qualitative findings.¹⁸

A fundamental supposition of sociology is that human conduct, in any form, is a balancing mechanism, which were intended to resolve particular social problems. Religion could also be seen as such a balancing mechanism. As mentioned earlier; as long as society exist, religion will too. Looking at the sociological implications of transformation within the city, this study will argue that religion has a social function that can give guidance to the diversity within major cities.

Post foundationalism is a theory of epistemology denoting a rejection of an assumed or given authority for a specific action or belief, but arguing, in dialectical fashion, for a rationale for action or belief.¹⁹

¹⁷ (Mumford: Looking Forward: 540)

¹⁸ (<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/867f/2d9a5491411530fa9b79fa020d4c63e83025.pdf>: 30/03/2017: 11:20)

¹⁹ (www.yourdictionary.com: 16/01/2016: 10:32)

In this study, a Post foundationalist approach allows for interrelated and diverse disciplines to inform our understanding of our own context as beings' part of society and its ever-changing context. Post foundationalism is an approach that allows for religion to break out of its own insularity and relate to the broader context. The question of the relationship between religion and urbanism (cities) is of utmost importance in contemporary society, particularly when considering the way in which we have shaped the world around us through the discipline of religion, and the way in which urban developments have in turn shaped us as human beings.

Over against the alleged objectivism of foundationalism and the extreme relativism of most forms of nonfoundationalism, a post foundationalist theology wants to make two moves. First, it fully acknowledges contratextuality, the epistemically crucial role of interpreted experience, and the way that tradition shapes the epistemic and nonepistemic values that inform our reflection about God and what some of us believe to be God's presence in the world. At the same time, however, a post foundationalist notion of rationality in theological reflection claims a point creatively beyond the confines of the local community, group, or culture towards a plausible form of interdisciplinary conversation.²⁰

Post foundationalism could be defined in the following way: to engage in interdisciplinary dialogue within our postmodern culture while both maintaining a commitment to intersubjective, trans-communal argumentation, and recognizing the provisionality of our historically embedded understandings and culturally conditioned explanations of certain traditions and religious experience.

There will also be focused on the Apparatus theory. The Apparatus theory plays an intricate role in our society today. Especially when looking at the urban environment (cities) and religion. These two entities (if we could name them in that way) subjectively work in on one another, constantly forming and reforming one another.

²⁰ (van Huyssteen, *Essays in Postfoundationalist Theology* [1997], 4)

Dispositif, or “apparatus” in English, is a decisive technical term in the strategy of Foucault’s thought. He uses it quite often, when he begins to concern himself with what he calls “governmentality” or the “government of men”.

Foucault never offers a complete definition, but he came close to something like it in an interview in 1977:

What I'm trying to single out with this term is, first and foremost, a thoroughly heterogeneous set consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions-in short, the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the apparatus. The apparatus itself is the network that can be established between these elements...

...by the term "apparatus" I mean a kind of a formation, so to speak, that at a given historical moment has as its major function the response to an urgency. The apparatus therefore has a dominant strategic function...

...I said that the nature of an apparatus is essentially strategic, which means that we are speaking about a certain manipulation of relations of forces, of a rational and concrete intervention in the relations of forces, either so as to develop them in a particular direction, or to block them, stabilize them, and to utilize them. The apparatus is thus always inscribed into a play of power, but it is also always linked to certain limits of knowledge that arise from it and, to an equal degree condition it.

The apparatus is precisely this: a set of strategies of the relations of forces supporting, and supported by, certain types of knowledge.²¹

Agamben summarizes that the strategy we must adopt in combating with apparatuses cannot be a simple one. “What we are dealing with here is the liberation of that which remains captured and separated by means of apparatuses, in order to

²¹ (Kishik and Pedatella 2009: 2)

bring it back to a possible common use.”²² Using the Apparatus theory, this study will argue that the new way forward should be subjectivication. Modern forms of power cannot dictate the generalization and extreme processes of separation that define religion.

1.6. Outline of Contents

- 1) First, it is necessary to define what is meant by the concept of religion. In this first part, the focus will be on the definition of religion and the function of religion.
- 2) Secondly, the urban space needs to be described. What is the urban society and the history of urban societies.
- 3) The third part will focus on the relationship between religion and the urban society.
- 4) The fourth part will approach the interpretation of apparatus theory and the balance that is necessary between the interdependent forms. The focal point will be the concept of religion and how the apparatus theory could be implemented in a pluralistic society to enable us to understand the balance between the interdependent forms.
- 5) The fifth part of the study will debate the questions posed by Beyers in an article in the journal, *Acta Theologica*. “The question at hand is: What will become of religion? The past cannot be changed. The future is uncertain. Are we then currently at the beginning or at the end of religion?”²³ These questions would also be used to guide the way in which we try to clarify the relevance of religion in the urban society for the future. There should be space for religion in an urban society. “Religion is considered by Durkheim to be a social institution alongside

²² (Kishik and Pedatella 2009: 17)

²³ (Beyers: 2013: 1)

other social institutions. For Durkheim all institutions (religion included) are organic and can therefore be born, grow and change. Religion however seem to function as a primal institution, supporting other institutions”.²⁴

Religion can guide urban society and its inhabitants towards a set of ethical norms that can create an environment where diversity and tolerance is at the core of understanding. The final part will consider religion as part of a pluralistic society and how religion might just take a different form, if necessary, in cities in order to strengthen both the understanding of religion-practices in the urban environment, and how the urban-dweller understands religion.

1.7. Delineation and Scope

The future is bound up with the creation of a new pattern of cultural activity, which shall be neither national nor parochial; but more intimate than the first and more open to worldwide forces and impulses and ideas than the second. We must construct an intimate regional framework for a balanced social and personal life, in harmony with the underlying possibilities of landscapes and regional resources and people; and we must achieve this local balance within the larger framework of the world as a whole. The world of barbarous men is bent on predatory exploit and military conquest. We are already involved in it and threatened by it.²⁵

- This study is not prescriptive about the role of religion in society.
- It is descriptive with daring anticipation of possible future proposals for the function of religion.
- It is not a final answer.
- It is focused on South Africa, although all religions come into perspective.
- Therefore it is not religion specific.

²⁴ (Pickering 1984: 264)

²⁵ (Mumford: Looking Forward: 540)

This study cannot be seen as a “conclusion” or answer to the question or even to the debate. Rather, it should be seen as a preliminary synthesis of the question or debate, and it is this synthesis that provides for a richer understanding of what the possibility for this relationship between city and religion could be.

CHAPTER 2

INTRODUCTION

2.1. What is religion?

It is necessary to define what is meant by the concept of religion. In this first part, the focus will be on the way we have viewed the history of cities and how our understanding thereof have changed the view of religion throughout our history. But it is necessary to understand these two elements on their own, first. Why? The hypotheses made in the first sentence could only be verified once there is a consensus and clear definition on these two elements.

There are many questions in philosophy to which no satisfactory answer has yet been given. But the question of the nature of the gods is the darkest and most difficult of all... So various and so contradictory are the opinions of the most learned men on this matter as to persuade one of the truth of the saying that philosophy is the child of ignorance...²⁶

This statement made by Cicero sets out the task ahead. The controversy and differences surrounding these questions have not brought academics any closer to a satisfactory answer. The opinions are multiple and diverse. Different religions have seen the light because of these diverse interpretations regarding the controversial questions.

When looking into this issue, the work of Hume is of utmost importance when seeking clarity. Not for the method of finding answers, but contradicting what he was claiming about religion. Hume, when debating the definition on religion, only focuses on the human element of religion and ignores the independant existance of the transcendent. Hume views religion only as human projection. Different methods of understanding do exist. Although they differ from each other, this does not mean that one method is better than the other.

²⁶ (Cicero, Nature of the gods)

Two questions, as argued by Hume, challenges our attention when seeking answers regarding religion: Its foundation in reason and secondly its origin in human nature. He clearly states that the first question has the clearest solution; “The whole of nature bespeaks an intelligent author.”²⁷ But the second question requires far more attention. Not one idea that springs from this first opinion is uniform in its sentiments. Each tribe, person or nation defines the invisible power differently from each other.

The first religious principles must be secondary; such as may easily be perverted by various accidents and causes, and whose operation too, in some cases, may, by an extraordinary concurrence of circumstances, be altogether prevented. *What those principles are, which give rise to the original belief, and what those accidents and causes are, which direct its operation, is the subject of our present enquiry.*²⁸

Religion, as argued by this study, do change and take on different forms in different environments. But the role society plays in these changes are very important. An individual living in the city are influenced by many cultures and diverse perspectives. This may in turn have an effect on how the urban dweller defines the way in which religion is seen.

One aspect should be made clear from the start: The question of “What is religion?” has to do with the nature of religion. No consensus has been reached on this because of one underlying question: “Is it possible and how to differentiate between *a religion and religion?*”

Einstein (1940: 11, Science and Religion) once stated: “At first, then, instead of asking what religion is, this study prefers to ask what characterizes the aspirations of a person who gives the impression of being religious: A person who is religiously enlightened appears to be one who has, to the best of his ability, liberated himself from the fetters of his selfish desires and is preoccupied with thoughts, feelings, and aspirations to which once was clinged.” The individual becomes occupied by

²⁷ (Hume: Natural history of Religion: 2)

²⁸ (Hume: Natural history of Religion: 2)

festivals and rituals set out by the sacred structure. A sacred structure that became the social terrain of all that lives together in society.

On this note, the sociological approach towards religion will be discussed. Why will this be discussed?

It is the social function of religion that has seen the light in the past few years. Religion is becoming one of the largest role-playing factors in society today. Secularization did not destroy all possibilities thereof and obituaries are far from being written for religion. It is important to realise that religion has a certain centrality that it could give those, lost in diversity.

Religion is a universal phenomena, in the sense that every society, that is known to man, a diversity of religious practices have and that these practices form part of their culture. No definition about religion could state that it is complete, without taking the social aspects into consideration. In established societies, religion is seen as one of the most important institutional structures that forms part of the social system.

When debating and searching for a clear definition on religion, it is important to remember that not one definition would be absolute. It is not possible to take a certain description of religion and absolutize it. Religions differ from one another and so does its definition. It could be possible that there will probably never be one clear description, especially when looking at all the possible and imaginative descriptions.

Giving a description could also be a bit too subjective, especially when a study is being made to correlate/define a certain aspect of society. Therefore a more reasonable/acceptable description would be one that has all the necessary elements embedded, in one specific definition, or the one that comes the closest to having all the features. For this purpose, of defining religion, only a few of the outstanding definitions and examples would be quoted, without having to conduct an in-depth discussion.

Durkheim's particular interest was the social groupings evident in society. Solidarity of collective groups forms the independent variable in his statement regarding sociological phenomena.

A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say things set apart and forbidden-beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community, called a church all these adhered to them.²⁹

In the work of Vernon, *Sociology of Religion*, a functional definition of religion is also found. This definition is composed by a few core elements that are seen as essential characteristics of religion. According to Vernon, there is four essential characteristics that contribute to his definition:

- Religion implies a set of beliefs. To have religion, does not mean that the faith-object must exist, but that man must be aware of its existence and that this awareness has an influence on man's life.
- Religion also implies a set of practices. This implies that religion has an active element in itself. It should also be mentioned that this part of Vernon's definition means that religion has to do with certain behavioral patterns, like rituals and other religious practices. It is this element, of action in religion, that distinguishes itself from philosophy that only claims a cognitive side.
- The third element is the potential religion has, to allow different collective group formations to arise. As long as this element forms part of religion, religion will be able to form part of the collective culture of a certain society. The fundamental idea lies not that in what is shared, but the sharing of beliefs and practices with other individuals.
- The last element of religion, as described by Vernon, which should not be over-looked, is the fact that religion provides humans and society with a certain set of values and norms. Religious collectivity forms the most basic and integral part that allows this set of values and norms to act as prescriptive. This allows religion to dictate society, in other words help society to determine what is in essential "good" or "bad".

²⁹ (Durkheim 1954: 47)

When all of these elements are combined together, then Vernon defines religion as follows:

Religion is that part of culture composed of shared beliefs and practices which not only identify or define the supernatural and the sacred and man's relationship thereto, but which also relate them to the known world in such a way that the group is provided with moral definitions as to what is good (in harmony with or approved by the supernatural) and what is bad (contrary to or out of harmony with the supernatural).³⁰

Closely related to the description of Vernon, is the definition of Johnson. One can almost find all the elements when tracing them back to Vernon.

A religion is a more or less coherent system of beliefs and practices concerning a supernatural order of beings, forces, places or other entities: a system that has for its adherents implications for their behaviour and welfare: implications that the adherents in varying degrees and ways take seriously in their private and collective life.³¹

Roland Johnstone's³² description of religion also links very closely to the views of Vernon and Durkheim when he sees collectivity and clustering as the basic elements of religion. It could be possible to state that humans can never know his true essence when living in isolation. Clustering allows humans to come together and therefor be able to find meaning for life. This could link directly to the way we interpret religion. Only when living in and around others will we be able to give true meaning to our religious lives.

³⁰ (Vernon 1962: 55-56)

³¹ (Johnson 1962: 392)

³² (Johnstone 1975: 20)

Throughout history it can be seen that the development of religion always took place where people were able to participate together in their specific religious practices and rites. These practices and rites took the form of ceremonial gatherings, congregations, denominations and ecumenical relationships. Collectivity and clustering was a guarantee for the growth and continued existence of religious groups.

It is probably necessary to name the primary characteristics of a group:

- A group are compiled when two or more persons, which illustrate the same behavioural patterns, accept and interact with one another. These behavioural patterns should also be adopted by both parties.
- The group members that formed on the abovementioned basis, share certain common aims and objectives.
- Their behavior and actions are guided by particular communal norms and regulations.
- Every member of the group, despite their relationship to the group, also has a role to play as an individual.
- This group functions collectively according to a hierarchical status or system. Most religions also reveals some hierarchical patterns. (On this point I will later express the issues at hand.)

- Especially concerning religion, it is important to mention, that every member of the group has a specific/special feeling for and a sense of identification with the group.³³

All of these characteristics of a group could be traced back to religious collectivity and is fundamental for the formation of religious groups.

An element in the definition of religion, certainly not to be disregarded, is the distinction that has been made between the empirically observable and supernatural, transcendent world. Human beings exist in a world that is characterised by the sacred and profane. Durkheim made a clear distinction here in his sociology of religion, namely the holy and the secular worlds³⁴. Rudolph Otto³⁵, on the other hand, referred to the “holy” as the “divine other”, that which does not imply the everyday things, but the extraordinary.

Characteristics which Johnstone also adds in his definition of religion, is the system of beliefs, the set of actions and the moral implications. These are all characteristics which religion poses for society. All these characteristics could be summarized as follows in his definition:

Religion can be defined as a system of beliefs and practices by which a group of people interprets and responds to what they feel is supernatural and sacred.³⁶

The following quotations could also be mentioned.

De Haan describes religion as follows:

³³ (Johnstone 1975: 22)

³⁴ (Durkheim 2008: 36)

³⁵ (Otto 1923)

³⁶ (Johnstone 1975: 20)

Godsdienst is de betrekking van de mens tot datgene wat het tijdelijke te boven gaat, tot het eeuwige en absolute, tot het Heilige, to God... (het) berust op het bewustzijn van de mens van dit "andere" van die werkelijkheid, van die absolute waarde daarvan, van die betekenis daarvan in dit leven, van zijn afhankelijkheid hiervan. De verhouding van de mens tot dit "andere" is een persoonlijke en een innerlijke... Godsdienst vraagte en brengt gemeenschap.

Omdat de godsdienst het meest persoonlijke in de mens raakt, is zij tevens de sterkste grond van gemeenschap... De Godsdienst is het meest betrekt op wat absolute waarde heeft... De Godsdienst word beleefd in deze wereld, in concrete situaties der maatschappij.³⁷

For Hault religion could be defined as:

The belief in, and attempt to relate favorably to (a) values thought to have some transcendental importance and/or (b) ultimate power or powers thought responsible for all, or some significant aspect of, the fundamental order of the universe.³⁸

R.N. Bellah wrote an article, *Religious Evolution*, that was quoted by Roland Robertson in one of his volumes, as follows:

Religion is a set of symbolic forms and acts which relate man to the ultimate conditions of his existence.³⁹

³⁷ (De Haan 1949 189-196)

³⁸ (Hault 1958: 9)

³⁹ (Bellah as quoted by Robertson 1969: 263)

Although Bellah never claims this definition as complete, it does lack certain basic elements of religion, that have already been mentioned. It lacks of course the idolizing and belief in this transcendental object and also the relationship that worshippers have with it.

Out of all these quoted definitions and phrases, it is clear that religion exists through the relationship, God/deity and humans that believes in this God/deity. Humans also, through their life actions, strive to, for fear of sanctions or punishment measures that may be imposed upon, to meet the stipulations of this God/deity. It is also in the primitive animist religions that we find this strong notion. It is a relationship that manifests itself in a concrete and visible form such as the cult.

When looking at all of these elements, it is quite impossible or rather very tricky to find a good functional definition for religion. It could be mentioned that a summary of all of these definitions would give a good description of religion. With the concept of religion there are two facets to mention:

- religion as a personal experience or expression, that is to say, the subjective part of it and,
- religion as it is realized in the group, that is to say, as the subject has a certain relationship with the object.

There will now be attempted to try and find an acceptable definition of the phenomenon of religion, while taking all of these quotations into consideration.

It could be stated that religion comprises of:

- i) A set of values and norms that is prescriptive of nature. These values and norms determine how people live their lives, a certain set of values and norms in distinction from the social normative value systems, given to humans by a supernatural authority that governs humans and that they let themselves be subjected to.

- ii) Religion is not only a set of values and norms that has been stipulated so that humans should pursue them out of fear for sanctioning acts. Religion is also a set of actions, that implies the worshipping of the God/deity which implies a certain actions which could be classified as religious.

- iii) Religion implies a two-way relationship. In the first instance a vertical relationship, that is to say, a relationship between humans and the transcendental or the religious object. This leads to an absolute obedience which is claimed by the supernatural. From this vertical relationship flows a horizontal relationship between humans and his fellow human beings. This relationship affects how people influence one another.

- iv) When trying to summarize a reasonable definition for religion, it is very important to remind ourselves of the cohesive/unifying element of religion. Religion possesses the qualification that people and groups of people of the same religious convictions and religious beliefs could unite in a social collectivity. **The unifying role of religion in society can not be ignored.**

- v) Religion has a unique sanction in the community. While religion may be but one of many possible sanctioned functions within the social community, religion has the sole right to claim the establishment of the supernatural and eternal validity.

- vi) Religion imposes itself as a faith/belief-system.

Religion could then be defined as follows:

Religion is a particular belief system, in which humans, in relation to other individuals, focus on the transcendental. In this focus on the transcendental humans

are looking for a meaningful answer to solve the problems of many situations in which they find themselves in. Religion also offers humans a set of rules of conduct and certain values which this relationship governs on how they act towards fellow human beings and the transcendental.

Weber is correct in the sense that a world explained (rationally) has no need of the mysterious workings of the transcendental. Where human beings are so in control (economically and politically), there is no need for supernatural assistance and intervention. In a world of material abundance where every commodity is readily available, man has no need of supernatural provision. Weber is then correct in assuming that rationality and capitalism made this world devoid of the transcendental.⁴⁰

Regarding this theory, how could it then be that religion still plays an intricate role in the urban society of today? There is seemingly a rise in religion all over the world, not just in Western culture.

“The world today is massively religious, is anything but the secularized world that had been predicted...”⁴¹ Berger gives a few reasons for this unexpected rise in religion, which is notable, not only for our debate regarding the role religion plays in urban society, but also when trying to understand the essence of human culture.

- Certainty against uncertainty⁴²: Where any pattern/ ideal undermines certainties humans experience in society, a certain amount of doubt and unpleasantness create the seedbed for religious rise. When any religious movement steps into society promising certainty, society will follow and immediately grasp the opportunity to regain certainty. Certainty against

⁴⁰ (Berger 1999: 22)

⁴¹ (Berger 1999: 9)

⁴² (Berger 1999: 11)

uncertainty is then the two poles people use, to evaluate whether they would grasp the opportunity to believe the religious movement.

- Resisting and opposing the secularised elite in society⁴³: When a section of society promotes a secular view of reality threatening the beliefs and values of society, the majority of society will reject this view and follow religious movements which proclaim anti-secular sentiments. This is almost the same criteria as the first one, but with a slight change. Why would we regard the opinion of a few elite, if our boundaries are not yet broad enough to understand the concept of what they provide? We feel safe in a certain comfort-zone, and expect it to always stay the same.
- Human nature⁴⁴: It is part of human nature to find meaning outside of this empirical world. The search for meaning is more severe in cultures that have been without any 'transcendent point of reference'. This last point given by Berger is probably the most important. We will always search for more. More meaning, more opportunities, more certainty, more ideals, but often we are held back by our empirical world we live in. Change is in our nature, but so is boundaries and certainty. Searching for meaning is part of our nature and we will do anything to accomplish finding, but the amount of change that comes with it are more than often the criteria that holds us back. In an urban environment, a new search for meaning necessarily ensues.

From this broad understanding of what religion implies, we can now set out to find the value of religion in our present urban society, keeping all these above mentioned ideas, in mind.

⁴³ (Berger 1999: 11)

⁴⁴ (Berger 1999:13)

2.2. What is the city?

In the previous part of this chapter, there has already been argued, that religion exists in a two way relationship. On the one side, the individual always acts in interaction with his fellow humans. Only through this interaction does religion find its essence in collectivity. On the other side worshipping is also focused on a transcendental object.

Regarding the social situation, the emphasis is not only on the individual and his fellow human beings, but also on the transcendental object. It is this sense of the transcendent which motivates each individual to form part of a larger group or even collectivity.

Thomas O'Dea takes the functional theory of religion as the core ingredient when looking at the maintenance of the social system and the influence religion has on society. He sees community as the continuing equilibrium of social institutions, which tends to be arranged by this functional theory.

While helpful in the study of many aspects of religion life, the functional approach does not focus attention squarely upon the problems of the sociology of religion as such. Rather it raises two questions, important in their own right. First of all, it concerns itself with what religion does for and to society, seeing religious institutions as one set of institutions among others, and interesting itself in the contribution of religious institutions and religious ideas to the maintenance of the ongoing equilibrium of the social system. In a more psychological, but still basically functional frame of reference, it also asks what is the contribution of religion to the preservation and achievement of adequate adaptation and stability for the individual personality.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ (O'Dea 1966: 1)

It is important to state the complexity of all of these interdependent institutions. The social community are built on a system which is interdependent of one another. Change in one of these systems or institutions alter the whole system. In these terms, religion must be seen as one of the institutionalized human operations/proceedings. From this statement the problem occurs. Because the change in one small part of this functional system alters everything in the social community. This leads us to think of the role religion plays in individual lives and also in the community/collective group.

The city is a place where all of these interdependent systems collide with one another. The city, urban environment, has changed drastically over the past few years. The urban population have grown excessively over past years, becoming a diverse community. This has led to certain systems being undermined and others completely collapsed. While interpreting the functional theory of O'Dea the following three fundamental points could guide us in understanding the role religion has to fulfill in urban society today.

- Human existence can be categorized by uncertainty.
- Human ability to control living conditions or to influence it, is inherently limited.
- Humans live in a community. An individual is a social being in all aspects. The individual is essentially part of the greater whole of society and a building block of which the community's structure is constructed.

This requires the individual to adapt to the structures and systems in society, but also to work together with the community in changing and influencing the systems which should be altered.

The functional theory sees the role of religion as aid or a mechanism which supports the process of adjustment. It should be stated here that the functional and apparatus theory should be interpreted together in order to see the adjustments fit and necessary within the collective interdependent forms.

In a society that is trademarked by disappointment, poverty, lack of resources and crises, humans are always searching for answers. This is why religion is proposed

as fitting system to guide individuals in collective groups to formulate answers when frustration sets in.

When interpreting the three fundamental points set out by the functional theory, it should be noted that the urban society is under threat. The urban society is categorized by all the factors as mentioned earlier. But death, suffering, hardship and duress are everyday occurrences in the cities of today. These things place humans continuously in a situation where we must adapt. This places humans in conflict with themselves and surroundings.

It is at these breaking points what Max Weber has called 'the problem of meaning' arises in the severest and most poignant manner. Why should I die? Why should a loved one die in an unfulfilled youth?... why illness?...

The functional approach sees the importance of religion in that religion gives answers to questions that arise at the point of ultimacy, at those points in human experience that go beyond the everyday attitude toward life with its penultimate norms and goals. The study of religion is an important part of the study of human society because men are cognitively capable of going to the "limit-situation", of proceeding through and transcending the conventional answers to the problem of meaning and of raising fundamental existential questions in terms of their human relevance. Such "breaking points" of routine experience often appear in the context of experienced uncertainty, of adversity and suffering, and in the frustrating but inevitable experience of the limitations of human finitude.⁴⁶

It is before this crisis situation that humans come to ask and search for the sense in life. It is these 'breaking points' which leads humans to ask whether or not there is meaning in life. And when no answers could be found, humans fall in the deepest pessimism, which leads to great negativity in society. Therefore humans are

⁴⁶ (O'Dea 1966: 5)

searching for answers through religion. Religion, as stated by the functional theory, could give guidance within the social system.

The emergence of religious groups and the changes in religion, could then be seen as the efforts of these groups to control and manage these crises situations and the fear of uncertainty.

When the certainty of humans in critical living conditions are threatened, then many religious groups will emerge to confirm the certainty which religion gives. Certainty on different levels: physical, spiritual, cultural and financial. Certainty cannot be reduced to only mean material welfare.

It is necessary to define what is meant by the city and also what makes the definition of the city an important discussion topic in this study.

In this regard Mumford⁴⁷ said:

The city in its complete sense, then, is a geographic plexus, an economic organization, an institutional process, a theatre of social action, and an aesthetic symbol of collective unity. The city fosters art and is art; the city creates the theatre and is the theatre. It is in the city, the city as theatre, that man's more purposive activities are focused, and work out, through conflicting and cooperating personalities, events, groups, into more significant culminations.

Mumford asks a few critical questions, when he describes the city:

- When it is said that the city is a geographic plexus, what is meant by it?

⁴⁷ (Mumford 1937: 94)

- Understanding the institutional process of the city, could guide us in understanding the institutional processes of all other systems within the city.
- If the city is seen as a collective unity, what then is the collective system which is shared?⁴⁸

These questions should be kept in mind when focusing on the function of religion and the role it plays in urban society today.

In this study there would be added a last sense of the city to the definition given, by Stow and Mumford⁴⁹. The element of the sacred has a far more unifying function that we tend to forget.

When it is said that as long as society will exist, religion will too, it could be possible to draw a parallel between the urban society and religion. Living in an urban environment today, depicts the norm. Religion will continue to exist; the form it takes on might just change.

The origin of religion and development of inhabited area (cities/urban space) is one of the most important aspects to keep in mind when debating this topic.

The question of the origins of cities and states has drawn the attention of philosophers, sociologists, historians, and economists, for at least a century and a half. Indeed, ever since the evolution of human history was first reconstructed in terms of universally valid stages, it has been a concern.⁵⁰

To be clear on these questions posed by scholars on religion in the city and also while interpreting the questions raised by that of Mumford's definition, this study will focus on whether religion is inherent in human beings and what initiates and influences the different aspects thereof. It could be simple to state that religion is inherent. Why? Firstly, we are born into a milieu of these practices and rituals, thus defining certain religious concepts. Secondly, one could argue that, we are

⁴⁸ (Mumford 1937: 92)

⁴⁹ (John Allen et al. 2005: 16)

⁵⁰ (Liverani: Uruk, The first city: 5)

influenced by external factors that constitutes our understanding of religion. The milieu, that we were once born into, have changed. The external factors, forces us to think and react differently than before.

History of human kind shows us that religion has played a vital role in the formation of civilization and has influenced the course of its events. But in the informed world of today, the influences of industrialization, colonization, world wars, nationalism and social transformation have affected faith and are reshaping our worldview.⁵¹

Over half of the world's population lives in cities. It is therefore of utmost importance to try and understand where we are heading towards. Should a new plan be devised for sustainability of all of these interdependant forms and systems? Or could religion give guidance to all being part of this system. This means that all groups of diverse cultures and backgrounds and religious groups live together in peace and harmony.

The implications of the world's population that will soon live in cities, close to one another in diverse groupings, is necessary to be discussed.

There are certain constraints on the city form.

- 1) Cities are physical artifacts inserted into a pre-existing natural world, and natural constraints must be respected if a settlement is to survive and prosper. Cities must conform to the landscape in which they are located, although technologies have gradually been developed to reorganize the land to suit human purposes.
- 2) Climate influences city form. For example, streets have been aligned to take advantage of cooling breezes, and arcades designed to shield pedestrians from sun and rain. The architecture of individual buildings often reflects adaptations to temperature, rainfall, snow, wind and other climatic

⁵¹ (Ganguly: Politics and religion in contemporary India: 1)

characteristics.

- 3) Cities must have a healthy water supply, and locations along rivers and streams, or near underground watercourses, have always been favored. Many large modern cities have outgrown their local water supplies and rely upon distant water sources diverted by elaborate systems of pipes and canals.
- 4) City location and internal structure have been profoundly influenced by natural transportation routes. Cities have often been sited near natural harbors, on navigable rivers, or along land routes determined by regional topography.
- 5) Finally, cities have had to survive periodic natural disasters such as earthquakes, hurricanes, tornados, and floods.

These constraints can also be man-made. According to a study conducted by the European Union cities contribute to both problems and solutions. These man-made constraints vary from high unemployment rates, significant loss of power and cohesion to an increase in exclusion, segregation and polarization.⁵²

Xenophobic attitudes, increasing immigration and increasing racist attitudes have also contributed to the problems already stated.

Certain key elements of the city structure are important to look at. City planners must weave a complex, ever-changing array of elements into a working whole: that is the perennial challenge of city planning. The physical elements of the city can be divided into three categories: networks, buildings, and open spaces. Many alternative arrangements of these components have been tried throughout history, but no ideal city form has ever been agreed upon. Lively debates about the best way to arrange urban anatomies continue to rage, and show no signs of abating.

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(http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/studies/pdf/citiesoftomorrow/citiesoftomorrow_final.pdf; 26/05/2016: 11:34)

Cities therefore, need to become places of advanced social progress. Cities should be the platforms of democracy, cultural dialogue and diversity and lastly, cities need to be places of green eco-friendly regeneration. Space needs to be given to all to interact with one another, but also to convey their practices and rituals when it comes to religion. In Chapter 5 a dialogue will be summarized to show the importance of a discussion between the two elements; city and religion.

2.3. How to define the city?

Finding a definition of the city is probably the hardest task of this study. Different debates have occurred in past years.

Key debates on how to define a city have existed for over centuries. Different opinions form over time and even the media's interest to rank certain cities as better than other have caused general-interest readers to be confused and misled.

Malik summarizes the debate as follows:

The Economist Intelligence Unit's Hot Spots 2025 report for instance defines a city as "the urban agglomeration or metropolitan area it holds together," which has neither administrative nor functional reference. One may argue that a city is "held together" by its public transport network, commuting patterns, the density of its population, or even support for its local sports teams.

In its *Cities of Opportunity* report on the other hand, *PricewaterhouseCooper* uses the strict administrative borders of an urban settlement to define a city.

Other reports simply avoid any discussion on this issue. Others simply extrapolate indicators from higher levels of aggregation. *Arcadis's Sustainable Cities Index* for instance uses a national urban average to assess solid waste management and sanitation coverage at the city level, and relies on national energy efficiency and ease of doing business indicators. This is justified due to the non-existence of specific city-level data on such indicators, but it is

obvious that average national indicators are seldom representative of specific cities.⁵³

It is clear from the abovementioned extract that there is not any consensus on this issue. Therefore this study will only focus on the definition given by Weber and that of Durkheim and other contemporaries whom argued for a religious functionality.

Weber's most important ideas on city and city culture are found in his essay "*The City*" (1922), which was based on the materials he developed since 1889 and was written between 1911 and 1913. He commences by examining the existing definitions of the city including Simmel's. He rejects Simmel's concept of city in terms of size in unequivocal terms.

Instead, he argues: "Size alone, certainly, cannot be decisive".⁵⁴ Weber gives a cumulative definition of the city in his ideal-type construct.⁵⁵ His ideal city is the medieval guild city, which combined economic enterprise and religious activity as well as private and public life. Therefore, community life progressively deteriorates with the development of capitalism. Weber constructs an ideal-type of city, which exhibits the following features:

- where authority had rested on a rational rather than on a charismatic or traditional basis;
- where the law was enforced on an universalistic basis rather than on a personal basis;
- where grouping existed on the basis of class rather than family and clan;
- where citizens were governed by trade groups rather than by religious groups; and

⁵³ (www.urban.org/urban-wire/what-defines-city: 12/08/2016)

⁵⁴ (Weber, 1922:1213)

⁵⁵ (Mellor, 1977:193)

- where city's strength derived from an economic base rather than a military base.⁵⁶

Weber's definition of the city seems valuable at first glance, but there are some critical aspects that needs to be evaluated. Religious groups are seen as not so important. This study, on the other hand, regards the religious groups as fundamental when thinking about the functioning and structuring of the city. These groups give ethical guidance and allows diverse communities and cultures to form part of a bigger ideal. The authority now rests with religious groups. Authority on the basis of allowing different religious groups to function in a collective harmony, being shaped by the urban space.

The universal idea of family and clan is very important. The fact that different groupings have a specific social control and unity, implies that these groupings contribute to the stability of the community. The most stable groups have a strong sense solidarity and effective internal control. With a strong emphasis on conformity, these stable groups have a set of prescribed value systems and norms. When the norms of the group form a degree of consensus displayed with the norms in the basic relationship structure, it obviously is a strong factor in society.

Next, Weber develops three perspectives on city, sociological, economic and political, administrative and legal.⁵⁷

(a) Sociological perspective: From the sociological perspective, "anonymity" is the defining criterion of city. "Sociologically speaking, this would mean: the city is a settlement of closely spaced dwellings which form a colony so extensive that the reciprocal personal acquaintance of the inhabitants, elsewhere characteristic of the neighbourhood, is lacking".⁵⁸

(b) Economic perspective: To Weber, "market center" is central to his economic definition. He develops economic typology of city: consumer city

⁵⁶ (<http://www.bangladeshsociology.org/Max%20Weber%20-%20Mahbub%20Ahmed,%20PDF.pdf>)

⁵⁷ (<http://www.bangladeshsociology.org/Max%20Weber%20-%20Mahbub%20Ahmed,%20PDF.pdf>)

⁵⁸(Weber, 1922:1212)

versus producer city, industry city versus merchant city and admits that actual cities represent mixed types and are classified by their predominant economic components.⁵⁹

If we were to attempt a definition in purely economic terms, the city would be a settlement whose inhabitants live primarily from commerce and the trades rather than from agriculture. ... Accordingly, we shall speak of a “city” in the economic sense of the word only if the local population satisfies an economically significant part of its everyday requirements in the local market, and if a significant part of the products bought there were acquired or produced specifically for sale on the market by the local population or that of the immediate hinterland. A city, then, is always a market center.⁶⁰

(c) Political, administrative and legal perspective: From economic definitions he turns to the political and administrative conceptions of the city as a corporate body with a given territory, having military control. Weber regards the seigneurial castle and castle-seated princes as a universal phenomenon in Antiquity and in the middle Ages. This is a unique Western phenomenon. “That cities have not existed outside the occident in the sense of a political community is a fact calling for explanation”.⁶¹

Two questions immediately arise when we take these few extracts from Weber’s *Die Stadt. Eine soziologische Untersuchung*. In an era of globalisation, are there still significant continental, national or regional differences in the form, function and organisation of urban structures? And secondly, does the current, or even the future, town or city retain any of the characteristics usually associated with Max Weber?

⁵⁹ (Weber, 1922: 1215-17)

⁶⁰ (Weber, 1922: 1213)

⁶¹ (Weber, 1922: 235-236)

Comparative analysis of types of city, in their own spatial, political, social and economic contexts, remains a scientific challenge of the kind that Max Weber once faced.

Durkheim on the other hand emphasized that religion has a particular socialising function in the community. Religion is par excellence a group action and these collective rituals and seremonies that is so characteristic of religion, reinstates a degree of unity triggered by the members of the religious group.

The sociological functions of religion could be summarized as follows:

It has been suggested that the functions of religion are the following. In the first place it provides support, consolation and reconciliation with what may be regarded as the true purpose of existence. In the second place it offers a transcendental relationship providing security and a feeling of identity. Thirdly, it sacralizes the norms and values of established society. In the fourth place it provides standards of value by which institutionalized norms may be examined and found wanting. In the fifth place it promotes selfunderstanding and self-definition.⁶²

Religion could guide the city in a new direction, where diversity, poverty, economic corruption, political imbalance and degradation have taken over. The Apparatus theory, that will be discussed in chapter 4, will set out the new way forward for religion to be an intergral part of the city.

The ethical and moral guidelines religion provide, is of essence in a urban society. This function will be able to unify and sanction the city with the help of religious groupings.

⁶² (Wells 1970: 249)

CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORY OF RELIGION AND CITIES

3.1. Key points between religion and sociology

It is without doubt that this discussion has reached a critical point. There needs to be looked at the various fields of study to create the field of interpretation necessary.

In this chapter the religious group as communal institution will be discussed and also how it influences a society in desperate need of leadership and intergration of diversity. This chapter will also try to determine whether religion could contribute in stimulating and reconciling development between different religious groups. The goal could mean interactive involvement between different groups that contributes to an unified social system.

The religious group, as communal institution, is prominent in the society. It is then without doubt, that sociologists at some given time, will have to look at the role and functioning of these groups in society. The title of this study describes the task set out: To evaluate society (urban) and the role religion plays in it.

It is safe to say that this study will also deal with the problem, already hypothesized, that is, to state that religion's function needs to be re-interpreted to determine whether it still functions in a similar way as in the past in a rural context or whether that function has changed in an urban environment. There also needs to be determined whether the nature of religion changes in an urban society.

Humans, unlike the material objects, are a rather sane and rational being. Therefore it is humans' responsibility to give value and meaning to its own life situation. Giving value and meaning to these "things" that surrounds us, is not the goal – understanding their deeper meaning is.

As theoretical background for this study, it is of utmost importance to take into consideration the following assumption: Religious truths and norms do not only give individuals value and guidance in their lives, but also give society a certain guidance

along the way. Religion provides the means to express communication, it also gives the possibility of interaction and communication between different groups in society, a certain religious coherence. Therefore, regarding the development and functioning, these religious groups are also subject to the same processes of changing as all other social systems.

When looking at the possible changes that is necessary when it comes to the system of religion, it is important to remember that humans are social beings. Humans are then not set apart from all other relationships in society, but an integral part of society. The religious functionality may then be seen as only one part of society, but it has been debated that all other systems form part of the human lifestyle: economics, politics and anthropology.

Sociology accepts that social phenomena could be studied empirically. Religion is then also such a system. The transcendental, due to value judgement, could never be studied empirically. The social implications of human faith in the transcendental, and the lifestyle it proposes is sufficient enough.

The study of human behavior, in religion, is part of human sciences (such as sociology). To study the transcendent is theology and not human science anymore. Human reaction meeting the transcendent, is religion.

It is, by choice, that I decided to use the social critical method in examining the functioning of religion in society and try to determine whether it could guide us, with the help of the Apparatus theory, to re-interpret and understand the function of religion within an urban environment.

The nature and function of society as social system, cannot be fully understood without the analysis of religion, as religion also plays an integral role within this social system. Humans do not function in a bubble when trying to give meaning to society from a religious perspective. In this process, of giving meaning to his surroundings, humans are also assisted by culture, in the broadest sense. Human actions take place, which could be defined and explained sociologically. Therefore a clear connection/link could be made between religious action and social action.

Weber argues that since *Economy and Society*⁶³ is a work in sociology, religious action is analyzed as a special form of social action or action oriented to the behaviour of others. Religious social action, as well as religious action in general, is driven by a combination of ideal interests, habits, and emotions.⁶⁴

There is then, without doubt, a prominent dialectical engagement between religion and social phenomena and an underlying influence taking place between religion and social phenomena. This could be seen, in a quite recent letter from main Christian churches addressed to the ANC leadership in South Africa.⁶⁵ In our not so distant history, this was also true when church and state were seen as influential towards one another.

The transition that we are experiencing in South Africa is at its core the transition from a society predominantly structured by powers of restoration to one increasingly structured by the powers of modernisation. It is a transition that has a severe impact on social institutions, including religion.⁶⁶

In this context it can also be postulated that religion, in most cases, implies a normative framework. Society, politics, cultural activities and even social-economic activities could be influenced by religion.

Sociology and Religion Studies are then seen as two different study fields, each with their own structures and methods. But it must be understood that there is a common denominator. Religion could be studied sociologically, for religion has a certain role to play in society. Sociology, on the other hand, are necessary to study the implications of religious systems and their functionality.

Key questions that could guide us to the better understanding of religion within society could be:

⁶³ (Weber, Max, Guenther Roth, and Claus Wittich. 1978. *Economy and society: an outline of interpretive sociology*. Berkeley: University of California Press.)

⁶⁴ (Swedberg, R, 1998, "Max Weber and the Idea of Economic Sociology", Princeton University Press, New Jersey.)

⁶⁵ (<https://kairossouthernafrica.wordpress.com/2016/03/01/kairos-logo/>: 25/04/2014: 08:25)

⁶⁶ (De Villiers, Religion, 2004)

- How do people construct a sense of identity?
- What are the consequences of the identity paths chosen?
- How do identity choices intensify or ease social conflict?
- What is it like to build an identity in situations of social exclusion?⁶⁷

In the following chapters, there will be argued that there could still be a place for religion in society. Religion could be the one element within society that can correlate the views, values and ethical behaviour of different religious groups. Religion can also help to construct the sense of identity people are yearning for in an urban society that has seen a complete break-down of all boundaries set before.

3.2. Religion in the City

The urban environment today, our cities, has changed drastically.

All around the world, there have been studies done on the way the face of cities have changed in a short period of time. It is a global trend to see people flock to the cities.

Ever since the great discovery on November 8, 1519, Bernal Diaz Castillo, saw a sight that would forever remain fixed in his memory for decades to come. The twenty-seven-year-old Spanish soldier already had encountered signs of an ever intensifying urban civilization as he and his fewer than four hundred comrades marched from the lowlands of Mexico up into the volcanic highlands. What was to come shocked his world. It is said that he saw piles of human skulls arranged in neat rows, atop the temples. Then suddenly a city of almost unimaginable scale appeared, built high in the mountains on lakes crowned by a circle of volcanic peaks. He viewed broad causeways filled with canoes, and avenues upon which every kind of produce, fowl and utensil was

⁶⁷ (<http://www.justact.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/16-Identities-and-social-action-Connecting-communities-for-a-change-A-Gilchrist-M-Wetherell-and-M-Bowles-08.09.10-for-web.pdf>; 29/04/2016: 09:14)

sold. He saw elaborate flower-decked homes, large palaces and temples rising bright in the Mexican sun.⁶⁸

These are the memories penned forty years later by the old man, Bernal Diaz, living in Guatemala. It is “these sights” that probably paved the way and inspired human beings ever since, to construct cities. This paragraph summarizes the whole debate regarding a city’s expansion and how it transitioned over the past centuries.

The world is undergoing a big change when it comes to urban growth. More than half of the world’s population now lives in towns and cities, and by 2030 this number will swell to about 5 billion.⁶⁹

Bernal Diaz Castillo memories dates from the 16th century, but even an older story from the Bible illustrates man’s need to build a city and form part of a society. Some could choose to envision an American or Chinese antique city. Although these cities may differ in aesthetic characteristics, the need behind building such cities could have a common goal: “The production of a surplus of storable food, a system of writing, a more complex social organization, and technological advances such as plough, potter’s wheel, loom, and metallurgy.”⁷⁰

It is also important to look at the Bible perspective, regarding the Tower of Babel. No matter how we look at it, it could be stated that the Tower of Babel was the first effort to build a city. Why?

The Tower of Babel, as described by André Parrot in his book, *The Tower of Babel*, could be seen as the anxious longing of all humanity to pierce the mystery of its destiny.⁷¹ Parrot also states that for long he was of the opinion that behind the narrative of Chapter 11 of Genesis lay hidden something quite different than what always been asserted by traditional theology. The Tower was not just an expression of man’s pride, but ultimately a longing, a clenched fist, towards Heaven for help.⁷²

The story of the Tower of Babel is widely known by many scholars and comes to us in Chapter 11 of Genesis in the Bible. Mesopotamia forms the background of all

⁶⁸ (Kotkin 2005: 2)

⁶⁹ (www.unfpa.org/urbanization: 21/05/2016: 12:15)

⁷⁰ (www.art.net/~hopkins/Don/simcity/manual/history.html: 21/05/2016: 09:17)

⁷¹ (Parrot 1955: 11)

⁷² (Parrot 1955: 9)

that took place from the beginning up to the period which saw the cataclysm of the Flood.

The memorable episode recorded in Genesis of the Tower of Babel, takes place after this disaster:

The Tower of Babel

¹Now the whole world had one language and a common speech. ²As people moved eastward, they found a plain in Shinar and settled there. ³They said to each other, "Come, let's make bricks and bake them thoroughly." They used brick instead of stone, and tar for mortar. ⁴Then they said, "Come, let us build ourselves a city, with a tower that reaches to the heavens, so that we may make a name for ourselves; otherwise we will be scattered over the face of the whole earth." ⁵But the Lord came down to see the city and the tower the people were building. ⁶The Lord said, "If as one people speaking the same language they have begun to do this, then nothing they plan to do will be impossible for them. ⁷Come, let us go down and confuse their language so they will not understand each other." ⁸So the Lord scattered them from there over all the earth, and they stopped building the city. ⁹That is why it was called Babel—because there the Lord confused the language of the whole world. From there the Lord scattered them over the face of the whole earth.⁷³

Willmington⁷⁴ gives an exegetical appraisal of the situation. He submits that in reality they had no intention of building a tower that would actually reach into heaven. As evidence he points out that they chose as their construction site a plain in Shinar when a mountaintop location would have spared them a tremendous amount of work. Willmington alleges the true intentions of the builders: "Actually, the purpose of the tower was to provide a common religious center as a rallying point, lest the people be scattered. The builders of the tower were in open defiance of God's command (Genesis 9:1)".

⁷³ (<https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Genesis+11>: 18/05/2015)

⁷⁴ (www.tribulation.com/prt_tower.htm: 25/05/2016: 09:00)

Archeologists have spent decades excavating the sites of Mesopotamia and it should be noted that all agree on one thing: The Tower of Babel was a *ziggurat*⁷⁵.

What was the significant role a *ziggurat* played? It is indeed essential to go behind the physical form, to try and understand the theological and religious reasons which must have inspired the development of these huge towers. Why were they set up in this world and what could be their purpose?

Etymology does not help here. Why? Parrot states that there was no uniform spelling in ancient times, and modern authors write variously *siqurat* (Dhorme), *zikkurat* (Dombart), *ziqqurra* (Dombart, Unger), *zikurra* (Andrae). In choosing *ziggurat*, he conformed to the practice of most British and French archeologists.⁷⁶

Different opinions occur throughout history. Some put forward materialistic explanations, others saw it as place to resort to for cooling air, or for priests to be free of mosquitos at night or a refuge from the clouds. Less utilitarian views could be considered. Victor Place⁷⁷ saw it as an observatory, to which two alters found in the vicinity gave a 'religious aspect'. George Perrot also wrote that people ascended them 'to observe the heavenly bodies.'⁷⁸

Perrot asserts that these theories could no longer be entertained and currently specialists in their field of study, archeologists, architects and historians of religion, have brought forward these following theories. There will only be referred to them here in summary form:

- The first connects the *ziggurat* with a funerary concept, seeing it as a tomb of a king or god.
- The second interpretation asserts that architecturally the *ziggurat* has a cosmological and symbolical significance.
- The *ziggurat* could also be seen as a throne of a god and true altar.

⁷⁵ In ancient Mesopotamia a rectangular stepped tower, sometimes surmounted by a temple. Ziggurats are first attested in the late 3rd millennium BC and probably inspired the biblical story of the Tower of Babel (Gen. 11:1–9).

⁷⁶ (Parrot 1955: 57)

⁷⁷ (Parrot 1955: 59)

⁷⁸ (Parrot 1955: 45)

- The fourth interpretation and the one that Parrot values most, is that of a German architect, W. Andrae. The *ziggurat* was not only a staged tower, but a gigantic plinth, whose true purpose was to support a sanctuary (Hochtempel), the habitation of the god.

All of these theories could guide us toward an answer, but it still is not evident. Dogmatically the name declares nothing. Is it possible that we can learn anything when looking at the names given to these *ziggurats*?

The names of *ziggurats* differs from one another, just as the names of our modern day churches do too. This shows already that there must have been diversity, but there is a common basis to be seen in them: everywhere the *ziggurat* is termed a house/ temple, and very frequently the names includes both earth and heaven.⁷⁹

What does this all mean? Why is it necessary to note these aspects when defining the *ziggurat*?

Falkenstein⁸⁰ writes that we find the development of *ziggurats* and the urbanization process to go hand in hand.⁸¹ The *ziggurat* was the architectural focus of the temple complex, which in turn functioned as the central organ in the economic, political, and cultural spheres of early communities in Mesopotamia. The interrelationship of

⁷⁹ (Perrot 1955: 64)

⁸⁰ (Falkenstein 1974: 5)

⁸¹ The *ziggurat* and the temple complex provide the link between urbanization, of which they are the central organ, and Mesopotamian religion, which they typify. The *ziggurat* and the temple complex were representative of the very nature of Mesopotamian religion as it developed its characteristic forms.

The development in Mesopotamian religion that took place with the development of urbanization was that men began to envision their gods in conformity with the image of man. Man was no longer attempting to be like God, but more insidiously, was trying to bring deity down to the level of man.

architecture, city planning, and religion has been observed in the earliest theories regarding the city of Uruk too.⁸²

These forms are, in its very essence the core of this study. Religion has developed over the centuries and it should be noted that this is not a new tendency. With regards to architectural, socio-political and even ecological reference, this could be the way forward too, when looking at the current process of development within urban areas and how the face of religion has changed over the past few decades.

The greatest creation of humankind has always been its cities. Cities are the benchmark of our handiwork and our imagination, testifying to our ability to reshape the natural environment in the most profound and lasting ways.

Cities express the creative urges of humanity. From the earliest beginnings, cities were the stage to the religion, culture, art and technology of its inhabitants. When stating that cities were the stage to religion, culture, art and technology, a clear distinction should be made. In a way these forms all correlate and interlink with one another.

The city holds a complex and storied place in religious imagination. While some religious groups have cast cities as sinful, vice-filled and their inhabitants ever in need of redemption, other groups envision cities as natural places for building community and religious identity, or even as ennobled sites for religious engagement. Sociologists and historians also have represented the city and its religious inhabitants in surprisingly divergent ways. Generations of scholars have looked to the city as the vanguard of secularization. Pluralism, capitalism, religious heterogeneity and “cosmopolitanism” have all been located in our imaginings of the city. Scholarly myths thus also have shaped our view of religious life in the city. Stories like these often tell us more about what urbanites imagine religious life to be in cities than about how religious lives are actually cultivated.⁸³

⁸² (Walton 1995: 155-175)

⁸³ (Bender 2006: 1)

Because of the magnitude of such a task, of finding the link between the city and religion, and religion in the city, this study will mainly focus on the role religion plays in society today and the affects it has on urban society, using economy, sociology and religion as the apparatus that could uphold the balance in a pluralistic society.

These following questions will guide me:

Does religion need to take on a new form in an urban context? Does the social context determine the form of religion? The urban environment is changing drastically and there needs to be asked whether there is still place for religion and how it is being practised.

What are the consequences for an urban culture? Living in an urban society today goes hand in hand with pluralism. Does this affect the way we think of religion and how it still persists today? Pluralism does not necessarily mean everyone lives among one another, although it can happen. The other scenario could be that different cultures and religions live within different zones within urban society.

This is very clear when looking at the city of Tshwane. Valhalla, Laudium and Centurion, when compared to one another, have a totally different cultural and religious background.

We need to confront ourselves with these following questions:

The question at hand is: What will become of religion? The past cannot be changed. The future is uncertain. Are we then currently at the beginning or at the end of religion?

Religion came into being when Homo sapiens came into being. The very nature of Homo sapiens is to be a group animal. (Could this be the factor that keeps people bound to be in urban spaces, where there is lots of people?)

Durkheim proclaimed that religion would continue to exist due to its very social nature. Weber on the other hand proclaimed that religion would come to an end due to its social nature.⁸⁴

It is important to keep this following discussion in mind throughout the study:

There is a difference between the beginning and the origin of religion. Origin would refer to the source for religion which could either be objective or subjective. The beginning refers to a more temporal approach.” (This thesis is not concerned with either of these two. Nor is it concerned with the question as to how man with cognitive ability will cope with or without religion in society in the future. The focus will be on the future of religion, the social conditions under which religion will continue to exist and what form religion will take under these particular conditions.)

3.3. Perspectives on human nature

In the Book of Genesis, the Jewish narrative concerning the genesis of humankind, we read in Chapter 2:15⁸⁵ that YHWH took the human (Adam) and left the human in the garden to serve (לְעִבְדָּהּ) and to keep or guard (וּלְשָׁמְרָהּ) her. Jacques Ellul notes that “the assumption that there was work in the Garden of Eden leads to the assumption that there was also technique”⁸⁶. Serving in the garden meant that human beings had to make use of tools or technics, guarding the garden meant that they had also constructed weapons. In this narrative the creation of humankind corresponds to the genesis of technics. In short, technogenesis originates along with anthropogenesis (the process of becoming human). This is a recurring theme in the work of the Philosopher of Technics, Bernard Stiegler. Technology, and the ethical question that the use of technology poses, is not a modern dilemma. Rather, questions surrounding technology and tools created by human beings are age old

⁸⁴ (Beyers, J., 2011. Religion, civil society and conflict: What is it that religion does for and to society? *HTS Theologiese Studies / Theological Studies*, 67(3), p. 1 – 2)

⁸⁵ הוֹלֵךְ לְעִבְדָּהּ בְּגֵן־עֵדֶן וַיִּשְׁמְרָהּ אֶת־הָאָדָם אֱלֹהִים יְהוָה וַיִּקַּח

⁸⁶ (Jacques Ellul 1984:125)

questions. Accepting that human beings are technical beings means that technics influence our *In-der-Welt-sein*, or being-in-the-world.⁸⁷

This question is not limited to the Jewish origin story. Perhaps one of the most well-known origin narratives is found in Greek mythology, where the ideas of *promētheia* and *ēpimētheia* feature prominently.

In the Platonic dialogue of Prometheus the myth of Prometheus⁸⁸ and Epimetheus is presented. According to this myth the gods had formed mortal creatures from earth and fire. Prometheus and Epimetheus were tasked with equipping these mortal beings with suitable powers. Prometheus said to Epimetheus “Let me distribute, and do you inspect”⁸⁹ but Epimetheus insisted on distributing the powers and set out to some creatures strength without speed, to weaker kinds speed, some he armed with weapons while the unarmed received some other faculty for their preservation. In this way, Epimetheus ensured that no creature would be destroyed. However, Epimetheus had used up all the powers on animals or the *brute beasts* and did not know what to do with the human race. Prometheus inspected all the mortal beings and realized that humankind was naked, unshod and unarmed. Prometheus then decided to provide for human beings by stealing the gift of fire, also seen as mechanical arts or the gift of skill in the arts, from Hephaestus and Athena. According to this myth human kind had shared in the portion of the gods from the moment of receiving Prometheus’ gift. The art that they had received also allowed them to articulate speech (*phonen*), names (*onomata*) and invent houses, clothes, shoes and means to gather food from the earth. In this way human beings could survive in their habitat.

According to the myth of Prometheus and Epimetheus, technics or the gift of skill in the arts encompasses not only technological development in the strict sense of the word, but also relates to the way in which human language was developed and retained through “objects” such as writing. The double-fault of Prometheus and

⁸⁷ (Bernard Stiegler: Technics and Time: Richard Beardsworth and George Collins)

⁸⁸ Prometheus or Προμηθεύς is translated from Greek as “forethought” while Epimetheus or Ἐπιμηθεύς is translated as hindsight or literally “afterthinker”.

⁸⁹ (Plato 2009:38)

Epimetheus, that of forgetting and that of theft, situates human beings between mortal animals and the divine beings. It is this mythology, particularly in Greek and Christian thought, that has allowed not only for the progress of human beings in the world but also the domination thereof. However, shaping the world through our capacity for technics does not mean that human beings stay neutral or are not affected by this shaping of the world around them. We, in turn, are shaped by the environment that we have created. This argument will be discussed in Chapter 4 of this study, when argument of Berger will be used.

It is important to note that the above-mentioned part, allows this study to be useful. Why? In shaping the world around us, we have changed drastically to the whole of our surroundings. It is seen throughout history that change in the society, will also affect the environment and vice versa. Necessary to note then, is the fact that religion has also changed over past few decades and the changing urban context has also played an integral role.

The French Paleanthropologist André Leroi-Gourhan, views technical phenomenon as the principle characteristic of the human – even more defining than racial and cultural characteristics.⁹⁰ Whether technical phenomenon can indeed be viewed as the principle characteristic of human beings is uncertain. However, technological progress as a result of human beings' capacity for technics is certain and it is this certainty that leads us to re-examine ourselves as technical beings. One way in which the question of what it means to be a human could be approached is along the Kantian lines⁹¹ of *What can I know?*, *What ought I to do?*, *What may I hope?*, and *What is the human being?* In short, these questions refer to what it *means* to be human.

Of course, these questions have been contemplated since, in all probability, the dawn of humankind. Not only has this been a religious consideration, but these questions have been approached from numerous other sources like biology, anthropology, cognitive studies, linguistics and archaeology, etc. When considering

⁹⁰ (Leroi-Gourhan 1998:45)

⁹¹ (Kant, 1963:538)

the myriad of approaches employed in order to understand what it means to be a human being, a further question arises: Does religion offer anything unique to this discussion?

When debating these questions, it is necessary to realise that there are a few concepts that needs to be cleared up.

For centuries, scholars have conceptualized reality in terms of reductions to essential stable elements. Human existence, described under the principle 'human nature', was explained by terms ranging from the 'rational animal'⁹² to the 'savage man'⁹³, and only in terms of these conceptualizations could there be spoken about a stable human situation. This line of thinking was linked to the Parmenidian idea of 'being'. Nietzsche summarizes this approach as follows:

They see death, change, and age, as well as procreation and growth, as objections, – refutations even. What is, does not become; what becomes, is not . . . So they all believe, desperately even, in being.⁹⁴

Mumford describes human nature far more complex than that of only a tool-using animal.

To consider man then as primarily a tool-using animal, then, is to overlook the main chapters of human prehistory. Opposed to this view, man is pre-eminently a mind-using, self-mastering animal; and the primary locus of all his activities is his own organism. Until he made something of himself, he could make little of the world around him.⁹⁵

⁹² (https://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/8641838/Essentially_rational_animals.pdf?sequence=1: 03/05/2017: 15:05)

⁹³ (<https://www.aub.edu.lb/fas/cvsp/Documents/DiscourseonInequality.pdf879500092.pdf>: 03/05/2017: 15:06)

⁹⁴ (Nietzsche 2005: 167)

⁹⁵ (Mumford 1966: 308-309)

During the nineteenth century, thinkers such as Hegel, Nietzsche, and Marx replaced the Parmenidian view by a thinking that viewed human reality in terms of historicity and becoming. These views were almost similar to those of Mumford.

In the midst of all these ideas, religion was thought of as an invention with an interesting and long evolution. Religion is an invention that developed over many millennia. Furthermore, the development of religion was treated in conjunction with the invention and development of other interdependent forms such as ecology, sociology, consumerism, urbanization, politics, culture, etc. All these interdependent forms need to be seen in relation with one another. The city might just be the place that leads to the invention and development of all these elements, but is also the place where all these forms collide.

Religion could be the one factor, that goes hand in hand with the Apparatus theory, that gives stability in a diverse society and also interdependent forms a way of collaborating.

The following part will give us more clarification on the method of this study and what the human nature in the urban society entails. To live a 'good life', could probably mean: to have all nature's resources at the tip of our fingers. We could use and create all that is necessary. Not even collaborating on the sustainable management of resources.

This should be noted as a key factor for this study. Ecological debates have forced city planners to take note of our Ecological Footprint, as stated by Canadian ecologist William Rees and then-graduate student Mathis Wackernagel. They developed this concept in the early 1990's to define the amount of land and water a human population would hypothetically need in order to provide resources required to support itself and to absorb its wastes, given prevailing technology.⁹⁶

In the part that follows, the study will focus on the 'good life'. What is the 'good life' and how does this influence our understanding of religion in the city.

⁹⁶ (<http://www.zo.utexas.edu/courses/Thoc/Cities1997.pdf>: 03/05/2017: 15:11)

People keep searching for answers. What will provide them certainty in an ever-changing society, if there is any left? Could there still be a space where the spiritual aspect of life can be practised? Is there any freedom that could be enforced by the vision and structure of cities?

A valid theses to make would be: Technique connects man to the material. Religion is a relationship with the invisible and spiritual. Does technique and religion then not stand in opposition to each other? Technique associated with the physical world and religion with the spiritual world?

This is true, yes, but both elements, technique and religion, interact with one another. Human beings try to make sense of the world they live in by shaping and being shaped by their environment and being mindful of the invisible and spiritual.

When debating the 'good life' in this study, it is necessary to take into consideration, that it will only be an overview. It will not be discussed in depth and will only be used to show that the previous conceptions of 'good life' and prosperity in the urban environment, have not yet been realised and looks different than what were conceived as good previously.

3.4. The good life⁹⁷, within the bad life?

Moving away from the rural areas towards the city, gives people the possibility of finding and also striving towards economic freedom. The city could be seen as the only certainty left. Access to food, water, jobs and knowledge are also important factors that tends to play a factor. Even security could be one of the reasons why people would try and find a way of locating themselves within city borders.

⁹³ I use "the good life" as shorthand for the unsustainable lifestyles of the socio-economically privileged and "a good life" as shorthand for dignified, humane and sustainable ways of living. Judith Butler.

Looking at history, it could be argued that the city was the safe haven. Within the walls and boundaries thereof, no-one could be harmed by wild animals or even enemies who lived in the forests. But this concept of urban/city-dwelling has changed drastically when looking at the urban milieu today.

This life in the city, which is viewed by many as the 'good life', holds several consequences. What is a 'good life'? Judith Butler⁹⁸ tries to sum this up in a speech she once gave to honour Theodor W. Adorno. It is important to employ these views into this study.

How does one lead a good life in a bad life? Adorno underscored the difficulty of finding a way to pursue a good life for oneself, as oneself, in the context of a broader world that is structured by inequality, exploitation and forms of effacement. That would at least be the initial way I would reformulate his question. Indeed, as I reformulate it for you now, I am aware that it is a question that takes new form depending on the historical time in which it is formulated. So, from the beginning, we have two problems: the first is how to live one's own life well, such that we might say that we are living a good life within a world in which the good life is structurally or systematically foreclosed for so many. The second problem is, what form does this question take for us now? Or, how does the historical time in which we live condition and permeate the form of the question itself?⁹⁹

Why debate this question? The reason could be simple; where do all these questions lead us when we are not able to describe the reason why we are flocking to cities? Religion, I would argue, is seen as the one form that can bring balance in this world where we are not certain what the good life upholds. Also when we are searching for answers to our unanswered questions and the search for meaning. Many have identified the good life with economic well-being, prosperity, or even security, but we know that both economic well-being and security can be achieved by those who are not living a good life. And this is most clear when those who claim to live the good

⁹⁸ Judith Butler. "Can One Lead a Good life in a Bad Life?" in: *Radical Philosophy*. Adorno Prize Lecture, September 11, 2012. Published Nov/Dec 2012. (English).

⁹⁹ (Butler 2012: 2)

life do so by profiting off the labour of others, or relying on an economic system that entrenches inequality.

When Adorno queries whether it is possible to lead a good life in a bad life, he is asking about the relation of moral conduct to social conditions, but more broadly about the relation of morality to social theory; indeed, he is also asking how the broader operations of power and domination enter into, or disrupt, our individual reflections on how best to live.¹⁰⁰

What would then be the way in which we should look at the city today? In order to understand the 'good life', it is important to state the living conditions where the life must be lived.

The future of the city and its place in nature could be summed up in one word: balance. We must achieve a balanced satisfaction of human needs, the social, the aesthetic, the religious, the personal, no less than the mechanical and utilitarian needs; and we must achieve another kind of communal balance between the intimate, the regional environment, and those universal forces and that wider environment which include the planet as a whole, with all its great diversity of places, peoples and traditions.¹⁰¹

Taking this quote into consideration is very important. Why? The key word within this definition by Mumford is "balance". A "balance" between various elements. This in essence has to do with the way humans interpret the surroundings and also how to he achieves this "communal balance".

Schneider states the following:

It repeatedly has been observed that man are constructed to ask questions that involve the ultimate meaning of life and living. What is human life, in particular all about? Does it have any reference to any other realm that the realm of nature? Why are we here for thirty or forty or seventy or more years,

¹⁰⁰ (Butler 2012: 2)

¹⁰¹ (Mumford 1940: 546-547)

or less?... why are the poor oppressed and judgement and justice violently perverted in a province, in the language of Ecclesiastes? It has been observed immemorially that the good die young and the wicked prosper. And human efforts to gain a variety of what appear to humans to be highly commendable end are often apparently senselessly frustrated. There is a powerful and very ancient impulse to find answers to these questions and to work out transcendental “compensations” for the circumstances pointed to. The term ‘religion’ is one about which there is dispute but the ‘concerns’ we point to are nevertheless clearly concerns that fall within the sphere of religion if the term is to assigned anything but quite arbitrary meaning.¹⁰²

Things do not always work out as planned. Ideals are never reached and it failure often occurs. This allows humans to start thinking about the way they are living. This still does not give any clear description of what is seen as the ‘good life’ which most people flock to. The life in the city is not as ideal as has been thought. What should then be taken out of the definition given by Adorno?

Living a good life requires rediscovering ourselves. Why?

When looking at current debates following question must be taken into consideration if it is argued that the city provides a ‘good life’: Is it a human right to live in surroundings where there has been given attention to the livability of society?

If the answer to this question is yes, millions of people are denied this basic right. Urban dweller’s living conditions are not their creation, and the stress that is related to these living conditions (of noise, filth and crime) takes a huge toll on both their mental and physical health.

Cities, just like other systems that forms part of the city, has certain life cycles. They do need to be looked after and maintenance should be done as they grow, develop and change. It takes some rebuilding and renewal periodically. Cities in even the wealthiest nations are usually the home to slums, crime and disease.

¹⁰² (Schneider 1970: 3)

In a pattern somewhat the reverse of developing societies, urban areas of developed societies decayed from within, as manufacturing left the cities industry declined. Middle- and working-class jobs were lost to the suburbs, to other countries, and to technology. A polarized job structure of elite and low-level service jobs eventually replaced them. When manufacturing left the cities, the blue-collar neighborhoods within cities were decimated, and decades later, many still have not recovered.¹⁰³

This led to a system that was soon to be dismantled as the utopia once conceived was starting to fade away. New highways and low-income loans lured the middle class, industry and jobs to the suburbs. But as the demand for low income housing increased the supply started to shrink. Many people were displaced as the developers tried to isolate the poor in concentrated high-rise apartment buildings. Many of these buildings became havens for predators.

Decades ahead of her time, Jane Jacobs condemned bulldozing neighborhoods and replacing them with high rises under the guise of urban planning. She advocated starting at the grassroots – allowing a community to actively plan its own development. She compared cities to living organisms, needing diversity of systems to thrive. Mixed-use neighborhoods (combining retail, residential, businesses, parks, and schools in one area bringing people of different ages, incomes and ethnicities, and professions into contact) was the key to community vitality. Rather than seeing high density as detracting from city life, she saw that a critical mass of people (different than overcrowding) was necessary for city vitality. Social interaction, and lots of it, was the key to good health, personal and urban.¹⁰⁴

Could religion offer an individual a 'good life' or an understanding thereof? This study argues that religion plays an important/integral role in society and that religion could

¹⁰³ (Chirico 2014: 463)

¹⁰⁴ (Chirico 2014: 464)

give guidance in finding a safe haven from a world/urban context that has totally collapsed.

In what follows, there will be argued that religion could help in creating what was identified as core issues.

In the part that follows Willem Fourie¹⁰⁵ argued that theology could have an answer to what constitutes a good life. Fourie argued in an article he submitted during a conference on poverty and climate change that theology could make a contribution, because it is transparent about its motivations and ends to inspire a group of people.

This study will agree with this article, but would rather refer to religion as a whole. Religion as main element is non-exclusive and includes all people, inclusively.

This is a summary of the article, with specific reference to religion as key element in this discussion.

It could be surprising that a religious argument is presented as contribution for this specific discussion on what constitutes the good life.

It could be argued that religion is too prescriptive to be helpful, or that religion is too abstract and far removed from the actual realities, therefore it is not helpful at all to look at religion in this conversation. However religion, as part of the system within society, can be an ideal conversation partner for reflections on what constitutes a good life.

On the one hand, religion could be in a position to make a profiled contribution, transparent about its motivations and ends, to inspire a significant number of people to change their behaviour whilst engaging in honest and open conversation. On the other hand, religion could be willing – in fact, would acknowledge the need – to draw on the resources and experience of other to concretise what at times seems like abstract convictions. This could entail more than mere consensus-seeking, but be an attempt at co-conceptualising ways of existence with numerous conversation

¹⁰⁵ (Fourie 2014)

partners who share the same goal, but who are motivated by different sources.¹⁰⁶

It could also be argued that the ecumenical movement, already being applied by the churches in society, sharing and working together on certain issues, is a good start to form a discussion between a diverse group of religions.

Individuals in society still exhibit the need for the concept of the transcendental. The understanding of the world, humanity and ethics are no longer determined by religion as institution, but by forming part of the group in itself. People affiliate less with formal religious institutions, but rather fall back on a subjectively constructed universe filled with selected religious elements. The following extract from Joantine Berghuijs suggests that this is already happening in other parts of the world:

Van de 3,1 miljoen Nederlanders die aangeven elementen uit religies te combineren, gaat het vooral om onderdelen van het christendom en het boeddhisme. “Dat is ongeveer één op de tien Nederlanders en dat zijn bijvoorbeeld christenen die aan boeddhistische meditatie doen”, aldus Van der Braak. Samen met VU- hoogleraar Manuela Kalsky leidt hij het onderzoek naar Meervoudige Religieuze Betrokkenheid vanuit de faculteit der Godgeleerdheid van de VU. De enquête is uitgevoerd door marktonderzoeksbureau Motivaction. Berghuijs stelde in de enquête ook vragen over specifieke religieuze praktijken, overtuigingen, religieus geïnspireerde waarden en normen en sociale verbanden. Uit deze antwoorden blijkt dat zelfs 3,7 miljoen van de volwassen Nederlanders multireligieus is.

De resultaten van het onderzoek suggereren dat ontkerkelijkheid niet betekent dat religieuze binding met gemeenschappen en tradities zonder meer verdwijnt, maar wel dat deze nieuwe vormen aanneemt. Voor steeds meer

¹⁰⁶ The good life makes a good life impossible: a theological argument on poverty and climate change. Willem Fourie, Department of Dogmatics and Christian Ethics, Faculty of Theology, University of Pretoria.

mensen vervagen de grenzen tussen religieuze tradities of worden zelfs irrelevant. Berghuijs: “We ontdekten ook dat een aantal mensen moeite heeft om hun manier van religieus-zijn te koppelen aan de grote wereldreligies. Vaak is bij mensen de herkomst van religieuze praktijken niet duidelijk. Ze hechten daar dan ook geen belang aan.”

Religieuze betrokkenheid blijkt in het onderzoek het sterkst uit deelnemen aan concrete praktijken (bidden, mediteren, vasten, religieuze feesten vieren) en affiniteit (‘ik voel mij aangetrokken tot...’). Daarna pas komen zelfidentificatie (‘ik beschouw mijzelf als ...’), sociale participatie (bezoeken van vieringen, deelname aan cursussen of gespreksgroepen, vrijwilligerswerk), religieus gekleurde emoties en ervaringen, en aan religie ontleende normen en waarden. Pas tot slot spelen religieuze overtuigingen een rol. Dit bevestigt de trend dat religieuze overtuigingen steeds meer van ondergeschikt belang lijken te zijn, en dat de nadruk ligt op rituelen en praktijken. Dit geldt niet alleen voor ‘combineerders’, maar ook voor mensen die zichzelf tot één traditie rekenen.¹⁰⁷

This extract from Berghuijs’ article shows that although the majority of people still affiliate themselves with one tradition, a strong emergence is occurring for those who are creating their own type of religion. By this, Berghuijs refers to people who still belongs to religious groups, but who are combining different aspects of multiple religions to form a basis of their own.

Urban dwellers are combining different religious aspects and rituals to form a basic understanding of what is implied by the ‘good life’. Taking all these different ceremonies and rituals of different religions allows a new way forward for most. Because the once institutionalized religion has failed to provide guidance to those seeking the ‘good life’.

Life within the urban environment have changed drastically. This could be seen in the degeneration of values that leads to crime and poverty (to state only two issues).

¹⁰⁷ (Berghuijs 2015: 1)

Urban dwellers are searching for meaning. The 'good life' that once seemed to be so perfect, turned out to be a complete utopia that was never be realised.

Could religion give guidance to these urban dwellers? What is the effect religion could have on these type of societies?

It is important to state what is implied by the 'good life', imposed by religion. The 'good life', seen from the perspective of religion, could mean the following.

With rapid growth and rapid change, innovation must exceed decay. Ideas for humanizing cities have not kept up with the growth of cities. Several approaches have emerged in the last decades to try and address these current urban conditions. It should be noted that the 'good life' could be understood in different ways.

- The 'good life' could mean utilizing nature to the fullest, not being worried about tomorrow at all and not thinking about management.
- The 'good life' could also refer to a being-in-balance with nature. A life that implies no luxuries and convenience. Thus nothing but a 'good life'.

Does the 'good life' then imply ethical good behaviour or comfortable and luxurious? No, the good life entails much more than that. It is constituted by the transparent ideals and motivations of religion as described in chapter 3.

When understanding the 'good life' from the perspective of religion an answer could be given in terms of the providing a way forward. This will be mentioned in the chapter 6.

Religion has not dissapeared completely from the city. It cannot be stated that the number of people who practice religion or are aware of the spiritual has decreased.

Thomas Luckmann holds the theory of religion, instead of dying out in society, will end up in an invisible form: religion is still a dimension of existence of the individual and society, "but is empty of specifice empirical content".¹⁰⁸ What in fact happened is not the disappearance of religion, but the change it underwent.

¹⁰⁸ (Luckmann 1967: 78)

New Religious Movements have emerged all around the city. There has been an emergence of new spiritual institutions and less growth in traditional religions. Faith-based organizations have also seen an upsurge in growth.

This still is the focus of this study. To determine the changes that happened to religion and also whether it could provide stability to a diverse and plural urban society.

In the chapter that follows the abovementioned statements will be used to describe how religion could give guidance in the way forward.

CHAPTER 4

THE APPARATUS THEORY

Apparatus theory will be used to challenge the interpretation of religion and also whether it is a factor to contend with in modern society. Religion could be the element that keeps the city intact or could be the one element that is busy ruining our understanding of reality and the way this interacts with society, in the urban environment. Paradigms determine our relationships. In this case, the Apparatus theory would be a more precise way of describing our relationship, not only towards the city, but also the way in which we try to perceive our relationship with religion and the urban conditions we live in.

This chapter will give theoretical background to the interpretation and understanding of the relationship between various entities within the city.

4.1. Apparatus theory

Foucault describes Apparatus as “strategies of relations of forces supporting, and supported by, types of knowledge”.¹⁰⁹ These forces consist of a “heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions – in short, the said as much as the unsaid”.¹¹⁰ The apparatus itself could then be seen as the arrangement/structure/link that exists or is established between all these elements. Secondly, Foucault says that the function of the entire system is that of subjection and power, the need to repress (and perhaps also conceptualize) madness.¹¹¹

Important to consider is that the individual and society are parts of the same process.

¹⁰⁹ (Foucault 1977: 196)

¹¹⁰ (Foucault 1977: 194)

¹¹¹ (Foucault 1977: 195)

Foucault uses the word *dispositif* or 'apparatus' quite often when he starts to take interest in the governmentality or the government of men.¹¹² The Apparatus theory could help us to govern this balance which Mumford talks about in his definition of the city. This definition is mentioned in Chapter 2.

When using the Apparatus theory of Foucault, it is important to realise and understand that this research will not be focusing on the qualitative criteria of research, but rather the quantitative. Why? As described earlier, the Apparatus theory concludes in a rather broad description of relations and forces that support one another. The definition of the Apparatus focuses our attention on the ensemble of different heterogeneous aspects. The city will be the focus of this research and religion will form the basis for the city to continue to exist or to keep developing into a space of plurality and understanding.

Understanding the subjectivication of city, is very important. We are formed and form the environment around us. The once institutionalized form religion has taken, is not the way it could function anymore. The city, as would be argued later, became a space that needs to be re-designed and envisioned as intergral part of the apparatus of the city. Religion, in its broadest sense, needs to become part of the whole. The city is the apparatus that religion forms part of.

In order to set the parameters of our understanding of this theory, it is necessary to start our discussion with the following passage by Agamben as translated by Kishik and Pedatella;

If we now try to examine the definition of "apparatus" that can be found in common French dictionaries, we see that they distinguish between three meanings of the term:

- 1) A strictly juridical sense: Apparatus is the part of a judgement that contains the decision separate from the opinion.

¹¹² (Kishik and Pedatella 2009: 1)

- 2) A technological meaning: The way in which the parts of the machine or of a mechanism and, by extension, the mechanism itself are arranged.
- 3) A military use: The set of means arranged in conformity with a plan.¹¹³

It is evident that these definitions have supposed a strict structure that should be descriptive of the construct. There can be argued that a balance can only be found where structure is not seen as the main goal. Religion in its essence is part of social conditions and cannot be understood as a barrier/structure which forces moulding. Therefore the Apparatus theory reasons for an urban environment that combines these heterogeneous forces and relations in a balance and ensemble that construct harmoniously.

It is important to track a brief lineage of this term, “apparatus”. In this study there will be focused briefly on the works of Foucault and then the focus shift to the broader historical context.

Foucault, never uses the term “apparatus” in order to state the object of his research. Foucault rather uses the term “positivite” (positivity), which is argued to be a neighbor of the word “dispositif”.

This study will not aim to give an entymological overview of the terms; “apparatus” and “dispositif” and “positivity”. It is important to take a brief look at what is implied by Foucault.

Agamben¹¹⁴ states that there was no definition provided by Foucault, for using this term (apparatus), until he re-read a book by Jean Hyppolite. According to Hyppolite¹¹⁵, “destiny” and “positivity” are two key concepts in Hegel’s thought.

¹¹³ (Kishik and Pedatella 2009: 7-8)

¹¹⁴ (Kishik and Pedatella 2009: 3)

¹¹⁵ (Hyppolite 1996: 21)

“Positivity” finds its proper place, according to Hegel¹¹⁶, in opposition between “natural religion” and “positive religion”.

There is a difference between the concepts of “natural religion” and “positive religion”.

In what follows only a brief description will be given on both. Agamben¹¹⁷ argues that,

...natural religion is concerned with the immediate and general relation of human reason with the divine, positive or historical religion encompasses the set of beliefs, rules and rites that in certain society and at a certain historical moment are externally imposed on individuals.

“A positive religion” as, Hegel writes in a passage cited by Hyppolite, “implies feelings that are more or less impressed through constraint on souls; these actions that are the effect of command and the result of obedience and are accomplished without direct interest.”¹¹⁸

Hyppolite, according to Agamben¹¹⁹, shows how this opposition between these two terms (nature and positivity) corresponds. The following passage, written by Hyppolite, must have interested Foucault, Agamben argues, because it forecasts the notion of the apparatus. What follows is a brief extract from the passage;

We see here the knot of questions implicit in the concept of positivity, as well as Hegel’s successive attempts to bring together dialectically – a dialectics that is not yet conscious of itself – pure reason (theoretical and above all practical) and positivity, that is, the historical element. In a certain sense, Hegel considers positivity as an obstacle to the freedom of man, and as such it is condemned. To investigate the positive elements of a religion, and we might add, of a social state, means to discover in them that which is imposed

¹¹⁶ (Hegel 1795-1796, *The Positivity of Christian Religion*, cited by Kishik and Pedatella 2009: 4)

¹¹⁷ (Agamben, cited by Kishik and Pedetella 2009: 4)

¹¹⁸ (Hyppolite 1996: 21)

¹¹⁹ (Agamben, cited by Kishik and Pedetella 2009: 4)

through a constraint on man, that which obfuscates the purity of reason. But, in another sense – and this is the aspect that ends up having the upper hand in the course of Hegel’s development – positivity must be reconciled with reason, which then loses its abstract character and adapts to the concrete richness of life. We see then why the concept of positivity is at the center of Hegelian perspectives.¹²⁰

If positivity, as Agamben argues, according to Hyppolite, is the term that the young Hegel gives the “historical element”, this “historical element” is loaded then with rules, rites and institutions that are forced on an individual by an external power. These elements are internalized by the individual that becomes a system of beliefs and feelings.

Foucault then, according to the preceding paragraph, takes a position to the respective problem. The relationship between individuals and their position towards the historical element.

Foucault’s ultimate aim is not, then, as in Hegel, the reconciliation of the two elements; it is not even to emphasize their conflict. For Foucault, what is at stake is rather the investigation of concrete modes in which the positivities (or the apparatuses) act within the relations, mechanisms and “plays” of power.¹²¹

Agamben¹²² carries on this line of thought by investigating a research of the term *oikonomia*. Agamben argues that *oikonomia* refers to the “administration of the *oikos* (home) and, more generally, management.” *Oikonomia*, Agamben argues, begins to indicate the governance of the world and human history. The translation of the fundamental Greek term, used by Latin Fathers of the centuries, is *dispositio*. “The Latin term *dispositio*, from which the French term *dispositif*, or apparatus, derives, comes therefore to take on the complex semantic sphere of the theological *oikonomia*.”¹²³

¹²⁰ (Hyppolite 1996: 23)

¹²¹ (Agamben, cited by Kishik and Pedetella 2009: 6)

¹²² (Agamben, cited by Kishik and Pedetella 2009: 6)

¹²³ (Agamben, cited by Kishik and Pedetella 2009: 11)

The term “apparatus” designates that in which, and through which, one realizes a pure activity of governance devoid of any foundation in being. This is the reason why apparatuses must always imply a process of subjectification, that is to say, they must produce their subject.¹²⁴

Agamben argues that it all refers back to the term *oikonomia*, “...that is, to a set of practices, bodies of knowledge, measures and institutions that aim to manage, govern, control, orient – in a way that purports to be useful – the behaviors, gestures, and thoughts of human beings.”¹²⁵

“An apparatus is literally anything that can capture, orient, determine, intercept, model, control, or secure the gestures, behaviours, opinions, or discourses of living beings.”¹²⁶

As argued by this study, the city or the environment of the city is the apparatus that determines the ways in which the city dwellers are being formed. It would be argued later that the city are not far from what Foucault refers to being like the interior of a prison. It is necessary then to understand the effects this apparatus, the city, has on its inhabitants and the environment.

Is it possible for religion to still function in a way that allows this apparatus, the city, to form a heterogeneous ensemble? What are the implications necessary to look at?

There are two great classes, as argued by Agamben¹²⁷: living beings and apparatuses. A subject is added to these two classes and refers to the results from this relation, or on-going fight, between the previous mentioned two classes.

¹²⁴ (Agamben, cited by Kishik and Pedetella 2009: 11)

¹²⁵ (Agamben, cited by Kishik and Pedetella 2009: 12)

¹²⁶ (Agamben, cited by Kishik and Pedetella 2009: 14)

¹²⁷ (Agamben, cited by Kishik and Pedetella 2009: 14)

The same human can therefore be in place of multiple processes of subjectification: “the user of cellular phones, the web surfer, the writer of stories,...and so on and so forth.”¹²⁸

This growth of apparatuses in modern society today, the city also forms part of this as argued in this study, corresponds to the extreme reproduction in the processes of subjectification.

It has become necessary to take a look at all apparatuses and debate whether it is good or bad for society. This study will not embark on such a mission, but will argue that the apparatus of the city, could be diffused by the strong presence of religion. The apparatus of religion, needs to form part of this bigger picture.

Apparatuses cannot be destroyed or used correctly. Apparatuses are not merely an accident, but forms part of the process of “humanization”. At the root of every apparatus lies an all-too-human desire for happiness.¹²⁹ This means that the strategy to combat apparatuses is not an easy task. Agamben argues¹³⁰ that we are dealing with the liberation of that which remains captured and separated by these apparatuses.

What then could be done? Seeing that there needs to be some kind of strategy.

The strategy that Agamben proposes are called “profanation”.

According to Roman Law, objects that belonged in some way to the gods were considered sacred or religious. As such, these things were removed from free use and trade among humans: they could neither be sold nor given as security, neither relinquished for the enjoyment of others nor subjected to servitude. Sacrilegious were the acts that violated or transgressed the special unavailability of these objects, which were reserved either for celestial beings (and so they were properly called “sacred”) or for the beings of the

¹²⁸ (Agamben, cited by Kishik and Pedetella 2009: 14 - 15)

¹²⁹ (Agamben, cited by Kishik and Pedetella 2009: 17)

¹³⁰ (Agamben, cited by Kishik and Pedetella 2009: 17)

netherworld (in this case, they were simply called “religious”). While “to consecrate” (sacrare) was the term that designated the exit of things from the sphere of human law, “to profane” signified, on the contrary, to restore the thing to the free use of men. “Profane”, the great jurist Trebatius was therefore able to write; is, in the truest sense of the word, that which was sacred or religious, but was then restored to the use and property of human beings.¹³¹

Therefore, this study wants to emphasize “that one can define religion as that which removes things, places, animals, or people from common use and transports them to a separate sphere. Not only is there no religion without separation, but every separation contains or conserves in itself a genuinely religious nucleus. The apparatus that activates and regulates separation is sacrifice. Through a series of minute rituals that vary from culture to culture,...sacrifice always sanctions the passage of something from the profane to the sacred, from the human sphere to the divine. But what has been ritually separated can also be restored to the profane sphere. Profanation is the counter-apparatus that restores common use what sacrifice had separated and divided.”¹³²

The public space of the city have transformed into the interior of a prison. “Analogous considerations can be made concerning the apparatus of the prison: here is an apparatus that produces, as a more or less unforeseen consequence, the constitution of a subject and of a milieu of delinquents, who then become the subject of new – and, this time, perfectly calculated – techniques of governance.”¹³³

The city have undergone major transformations over the past few years. Even the circumstances of the environment are not favoring everyone anymore. These issues have caused the subjects (urban dwellers) to become part of the process of desubjectivation. This means that the subjects needs to start breaking down that which is already starting to build up.

¹³¹ (Agamben, cited by Kishik and Pedetella 2009: 18)

¹³² (Agamben, cited by Kishik and Pedetella 2009: 18 - 19)

¹³³ (Agamben, cited by Kishik and Pedetella 2009: 20)

The process this study will briefly focus on, is what is called desubjectification.

To Agamben, being human is conditioned by an indefinite potentiality for being inhuman, and the distinction between being human and inhuman is itself an unstable constitution, 'Man' is neither a biologically defined species or a given substance, but rather a field of dialectical tensions.¹³⁴

Subjectivity and the discussions on this term have been a central concern in certain organizational studies and critical management studies over the past few years. Although differences occur, existing approaches to subjectivity have one thing in common: a theoretical interest in the construction and reproduction of subjectivity, that is, subjectification.¹³⁵ But no study have actually only focused on the concept of desubjectification – processes of breaking free from subject positions.

Subjectivity here is seen as the result of both subjectification and desubjectification. The former refers to the subject positions that organizational actors move towards while the latter is understood as the subject positions they break free from.¹³⁶

Foucault focuses on subjectivity when he refers to subjectification. But Foucault also implicitly focuses on the term desubjectification. Although Foucault never truly gave a definition of this latter concept, the works of Agamben have elaborated on this part of Foucault's thought's. There have already been referred, earlier in this study, to these elaborations. This part of the study will focus on the framework of subjectivity, understood as a dialogue between processes of subjectification and desubjectification.

¹³⁴ (<http://www.mngt.waikato.ac.nz/ejrot/cmsconference/2007/proceedings/theopenstream/fougere.pdf>, 30/06/2016, 13:18)

¹³⁵ (<http://www.mngt.waikato.ac.nz/ejrot/cmsconference/2007/proceedings/theopenstream/fougere.pdf>, 30/06/2016, 13:18)

¹³⁶ (<http://www.mngt.waikato.ac.nz/ejrot/cmsconference/2007/proceedings/theopenstream/fougere.pdf>, 30/06/2016, 13:18)

The former is defined as the subject positions organizational members move towards and the latter is understood as the subject positions organizational members break free from.¹³⁷

This study tries to correlate this process, the dialectical process of subjectivity, with one another. As seen earlier, religion will continue to exist as long as society will. This is the argument that this study follows. For religion and society have an interrelationship. The subject constantly forms and gets formed by the environment it lives and functions in. Religion, as part of urban society, gives guidance to this formation, not only of the profane world, but also how the subject perceives the sacred world.

Through the introduction of desubjectification and the relationship between subjectification and desubjectification we can get a better understanding of how the city subjectivity is formed. When people appropriate a new subject position this is not only driven by a processes of subjectification and the 'adding' of new settings of power/knowledge etc. but also through getting rid of a number of values, behaviours, imaginations, etc.¹³⁸

The processes of subjectification and desubjectification should always be seen in a dialectical tension. The processes of subjectification and desubjectification needs to be explored to fully understand the formations of subjectivity.¹³⁹

Contemporary societies, the city as debated in this study, finds themselves always part of a process of subjectification and desubjectification. The city, as apparatus,

¹³⁷ (<http://www.mngt.waikato.ac.nz/ejrot/cmsconference/2007/proceedings/theopenstream/fougere.pdf>, 30/06/2016, 13:18)

¹³⁸ (<http://www.mngt.waikato.ac.nz/ejrot/cmsconference/2007/proceedings/theopenstream/fougere.pdf>, 30/06/2016, 13:18)

¹³⁹ (<http://www.mngt.waikato.ac.nz/ejrot/cmsconference/2007/proceedings/theopenstream/fougere.pdf>, 30/06/2016, 13:18)

cannot determine your health, gestures, occupations or diet. "The problem of the profanation of apparatuses- that is to say, the restitution to common use of what has been captured and separated in them- is, for this reason, all the more urgent."¹⁴⁰

In what follows Peter Berger's discussion on society and the transformation thereof will be discussed. It is important to mention that Berger's interpretation of religion is done on the grounds of sociology. This part will focus the reader's attention on the effects transformation has on the urban-dwellers.

This discussion will be the turning point for this study, as it will inspect the core feature that is of utmost importance: **We are constantly forced to choose how to interact with the world and how we are shaped by the environment.** In Berger's terminology, we must choose how to "externalize" ourselves¹⁴¹, which means how to relate to and shape the environment around us. It is necessary to understand that the environment surrounding us, also has an impact on its dwellers.

Berger begins his interpretation of religion by observing that very little in human life is determined by instinct. Because we humans have a relatively short gestation period in the womb (compared to other species), we don't have time to develop very elaborate instinctual equipment. We have very few instincts, and the ones we have are quite weak. So we have few specific responses to specific stimuli "patterned" into us. This means that in every situation, we have a very large range of options for responding. Every time we externalize ourselves we change the environment, which creates a new set of choices to be faced.

Since the relationship between self and world is always changing, we are always "off balance." What we want more than anything else, according to this sociological view, is to be in balance – to have a permanent stable order in our lives, so that we can predict both the environment and the responses to it that we and others around us will choose.

¹⁴⁰ (Agamben, cited by Kishik and Pedetella 2009: 24)

¹⁴¹ (Berger 1990: 4)

Referring back to Mumford's definition and incorporating that of Foucault regarding the Apparatus Theory, this may seem true.

The future is bound up with the creation of a new pattern of cultural activity, which shall be neither national nor parochial; but more intimate than the first and more open to worldwide forces and impulses and ideas than the second. We must construct an intimate regional framework for a balanced social and personal life, in harmony with the underlying possibilities of landscapes and regional resources and people; and we must achieve this local balance within the larger framework of the world as a whole. The world of barbarous men is bent on predatory exploit and military conquest. We are already involved in it and threatened by it.¹⁴²

Taking all these elements that Mumford refers to and using the apparatus of religion to form a new way forward.

Society's main project is to create this sense of stable predictable order and to make all of us believe in it, although in fact it is always a false illusion. Society does this by "objectivating," which means teaching us, to make the same choices over and over again as we externalize ourselves.

More importantly, society wants us to believe that those choices aren't really choices. Society wants us to act as if they are necessary and inevitable; as if they are an objective reality beyond our ability to change. For example, in our society we teach little children that people don't eat with their hands, they use silverware, even though in many societies people do eat with their hands. But we want our children to believe that they must use silverware, as if that were an objective fact.

Society also wants us to believe that the particular roles we play in life (for example, child, student, worker, spouse, etc.) are not arbitrary; that they could not be done any differently than we do them now. The process of learning these roles is called "socialization." In order for socialization to work effectively, we must also feel that our

¹⁴² (Mumford: Looking Forward: 540)

inner identity depends on playing those roles.

In Berger's terms¹⁴³, we must "internalize" the supposedly objective realities that society imposes upon us. We must feel that our inner worth, our inner sense of "rightness," depends on conforming to society's way of doing things. For example, we must feel not only mistaken but guilty or sinful or "bad" if we eat with our hands.

To denote the sum total of all the patterns that a particular society objectivates and wants individuals to internalize, Berger uses the term *nomos*. The *nomos* is made up of the society's worldview (all its knowledge about how things are) and its ethos (all its values and ways of living).

The *nomos* is the product of a long series of human choices, all of which could have been made differently. But the society, through its process of socialization, hopes to persuade individuals that its *nomos* is objectively true and therefore unchangeable. The society wants the *nomos* to be taken for granted as much as possible. Society is usually pretty successful at this. Since we come out of the womb with such weak instinctual patterns, we simply don't know what to do. So for a long time we depend on our parents and other elders to teach us. How to respond to the stimuli of the world. We usually have to trust them and do things the way they do things. But every individual remains aware (however unconsciously) of some degree of freedom to act independently and go against the *nomos*. since individuals as well as their environments are always changing, the *nomos* is inherently unstable.

Moreover, individuals eventually encounter other people who have a somewhat different *nomos*, so the truth of any given *nomos* appears to be somewhat subjective. The objective reality and permanence of the *nomos* are especially called into question by unusual experiences—for example, dreams, moments of insanity, or encounters with death. Anything that threatens to undermine the *nomos* raises the possibility that we might end up without a *nomos*. Berger¹⁴⁴ calls this condition of being without a *nomos* "anomy" since anomy is always a lurking possibility, the society wants to strengthen its *nomos* as much as possible.

¹⁴³ (Berger 1990: 4)

¹⁴⁴ (Berger 1990: 6)

This is where religion enters the picture.

Religion is based on the claim that the particular nomos of a given society is not merely one among many possible choices. Rather, religion claims, the nomos is rooted in the cosmos (the universe) itself, because the nomos is a mirror image of the nature or pattern of the cosmos. since the cosmos is eternal, the nomos is also eternal, according to this claim. Religion supports its claim by supplying symbols that give a detailed image of how the nomos is rooted in the cosmos. These symbols seem charged with a special "sacred" power. This power is supposed to be the power that undergirds cosmic reality. It threatens those who violate the nature of reality with doom, while rewarding those who go along with reality. "Reality" in this sense means the patterns of the nomos, which are a mirror image of the cosmos. The ultimate threat, however, is to lose the nomos altogether and be plunged into the chaos of anomy. Religious symbols seem so powerful because they express the most important value in life: the feeling that reality is a meaningful order, not a random chaos. So religion hopes to persuade its followers that the universe, and the individual's as well as the group's life in the universe, are all based on the same unified and orderly pattern.

The importance between objectification and subjectification also needs to be touched on.

Provided underneath are definitions for the terms "subjectification" and "objectification".

Subjectification – Subjectification means becoming yourself, the social process of becoming ourselves, the offers that we draw on, take up one of the discourse. This is self-management, self-realization, comparing the self to other. There is variety, but limitation. Limitations arise through objectification.

Objectification – It expresses the ways that knowledge about people is produced. It also limits what kind of subject we can be, and we invest in, in order to become

ourselves.

It could be stated then, that the apparatus of the city has objectified its inhabitants to become subjectified to its environment. This has caused religion to become quiet in a society that needs its, religion's, voice to be heard. Religion have been objectified to become religion, understood as a city's type of religion (becoming an individual entity), but it needs to be re-envisioned as integral part of the apparatus of the city.

When this study focuses on the difference between these two concepts, it must be reiterated that this will only be done broadly. It will be argued that the apparatus of the city forces the subjects (urban dwellers) to perceive life in a certain way. Religion can therefore pave the way for a new understanding.

This study wants to emphasize that religion needs to be understood differently and in a new way. The urban environment needs change, and religion can work in this apparatus, of the city. In other words, to subjectify (or desubjectify) that which has become objectified by the apparatus of the city. This could be seen as a power relation that forces the inhabitants of the city to correspond in a certain way.

Generally, it can be said that there are three types of struggles: either against forms of domination (ethnic, social, and religious); against forms of exploitation which separate individuals from what they produce; or against that which ties the individual to himself and submits him to others in this way (struggles against subjection, against forms of subjectivity and submission).¹⁴⁵

Berger have argued that religion provides the *nomos* for the urban-dwellers to respond and act to, whereas Agamben argued that the Apparatus, that of the city, could never be eliminated or used correctly.

When looking at what this chapter suggests, it is important to critically review the necessary steps that needs to be taken. In *Contextualising Community Psychology in South Africa*, edited by Maretha Visser, the steps necessary for change in systems

¹⁴⁵ <http://www.unisa.edu.au/Global/EASS/HRI/foucault - the subject and power.pdf>, 02/07/2016: 21:25)

are mentioned.

In order for a system, religion and the city, to maintain a certain balance, there always needs to be looked at the imbalances. According to Ford and Lerner¹⁴⁶ three change processes can take place in an unbalanced system. As argued earlier in this study, religion could give guidance in an urban environment that is in desperate need of coercion and togetherness.

The following three change processes will be named and discussed in chapter 6.

- Change to restore stability.
- Expanding the system through self-construction.
- Transforming change (re-creation).

This study will discuss these three processes and propose one that is necessary in our urban society today.

This sets out the task ahead.

¹⁴⁶ (Ford, Lerner: 1992)

CHAPTER 5

A DISCUSSION BETWEEN RELIGION AND CITY

In this last chapter the focus will be on a dialogue between Harvey Cox and Michael J. Crosbie. It is important to see this dialogue as a way forward. The city, as remarked by Cox in this interview, is not the utopia people once envisioned it to be.

This interview will also guide the way in which a recent case study of Menlyn Maine should be understood. Menlyn Maine is a new initiative that is an example of how a new system could influence a whole community and how it influenced certain aspects within a already envisioned system.

This chapter, which provides a discussion between religion and the city, enriches the way we perceive these two entities. A discussion like this one is necessary. The case study gives guidance to other communities who attempt to construct a balance and understanding between different entities and factors. It allows different groups to understand the multifaceted roleplayers within such a construct.

5.1. An interview with Harvey Cox by Michael J. Crosbie¹⁴⁷

No one book has done more to influence the concept of and the conversation about the presence of the sacred in our cities than *The Secular City* by Harvey Cox, published in 1965.

Michael J. Crosbie: It's an interesting time; the first time in the history of the world that more people are living in urban areas than not. Your landmark book, *The Secular City*, considered how the changing urban context might shape faith. What are your thoughts now about living in a more urban world and how that affects human spirituality and religious architecture?

Harvey Cox: The cities where people are living are not the utopian vision that some once had. I think the jury is still out to some extent, on what happens when this large

¹⁴⁷ (<http://faithandform.com/feature/sacred-secular-city-conversation-harvey-cox/>: 12/08/2016: 10:09)

a number of people congregate in large cities, in megacities, and when you pair that with large migration rates in history. Tens or hundreds of thousands of people are moving into cities; it's a mixture of people that was not characteristic for the ancient cities and the classical cities. On one hand people can meet and get to know each other; sometimes it results in the lowering of prejudicial boundaries. But it also can exacerbate conflict. If you lived 200 miles away and you never saw me, that's one thing, but if we lived on the same block we might collide. Look at what is happening in Kenya, Syria, or Western China. Old ethnic rivalries get revived, and it raises the stakes. The possibilities for the really enhanced heterogeneous communities are there, but so are the chances for mayhem. For me it presents a serious challenge to religious communities to provide the spaces and occasions where people can come together and get to know each another, and trust each other, and participate in each other's traditions and festivals.

I was talking yesterday with some of my students working over in east Boston, which is a very low-income section of the city. There was a big corporation trying to build a casino there. A provision in the Massachusetts constitution states that the affected community has to have a say in whether they want a casino or not. The casino came in with enormous publicity saying that it would be great for east Boston and it would bring in jobs and money. But some Divinity students managed to organize a collation of Catholic, Protestant, and Muslim communities—congregations in east Boston—and they defeated the casino. They were outspent 87 to 1 by the casino industry, yet they won the referendum. The interesting thing to me is that for the first time these congregations met each other not just in a nice, ecumenical setting; they were really doing something for the community, it was controversial. This is an exemplary idea, that various faith communities can come together and accomplish something. For a year or two there would have been some construction jobs, but like anyplace a casino builds, the community would have gotten poorer for everyone but the casino. For the students I thought it was such a great example. The gambling issue used to be one that divided liberal from conservative Christians. But now there's an alliance between the old pietistic approach and the more social-action-oriented people. It illustrates the fact that while there is more possibility for conflict, there are also more chances for really creative new things to happen.

Michael J. Crosbie: Is there a connection here between the growth of urbanization and the growth of the “spiritual,” versus the “religious”?

Harvey Cox: I think there is. What is really fascinating is the growth of the spiritual, but not the religious category, the way people describe themselves. This new phenomenon challenges the old distinction between sacred and profane. It’s not quite sacred and not quite secular; it’s something else, but we haven’t quite figured out what it is yet. I had a seminar two years ago where some of the students went out and interviewed people who described themselves as spiritual but not religious. We pressed them: “What do you mean by that?” One thing that was very clear was that no one wanted to be thought of as an atheist. We don’t like the packaging of spiritual reality that is being given to us; we don’t like being told what we have to believe. So our conclusion was that these people want to uncouple the spiritual reality from the power nexus that it has been identified with. For me that’s an important and welcome development. I think it’s been long needed. I like the idea that it has redefined this old sacred/secular dichotomy—it doesn’t fit with either, or it fits with both.

Michael J. Crosbie: If more people are living in urban areas, maybe they relate spiritually more on an individual basis, rather than an institutional one?

Harvey Cox: I think it’s good. It points up the importance of events like the festival. Muslim and Christian communities, a few times a year, have public displays of faith, it’s out in the streets. Whether it’s a saint’s day or revolves around breaking a fast, whatever it is, it has a public face that is not strictly institutional. It’s not just inside a church building or mosque, so people are exposed to it. Then people ask questions: Why do you do it that way? What is this day? What does it mean? Then believers have to explain something that they may have never had to explain to themselves. It clarifies their own faith traditions in a way that they might not have thought of before, and it has that positive advantage. More of this happens in cities.

Michael J. Crosbie: You mentioned the importance of creating an environment, a space for the sacred and the spiritual, which I think is very important—this idea of having a public space that allows these things to happen. How do you create those spaces?

Harvey Cox: Well, you have to carve them out; they don't create themselves, especially with the price of real estate. Somebody has to provide that space. It doesn't, however, have to be a space sacred only to one tradition, and that's the big thing we are learning about urban spaces and churches, synagogues, and mosques. We can share spaces without losing much, in fact we might even gain something from it. The space itself takes on a kind of "movable feast" quality; it can be a mosque on Friday, a synagogue on Saturday, and a church on Sunday. It's economically more feasible, and it's welcoming. It's one way for these poor city churches that can't afford to keep the heat on and a roof over their heads to survive.

We have also learned a lot from storefront churches. One feature of a storefront church is that you see what's going on before you jump into it. Some of the bigger churches have learned that lesson, and they minimize the barrier between inside and outside, as opposed to the old style where you have a gigantic, thick door, and you're either in or out. This is recognition of this new, emerging spiritual space—it isn't totally encompassed by this side or that side. It's a zone of transition. That's what a mall is all about: you walk through it, and you look the goods over, the old idea of the open market place. You have this emerging spirituality where some are not quite ready to commit, but not quite ready to walk away, either. A passage from T.S. Eliot's wonderful poem, *Ash-Wednesday* captures this: "Will the veiled sister pray/For children at the gate/Who will not go away and cannot pray:/Pray for those who choose and oppose." There are a lot more of them now: they don't quite want to go away, but they're not quite ready. It's an enormously important category, religiously, of people. I think churches could be so much more responsive to those people by creating the spaces, creating the occasions, an atmosphere where they feel welcome, they don't need to sign up to be there.

Michael J. Crosbie: We now have the first pope in an urban world, the first pope from the Americas, not afraid to live in a city hotel instead of an aloof, papal apartment.

Harvey Cox: He's an urban cat.

Michael J. Crosbie: A good description of him. I was interested in your division of the history of Christianity as first the Age of Faith, then the Age of Belief, and now the Age of the Spirit. How does the Age of the Spirit play out in the urban context?

Harvey Cox: I don't think we are quite in the Age of the Spirit yet. We are moving into it. That's what I said in the book, *The Future of Faith*, that there are indications that we are on the edge of it, but we are still mired in the Age of Belief for many people. Being a Christian means believing in certain things, some of which stretch back to the changes in doctrine that Constantine made. Before the creeds, being a Christian was trying to be a follower of Jesus. There was no universal creed; it was Constantine who insisted on that, and said everyone had to toe the line. What I am saying in *The Future of Faith* is that we are entering into an Age of the Spirit and it may take a long while, because people will cling to the Age of Belief, and there will be people who insist I have to cling to it. But as far as the Age of the Spirit and the city is concerned, I think they co-adhere pretty well. The city is the place where the things we just talked about are possible, both conflict and confluence. According to Aristotle, a city is a place where strangers meet. What happens when strangers meet? You can have hatred and bigotry, but you can also have the emergence of a new, richer form for community. You have enhanced opportunities and enhanced dangers.

Michael J. Crosbie: So as we move into this Age of the Spirit, what are the opportunities for the city to encourage it?

Harvey Cox: Give it space. One of the great things that churches and other religious institutions have is space in the city. This emerging spirituality needs open space where people can be, and do, and ask, and criticize, and celebrate, and does what one needs to do. It is space that provides an occasion to acquaint people with the great traditions, and perhaps to go on from there. I think there are a lot of wonderful opportunities. It's a great moment for *faiths*—plural.

Why is it necessary to share this interview with the reader? It is possible that it could of course be left out completely. Both parties are making a few valid arguments and it seems necessary to share this, only so that the reader can see how important it is to start thinking together, critically. There could be argued that this dialogue is not necessary to be mentioned here. This study wants to emphasize how important discussion between religions is. Diversity may be seen as a challenge, but it could pave the way forward towards a new perspective.

Not many years ago, it was believed that religion will completely die out¹⁴⁸. The future of religion looked pale and even the dire prophecies did not inspire. The affect of religious institutions and traditional forms of belief had declined, or so was believed. This was believed by Peter Berger, a sociologist.

This study wants to affirm what Harvey Cox mentioned in his book the Secular City: This is a study, "...about the unexpected return of religion as a potent social forte in a world many thought was leaving it behind."¹⁴⁹ Religion still has a role to play within the space of the urban environment.

5.2. Menlyn Maine – A Case Study

When looking at new development and especially looking at the context of South Africa, there is one specific case that cannot be dismissed. The new development of a green city, has seen the light. As the news headlines stated: "Menlyn Maine is set to become Africa's first green city."¹⁵⁰

In what follows, this study will try critically analyse this new concept and try to emphasize different viewpoints. This part of the study will show what could probably happen in the future, regarding modern urbanism, and how different institutions could debate these new forms of development.

The greeting of Menlyn Maine's website states the following: "Welcome to a City developed on the principle that everything is integrated. Here we can live full, balanced and responsible lives."¹⁵¹ Proclaimed to be designed according to New Urbanism Principles and having everything you need within walking distance, it seems that this new development could be the first in Africa to reach a balanced way of life.

Central Square is Menlyn Maine's latest project which broke ground in 2014. It is a multi-use development comprising of different shops, gyms, restaurants and offices. All integrated within a 315 000m² of mixed amenities.

¹⁴⁸ (Berger: 1967)

¹⁴⁹ (Harvey Cox: 1984: 20)

¹⁵⁰ (<http://www.menlynmaine.co.za>: 15/05/2016: 10:40)

¹⁵¹ (<http://www.menlynmaine.co.za>: 15/05/2016: 11:03)

The following picture illustrates what this green city looks like¹⁵².



It could be seen in this illustration that there are different institutions and amenities. These diverse amenities, working together within a system.

Menlyn Maine is about living. The goal with the Menlyn Maine Development is to create an urban design framework that balances the design ideals of the project with commercial realities. The residential component of the development will be surrounded by offices, a mixed use Boutique shopping center, a Virgin Active Classic Gym, The Capital Hotel, and the Sun International Time Square Casino Complex, all within walking distance from the resident's front door. Walkability within the precinct was at the forefront of the designers' minds, and therefore all the uses are in close

¹⁵² (<http://www.menlynmaine.co.za>: 15/05/2017: 11:18)

proximity to one and other, as well as to the public transport in the form of the new Bus Rapid Transit system, and the Gautrain bus system connecting to the Hatfield and Pretoria stations.

When looking at these descriptions of this new development, it is evident that this could be the way cities of the future are envisioned. Diverse entities in a close-knit space, collaborating and being part of a bigger system.

It should then be asked, but how does religion function within such a new-envisioned type of city.

Menlyn Maine and its building aspirations, was not without any objection. In an article which can be found on the website of www.iol.co.za shows that different challenges were faced by this new development.

The High Court sitting in Pretoria on Thursday morning turned down an application by 14 Pretoria East community-based organisations which challenged the rezoning rights for Menlyn Maine to include a casino.

The groups, which include several churches in the area, said public hearings should have been held before the area was declared suitable to build a casino. They took on the Tshwane Metro Council, Sun International and the Menlyn Maine Developers.¹⁵³

When looking at this short description of the complaint, it could be seen that religious institutions should be noted in new developments. The reason in this case was simple. These institutions felt that a casino could have recurring factors for a community that is already under siege from different angles.

Religions do not exist, nor are they studied, in a vacuum. This statement reiterates that religion's norms and values, as a whole, gives guidance to its inhabitants.

¹⁵³ (<http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/judge-turns-down-menlyn-casino-challenge-1794183>: 12/05/2016: 11:00)

When looking at the development of Menlyn Maine, it is obvious that no religious institutions form part of the bigger area. But there is different ways in which the development gave attention to a natural and transcendental part. Statues are everywhere to be seen, with different connotations. Eco-friendly buildings and big green open areas brings the visitors closer to nature. The focus on these aspects shows that religion or a form of it, still figures in this new forms of development.

This is probably the challenge that lies ahead for religious institutions. A institutionalized religion will probably struggle to grow and form part of this new type of development. A different perspective needs to be considered.

Forest Hill mall is a shopping centre just outside, Centurion. Comparing Menlyn Maine and Forest Hill with one another is quite strange, but very important. Within Forest Hill mall there is a prayer room, for Muslims. Why? Because the mall is surrounded by a Muslim community and space is given to this group. It could be asked, but why not in other mall's? The study does not want to give answers to these questions. This study would rather use this example to re-affirm that religion forms part and is incorporated within the city's mileu.

5.3. The way forward

In this last part of this study, the following argument depicts the necessary dilemma within modern day society. A society filled with spontaneous and creative experiences may feel bound by an institution that does not give a substantial relief to their needs. The preceding chapter showed that modern society interact more with one another and that the way religion should be envisioned needs to be re-evaluated.

Moreover, since the religious experience is spontaneous and creative and since institutionalization means precisely reducing these unpredictable

elements to established and routine forms, the dilemma is one of great significance for the religious movement.¹⁵⁴

Religion, as institution, is arguably one of the biggest problems that religions, as a whole, experience within the environment of the city. Religion as institution, this study would argue, must be able to convert and change to fit into a society that is ever-changing.

The meaning of the group has always been very important for any individual, and not only for the individual's sake, but also for the society as a whole. Therefore, it could be stated that the religious group as subsystem in the urban society, plays a vital role in the Apparatus of the city. Religion, could give guidance to a pluralistic and diverse society on the edge of falling apart. Religious diversity – differences within and between religious groups in a society has re-entered the sociology of religion in new and powerful ways. Religious difference has become a factor in local and global conflicts and peace building.¹⁵⁵

The renewed interest in religious diversity follows nearly a century of expectation that religious diversity would decrease as religion itself disappeared in the shadow of science and rational humanism.¹⁵⁶ Religion as knowledge system, legitimate cognitively, certain value orientations and norms that makes this knowledge system valid. The religious group fills an important molding function in society and allows diverse people to be part of this religious group. This brings about a socializing function that allows different people to understand and respect each other's values and norms.

As in the case of the social group, religion practices a certain amount of social control in the society. Coercion, personal reward, reciprocity and legitimacy of equity are all ways in which religion could help the society. It is needless to state that religion cannot control other institutions, like the state or any other institutions that control society through marginalization. Religion cannot take the form of enforcing religion on people. If anyone was of opinion that religion is withering away from

¹⁵⁴ (O'Dea 1966: 4)

¹⁵⁵ (Appleby: 2000; Thomas: 2005)

¹⁵⁶ (Wuthnow: 2005)

public life it must be reiterated that this is far from the truth. The question is, how does religion impact and influence the urban society?

Religion are like other living organisms, religious organizations are growing, differentiating, struggling to function, or disintegrating. Never will religion be a stable element within the city, again. Religion shall disappear completely due to the conditions of modern society. Or, as was believed, religion will only function in the private realm.¹⁵⁷ These thoughts cannot be further from the truth, as was already mentioned earlier in this study. Hefner claims that, "Recent years have seen an upsurge in religious activity around the world, in phenomena as diverse as Hindu nationalism, Islamic resurgence, Pentecostal conversion, and America's culture wars. These trends suggest that rumors of religion's demise are, to say the least, exaggerated."¹⁵⁸ Modern society are more spontaneous and is always moving at a pace of strict routine or even time-bound activities. When it comes to religion, new and fresh ways of expression become relevant.

Sociologists agree now that religion has proved more resilient than was forecasted. The one thing they still disagree on is why and what will become of religious groups and religion as a whole.

This study will now set out a new way forward, to suggest a way in which religion should function and be re-envisioned. It would be argued that religious groups still have a vital role to fulfil in the cities. These groups, not bound or reclosed, can be seen as the key ingredient in the functionality of this organism.

Religion is faced with challenges to find a satisfactory normative basis for constructive involvement in society and, secondly, to overcome the lack of motivation to become constructively involved in society. Religion also allows space for ecumenical movement and inclusiveness with others. The broadening of inclusiveness of different religions have proven to be enriching and stimulating when all parties treat one another with respect.

As a result, of a more inclusive approach, religion will gain the trust of different societal bodies. Religion will be able to enforce and empower these bodies to gear

¹⁵⁷ (Mills: 1959: 33)

¹⁵⁸ (Robert W. Hefner: 2011: 152, as cited in *The Oxford Handbook of Sociology of Religion*, edited by P. Clarke)

up against the issues that society are filled with. Religion will therefore also be better geared to play a constructive role in helping to solve societal problems. The academic isolation of religion has finally been broken through and many fruitful partnerships with societal bodies could be initiated.

What is this new form religion should take, if necessary?

In "What is a City?" Lewis Mumford¹⁵⁹, one of the most pre-eminent urban historians describes what he sees as the chief handicap to modern city planning; the failure to understand and embrace the social function of the city.

Rather than view the city as a "purely physical fact" Mumford suggests a broader view and asks "what is the city as a social institution?" and offers the following answer; "The city in its complete sense, then is a geographic plexus, an economic organization, an institutional process, a theatre of social action, and an aesthetic symbol of collective unity."

Mumford's focus is not on "the built environment" as such, but rather the city as locus of social networks and a theatre in which "man's more purposive activities are focused and work out, through conflicting and cooperating personalities, events, groups, into more significant culminations."¹⁶⁰ While the nature of the built environment no doubt influence this social drama, Mumford sees its role as primarily that of a well-designed stage set, to facilitate and intensify the performance of the actors upon it. Mumford¹⁶¹ asserts that the quintessential character of the city is to "create drama," for although all of the necessary physical structures of cities may exist elsewhere, namely in the suburbs, it is this "opportunity for social disharmony and conflict" that only urban densities and proximities provide.

¹⁵⁹ Lewis Mumford, "What is a City," (first published in *Architectural Record*, 1937) *The City Reader*, (Fifth Edition) Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout, eds., (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 91-95.

¹⁶⁰ Lewis Mumford, "What is a City," (first published in *Architectural Record*, 1937) *The City Reader*, (Fifth Edition) Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout, eds., (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 91-95.

¹⁶¹ Lewis Mumford, "What is a City," (first published in *Architectural Record*, 1937) *The City Reader*, (Fifth Edition) Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout, eds., (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 91-95.

A city may be viewed according to Mumford as "a special framework directed toward the creation of differentiated opportunities for a common life and a significant social drama."¹⁶²

Mumford argues that it is this consideration that ultimately should determine such limiting factors as size, density, area and layout of a city, rather than topographical or technological concerns.

Since it is most important to express "size as a function of the social relationships to be served" it is natural that Mumford should advocate for small scale clusters of communities "adequately spaced and bounded" known as the "polynucleated city" as opposed to the monopolistic, hypertrophied and aggrandizing "mononucleated city" with its single focal point. Dubbing it the Highway less Town, Mumford sees an eventual trend toward this form of limited, decentralized and dissociated urban development through the effective zoning of functions in which "the various functional parts of the structure are isolated topographically as urban islands appropriately designed for their specific use. It is through this deliberate design and articulation that the necessary social concentration for social drama may be best achieved."¹⁶³

This city, as described by Mumford, cannot be bound by the physical boundaries, nor by numbers or other factual information. The city in its essence could only exist, as long as the social functions of the city are intact. In other words, work together to form the perfect balance. To impose a new way forward for religion, could then only be visualized if the concept of re-designing and adjustment is at change's core. The whole structure of the city cannot be entertained by one specific modality, and that is not what is suggested in the case of religion too. Religion could only co-exist with all other independent forms interdependency.

The religious group are able to effect major intergration and transformation on social sytem level. "Religiousness" of the individual is in the broader sense conducive for

¹⁶² Lewis Mumford, "What is a City," (first published in Architectural Record, 1937) *The City Reader*, (Fifth Edition) Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout, eds., (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 91-95.

¹⁶³ Lewis Mumford, "What is a City," (first published in Architectural Record, 1937) *The City Reader*, (Fifth Edition) Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout, eds., (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 91-95.

solidarity with other individuals in society. The religious group also provides religious collectives in which intergration and solidarity could exist. In other words, religion contains a strong cohesive element in the life of society.

5.4. Conclusion

George Simmel assests the following:

...there is probably no other single domain in which this non-competitive form of existance, this identity of aim and interest is so clearly and completely as in religion.¹⁶⁴

Religion was considered by Durkheim to be a social institution alongside other social institutions. For Durkheim all institutions (religion included) are organic and can therefore be born, grow and change. Religion however seem to function as a primal institution, supporting other institutions.¹⁶⁵

Religion is being challenged to give expression to unity and truism despite diversity and plurality within the urban environment. The challenge may be bridged with the use of Apparatus theory and the practising thereof. The city, on the other hand, is challenged to constantly reinvent space and time and the understanding of it. The city cannot be considered abstractly, it can always be realised.

When it is argued that religion could be the one element that allows all people of diverse backgrounds and plurality to be part of a religious group, it is important to remember that conflict are a certainty.

¹⁶⁴ (Simmel 1955: 12)

¹⁶⁵ (Pickering 1984: 264)

Religions do not exist, nor are they studied, in a vacuum. Religion will exist as long as society does, and society will always be part of changes and severe conditions.

It is important to take a look at the origin of religious groups in society. This will only be done in a broad spectrum, looking at religious groups as a whole. There will not be focused on a certain typology or category of religious groups. This part of the study will also not try not to get caught up in a one-sided religious argument to illustrate the origin of religious groups. The focus will be on the factors, playing a role in the origin of religious group from a sociological perspective. The main feature will be to convey the necessity of religious groups in society and especially the positive influence it could have for people in urban society.

The problem, when discussing the origin of religious groups, is the fact that there is quite a few general key factors to look at;

- the origin of social groups in general,
- the collective behavioral actions,
- the nature of social movements,
- the meaning and essence of a leadership figure in the forming of social groups and in religious groups and
- the conflicts of interest between different groups.

It is also not the purpose to form a secluded theory regarding the origin of religious groups. The origin of these religious groups have a long history and the availability of empirical material is quite limited.

Groups always form, when people with the same idea come together. Religious groups do not differ from this perspective. It is without doubt, that these groups are located in the city and could help to be productive within the environment, while trying to envision their contribution.

Referring back to chapter 3, it is clear that church and state influenced one another. This also led to a certain way society was organised and to which extent religion was able to grow significantly.

Theologians played a leadership role in universities and in society. They served in government commissions and in the executive committees of national cultural organisations. The public media sought after their opinion on a spectrum of public issues.¹⁶⁶

Without any doubt this is not the case anymore. Religions of all kinds have been left to create their own substantial part in society, without the help of any state-influenced practice. These changes have been implemented throughout history and especially in South Africa these changes were major. But religion did succeed to remain part of a society that changed drastically.

“Society in transition”¹⁶⁷, as used by De Villiers, refers to the rapidly changing South African society since the introduction of a new political dispensation in 1994, the so-called New South Africa. It would, however, have made perfect sense to interpret this term as referring rather to the transition from the apartheid society to the New South Africa. The role religion and the social sciences played in the transitory period preceding the introduction of the new political dispensation would then have been the topic under discussion.¹⁶⁸ “Society in transition” referred to the rapidly changing South African society since the introduction of a new political dispensation in 1994. Today, “society in transition” refers to the rapidly changing effects urbanization has on the city milieu and also the impacts it has especially on religion.

The status of religion have undergone a major change in the context of the changed social milieu.¹⁶⁹ In *Wahrheit und Methode* (1960) Hans-Georg Gadamer rightly asserts that even during times of drastic change far more of the old is retained than one would ever imagine. This is also true of the present South African society, a society in transition. It does not, however, take away that those involved in these changes are far more aware of the disruptive effects of these changes on their lives

¹⁶⁶ (De Villiers, Religion, 2004)

¹⁶⁷ (De Villiers, Religion, 2004)

¹⁶⁸ (De Villiers, Religion, 2004)

¹⁶⁹ (Ganguly: Politics and religion in contemporary India: 144)

than the underlying stability. What they experience is often a complete breakdown of a familiar world and the displacement of this world by a strange new world.¹⁷⁰

Why was there such a drastic change regarding the perspective of religion in South Africa?

The separation of religion and state makes it difficult – if not impossible – for the government to implement the distinctive views of a particular religious group, leave alone the distinctive views of a particular religious denomination within that religious group. It is clear that the separation of religion and state in the New South Africa has – up till now – caused considerable confusion and uncertainty among churches that were used to direct involvement in public matters. It is especially the case with the Afrikaans churches. Their direct involvement in public matters in the previous political dispensation was based on their strong belief in the theocratic ideal for politics that forms part and parcel of their Reformed confessional tradition (viz the *Confessio Belgica*, Section 36). According to this ideal the state is seen as an obedient servant of God that has to make a religious choice in favour of the Christian faith, promote Christian values in its policies and has the responsibility to protect the true Christian religion. In the present political dispensation the state is seen as a purely human institution that has to obey the will of the majority, may not favour any particular religion, has to promote a set of common human values, expressed in the bill of rights and has to ensure religious freedom to all religious institutions.¹⁷¹

Reflecting on the abovementioned excerpt, it is important to notice a few things. With the separation of church and state, religion became a public matter. The state does not govern the views of the people anymore and individuality became the norm. This forces the state to allow the views from different cultures and people. It would be agreed, by this study, that this is seen as a move in the right direction. Even South Africa's Constitution are embedded by these views. This allows our schooling system to also enhance the understanding of different views by religions and respect the

¹⁷⁰ (De Villiers, Religion, 2004)

¹⁷¹ (De Villiers, Religion, 2004)

diversity that our country is part of. According to Mayson¹⁷² there are three basic features of religion education:

- The educational knowledge should expose pupils to the richness and variety of religion in a well prepared and respectful manner.
- Education is about diversity, in an environment which encourages the sense of acceptance and security for all, whatever their race or creed. It means that people should appreciate, and feel emotionally secure, in the field of religion.

It is important to realise that this is exactly what this study wants to convey. Religion, within the urban context allows people from different groups and backgrounds to understand each other's need. This could guide all to work together. For too long the state determined how religion should work and may be applied. This study wants to emphasize that religion's form or characteristics may never be bound by a system, as it changes and keeps changing over time and contexts.

Religion lost public affluence because of two main reasons:

- Separation of church and state
- In the New South Africa it was no longer necessary for churches and church leaders to fill the political vacuum that was left with the banning of liberation organisations and the imprisonment of their leaders and to play a vicarious political leadership role.¹⁷³

It could be worthwhile to take note of the following quotation:

The time and place in which man first developed religious beliefs and practices is not definitely known nor have we much knowledge of the nature of man's early religious phenomena. We may surmise, however, that early religion must have been somewhat more primitive and less conceptualized than the most primitive of contemporary religions. Only in the course of

¹⁷² (C Mayson <<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/pubs/umrabo19/teaching.html>> at 31 March 2006.)

¹⁷³ (De Villiers, Religion, 2004)

thousands of years were religions evolved which resembled the primitive religions of the twentieth century.¹⁷⁴

Several sociologists have given their attention to religious sociology, focusing on the sociological causes for the emergence of religious groups. It is argued by this study that religious groups will continue to form and exist. The only question must be: Should the form of religion change? Will the apparatus of religion give guidance to the apparatus of the city, which struggles to maintain its character and sharing of spaces?

These following key findings could give guidance to similar research in the future:

Key findings for policy

- In divided cities, urban planners and relevant organisations must ensure that fragile social arrangements that encourage mixing are not disrupted by the imposition of barriers.
- Basic sharing of space may depend on people having mundane reasons to be together, such as shopping, work and the use of health care facilities.
- Urban public places are essential for shared space, and the location and nature of commercial centres and services is a key consideration.
- The globalised and neutral nature of urban spaces such as shopping malls can sometimes help to dilute conflict and encourage interaction. However, the associated interests of privatisation may also conceal and sustain less visible social inequalities with long-term consequences.
- Common identities, such as those based on occupation or class, can help to see otherwise divided communities live side-by-side.¹⁷⁵

The apparatus of the city have come under great scrutiny over the last few years, which has caused a major downfall within the structures of the city and the city-dwellers' life. Religion, as argued by this study, needs to adapt to the forms set out by an ever-changing environment to form an intergral part of the city's environment.

¹⁷⁴ (Wright, Elmer 1939: 205-206)

¹⁷⁵ (<http://www.urbanconflicts.arct.cam.ac.uk/downloads/briefing-paper-4>: 29/04/2016: 08:02)

Using the key findings as stated above, will form the finishing argument.

Religion does not only have a positive function and effect on society; it can, at times, be the perpetrator who causes disharmony, pain and guilt. Conflict is not necessarily the absence of peace and harmony, but rather a process of understanding and determining the status of parties in relation to one another.¹⁷⁶

Many answers have been posed to the functionality and validity of religion within society. Herbert¹⁷⁷ argues that religion could be divided into two distinct types of functionality:

- providing education and/or welfare functions in societies where the state is unable or unwilling to provide these services
- speaking or acting out against political oppression or the undermining of political institutions by the state

Religion can either promote social cohesion and intergration or religion can force social division. This study will agree with the notions of Berger (2005: 15), that religion probably do more harm to society than positively constructing it, but religion provides a moral structure to the society. This is the key factor when finding the role religion should fulfill within society. Religion also allows diverse groups to be part of a bigger entity.

This statement is anything but new. Many scholars have already indicated that ethics are important for society. Paeth¹⁷⁸ attests to this by pointing out religion's

¹⁷⁶ (Beyers, J., 2011. Religion, civil society and conflict: What is it that religion does for and to society? *HTS Theologiese Studies / Theological Studies*, 67(3), p. 5)

¹⁷⁷ (Herbert 2003: 4, 5)

involvement in the process of moral formation within the community. Civil society does indeed need a prescriptive function as to how society ought to behave. Humankind needs moral values.¹⁷⁹ Religion becomes the provider of such morals in private life and this study has already proven that religion will move into the private sector of society.¹⁸⁰

A discussion on religion in the city is very important. The urban society should not be understood as being composed of several autonomous elements linked together. The urban society also does not function as a homogenous organ. Urban society rather allows multiple elements to function effectively, interrelatedly. This is where the concept of an organic city comes into consideration. How does the organic nature of the city compare with religion? The term 'organic' relates to the process by which a neighborhood or city comes into being, forming gradually and with the influence of the residents.¹⁸¹ This means that religion's face should adapt to an ever-changing urban environment that functions similar to that of an organism.

This study tried to portray how important it is to understand that the city's face and balance of before has changed drastically. The city and its inhabitants are forced to withstand major changes each day. The way religion was perceived also undergone changes. On the one hand it could be seen as a negative, but as this study showed, religion still forms part of society and the role it plays in the city is anything but negative. Religion has a role to play and a place to fill within the urban barriers. This study wants to emphasize that the characteristics of religion will change over time, but it will never die out. Dialogues with and respect towards each other must be administered.

¹⁷⁸ (Paeth 2008:129)

¹⁷⁹ (Berger 1967:147)

¹⁸⁰ (Beyers, J., 2011. Religion, civil society and conflict: What is it that religion does for and to society? *HTS Theologiese Studies / Theological Studies*, 67(3), p. 7)

¹⁸¹ (Organic city, book, p.8)

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