

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

FACULTY OF THEOLOGY

DEPARTMENT OF NEW TESTAMENT STUDIES

TITLE

**SOCIAL IDENTITY COMPLEXITY AND
CONFLICT-RESOLUTION IN LUKE AND
ZIMBABWE**

STUDENT: TOBIAS MAREVESA

STUDENT NUMBER: 18301942

SUPERVISOR: Dr ZORODZAI DUBE

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my late parents, Prazeny and Jesinita. I wish you were still alive to witness this academic feat.

Acknowledgements

I am thankful to several people who made this project a success.

First, I am thankful to my supervisor Dr Zorodzai Dube for his meticulous, vital academic supervision and guidance towards the successful completion of this thesis. Dr Dube's critical scholarly supervision throughout this academic journey helped me to keep my eyes on the ball.

Second, I am also grateful to the Department of New Testament Studies of the University of Pretoria for the financial assistance, without which I could not have completed my studies.

Third, I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation to my wife, Kanganwiro, for her inspiration, moral and spiritual support. In spite of her ill-health towards the end my studies, she kept encouraging me to soldier on to the bitter end.

Fourth, I would like acknowledge the support that I got from my two children, Lisa and Walter. On countless occasions they kept me company during the time I had sleepless nights that characterised my academic Odyssey.

Fifth, many thanks go to Dr T. Moyo and Mr J. Moyo for editing this thesis.

Sixth, I am thankful to Great Zimbabwe University for giving me opportunities to consult with my Supervisor.

Seventh, am forever grateful to God Almighty, who gave me power and strength to pull through my studies.

Abstract

This study uses social identity complexity theory to investigate complexity of identity in Luke with focus on Luke 15 to determine how Luke solved social conflict. The discussion from Luke is used as analogical or comparative discussion to solve complexity of identity in Zimbabwe that has led to political violence and economic stagnation and the conflict-resolution in Acts 15 and the Global Political Agreement in Zimbabwe. It is the purpose of this research to identify the overlap and complexity identities within the early Christianities especially in Luke's community and to make a possible reconstruction of new identity formation within the context of Zimbabwe using kerygmatic strategies of conflict-resolution of the first century church in Acts 15. The social identity complexity as a theoretical framework of this research helped to shed light on the conflict in Luke's community and to analyse data. Acts 15 has been taken as a case study to give some insights in the conflict in the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15) on how social identity complexity helped in bringing in reconciliation to characters such as Peter and Paul. The factors that provoked conflict in the first century church of the Jerusalem Council has been explored. The research argues that there are kerygmatic strategies of conflict-resolution of the first century church in Acts 15, which can be read alongside the Zimbabwean political situation. The study establishes that there is need to bring warring parties on the negotiating table where issues pertaining to careful debate, willingness to compromise, respect for others, and giving up one's interest are emphasised whenever there is a political or social impasse.

List of Abbreviations

Acc	Accusative
AD	<i>Anno Domini</i>
Adj	Adjective
AfDB	African Development Bank
AIPPA	Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act
ANE	Ancient Near East
ATR	African Traditional Religion
AU	African Union
BCE	Before Common Era
BSAC	British South African Company
CCJP	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe
CE	Common Era
CPCA	Anglican Church of Province of Central Africa
Dat	Dative
EFZ	Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
EU	European Union
Fem	Feminine
Gen	Genitive
GNU	Government of National Unity
GPA	Global Political Agreement
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus and Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IMF	International Monetary Fund
Ind	Indicative
JC	Jerusalem Council
JOMIC	Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee
LXX	Septuagint
Masc	Masculine
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change

MDC- A	Movement for Democratic Change -Alliance
MDC-M	Movement for Democratic Change – Mutambara
MDC-T	Movement for Democratic Change –Tsvangirai
MHFC	Matebeleland Highlanders Football Club
MT	Masoretic Text
MU	Mashonaland United
NANGO	National Association of Non-Governmental Organization
Neut	Neuter
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIV	New International Version
NKJV	New King James Version
Nom	Nominative
NT	New Testament
OAU	Organization of African Union
ONHRI	Organ on National Healing and Reconciliation Initiatives
OT	Old Testament
Pass	Passive
Perf	Perfect
PF ZAPU	Patriotic Front – Zimbabwe African People’s Union
PL	Plural
POSA	Public Order and Security Act
RBZ	Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SA	South Africa
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SCT	Self- Categorised Theory
SIA	Social Identity Approach
SIC	Social Identity Complexity
Sing	Singular
SIT	Social Identity Theory

UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USA	United States of America
USD	United States Dollars
WB	World Bank
WEF	World Economic Forum
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front
ZBC	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation
ZCBC	Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops’ Conference
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
ZEC	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission
ZIDERA	Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People’s Revolutionary Army
ZNA	Zimbabwe National Army

Table of contents

Dedication	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	iv
List of Abbreviations	v
Chapter 1: Introduction of the Study	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 The problem/significance of study	1
1.2 Motivation	3
1.3 The research gap and thesis.....	6
1.4 Literature Review	8
1.4.1 Social Scientific Perspectives Traced	8
1.4.2 Deviant Perspective	11
1.4.3 Social Identity Approach Perspective.....	11
1.4.4 Identity and Narrative Process Perspective	12
1.4.5 Social Conflict Perspectives	14
1.4.6 Canonical Conversation Perspective	16
1.4.7 Legitimacy of Gentile Inclusion Perspective.....	18
1.4.8 Related Doctoral Theses	19
1.4.9 Historiography of Acts and Galatians Perspective	20
1.5 Complementing Theoretical Perspective	25
1.5.1 Historical Critical Method (form and redaction criticism).....	25
1.6 Theoretical Perspective: Social Identity Complexity.....	26
1.7 Conclusion.....	26
Chapter Two: Theoretical Perspective: Social Identity Complexity	28
2.0 Introduction	28
2.1 Social Identity Theory	28
2.2 Self-categorisation.....	30
2.3 Social Identity Complexity Theory	32
2.4 Multiple crosscutting group memberships	33
2.5 Background and results of social identity complexity	34
2.5 Multiple in-group memberships: objective vs. subjective representation.....	37
2.5.1 Intersection	38
2.5.2 Dominance.....	39

2.5.3 Compartmentalisation.....	41
2.5.4 Merger	42
2.6 Complexity: Group features and group membership	46
2.7 Tolerance.....	47
2.8 Conclusion.....	48
Chapter 3: Luke’s Community: location, and Identity Complexity	49
3.0 introduction	49
3.1 Location of the community of Luke.....	49
3.1.1 Ephesus.....	49
3.1.2 Corinth.....	53
3.1.3 Antioch	55
3.1.4 Significance of Antioch.....	58
3.2. Date(s).....	60
3.2.1. The early date (60s CE).....	60
3.2.2. Intermediate date (80-90 CE)	60
3.2.3. Late date (110-150 CE)	61
3.3 Background: The Jewish-Gentile identification.....	62
3.4 Identity Complexity in Luke’s Community	64
3.4.1 Hellenistic/Gentile Community.....	65
3.4.2 The God-Fearers	68
3.4.3 Jewish Christians	70
3.5 Social Issues in Luke’s Community: Material Possession as boundary maker	71
3.6 Conclusion.....	74
Chapter 4: Historiography and Social Identity Complexity in Acts 15	75
4.0 Introduction	75
4.1 The Literary Structure of Acts 15	75
4.1.1 Acts 1-5: The Earliest Stage of the Primitive Church	76
4.1.2 Acts 6-7 The Jewish Christian Hellenists.....	76
4.1.3 Acts 8-9, Samaria and Periphery Circle	77
4.1.4 Acts 10-12, The conversion of Gentiles into the Church	78
4.1.5 Acts 13-14, Paul’s First Missionary Journey.....	79
4.2 Reconstructing Events of Acts 15 from Social identity Complexity (SIC)	80
4.2.1 Compartmentalised Identities: Acts 15: 1-5	80
4.2.2 Merger Identities: Acts 15:6-21.....	87
4.2.3 Intersectionality Identities	102

4.2.4 Dominant Identities	108
4.3 Luke’s historiography and search for alternative Social Identity	112
4.4 Conclusion.....	115
Chapter 5 Social Identity Complexity and the Political Situation in Zimbabwe.....	117
5.0 Introduction	117
5.1 Background of Political Identities in Zimbabwe	117
5.2 Ethnic Identities in Zimbabwe	120
5.2.1 Ethnic Identities before the Colonial Era in Zimbabwe	120
5.2.2 Ethnic Identities in the Colonial Zimbabwe	121
5.3 Compartmentalisation in Zimbabwean Politics	124
5.4 ZANU PF and MDC Intersectionality	133
5.5 Identities in the New Dispensation in Zimbabwe	135
5.6 Emerging Inclusive Identities that go beyond Ethnic and Political boundaries: The birth of GPA.....	139
5.6.1 Emerging Inclusive Identities: Resolution with Compromise.....	142
5.7 Initiatives towards Political Inclusiveness in Zimbabwe.	144
5.7.1 The GPA- Organ on National Healing, Reconciliation, and Integration.....	145
5.7.2 Civil Society Organisations	146
5.7.3 The Church	147
5.7.4 The Traditional Leadership	149
5.7.5 The Shona Religion and Customs	150
5.7.6 Academics	151
5.8 Conclusion.....	151
Chapter 6 Conclusion: Transcending Boundaries.....	153
6.0 Introduction	153
6.1 A Critical Reflection of Luke and Zimbabwe’s experiences	153
6.2 Jan Assmann’s theory on memory and symbols of inclusivity.....	154
6.3 What is it to be inclusive and what symbols build inclusivity in the community of Luke and that of Zimbabwe?.....	156
6.4 Luke and Zimbabwe searching for alternative social identities.....	157
7.0 References.....	161

Chapter 1: Introduction of the Study

1.0 Introduction

The study aims at investigating the use of social identity complexity of identities in Acts, with special focus on Acts 15 to determine how Luke resolved the social tension as basis for discussion regarding social cohesion in Zimbabwe. The complexity of identities in Luke was an ideal context for conflict and even violence. Such a context, and how Luke addresses it, could provide analogical lessons for dealing with a context where ethnic identities are potential closets for tension and violence. This study is informed by the social identity complexity theory in an attempt to unravel ethnic conflict in Luke and how he (Luke) resolved the conflict. The ultimate goal was to draw parallels with the polarized Zimbabwean context in order to contribute towards discourses of national reconciliation through inclusivity.

This chapter explores perspectives in the discussion about the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15). Views from different scholars and positions are reviewed and analysed and in the process, highlighting various interpretations and emphases. The chapter also focuses on the hypothesis of the whole thesis by paying special attention to issues of the significance of the study, research questions, hypothesis, research gaps and thesis. This chapter therefore puts the reader into perspective by introducing the whole thesis.

1.1 The problem/significance of study

The study uses social identity complexity theory to explore identity complexity in Luke (Acts 15:1-35, hereafter Acts 15) as a resource from which to draw analogical lessons regarding ways of dealing with ethnic conflict in Zimbabwe. Luke's community is one of the several

early Hellenistic Christian communities that experienced ethnic conflict. The study explores the overlap and complex identities within Luke's community and to investigate how Luke dealt with such ethnic conflict (Acts 15). Acts 15 is taken as a case study to give some insights into the conflict in the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15) on how social identity complexity may help in bringing reconciliation to ethnic identities represented by Peter and Paul. The study has two major contributions: First, using interdisciplinary theories –social identity complexity, the study seeks to demonstrate the usefulness of such theory in revealing identity complexity in early Christian communities. Second, through revealing the ethnic conflicts within Luke's community, study brings out analogue tools in discussing about ethnic tension in Zimbabwe.

1.2 Aim and Objectives

With reference to Acts 15, this study utilises the social identity complexity theory to examine ethnic conflict with a view to open up discussion regarding ethnic conflict in the Zimbabwean context. The following are the objectives:

- a) To test the usefulness of the social identity complexity theory as a tool to explore identity complexity in Luke's community
- b) To identify social group and social categories in Luke's community
- c) To explore how Luke addressed the issue of ethnic tension
- d) To trace the main issue and aspects of ethnic and political tension in Zimbabwe
- e) To use Luke's narrative as comparative discussion platform upon which to discuss about ethnic and political tension in Zimbabwe and possible solution.

1.2 Motivation

The question of the relationship between religion and politics has been a controversial issue from time immemorial. The issue has brought so many divisions and conflicts among religious groups the world over. It is against this background that this research investigates the conflict in the community of Luke (Acts 15) with the lenses of social identity complexity. The principles of conflict resolution from the community of Luke are applied to the Zimbabwean political landscape. The aim of this research is, therefore, to investigate the social identity complexity and conflict-resolution in Luke (Acts 15) and the politics in Zimbabwe. It is also the purpose of this study to identify the overlap and complex identities within the early Christianities, especially in Luke's community, and to make a possible reconstruction of new identity formation within the context of Zimbabwe using kerygmatic strategies of conflict-resolution of the first century Church in Acts 15. Underpinning the research impetus were the following overarching questions:

- What are the overlaps in complexity identities within the early Christianities in Luke's community?
- Which are Luke's discursive approaches in conflicting identities through reidentification and naming such as 'Christians' and 'people of the way'?
- How can we construct new identity formation within the context of Zimbabwe using Luke's lenses?
- How is the conflict-resolution in Luke (Acts 15) related to the political situation in Zimbabwe? These are the questions which this research sought to answer.

The Bible can be read using the lenses of social identity complexity in conflict-resolution in the contemporary world. The hypothesis of this study is that Luke, in his community (Acts

15), provides analogical resource or narrative which deals with a context where there are ethnic tensions and, in some cases, violence. The way Luke resolved the conflict in Acts 15 provides the basis for discussing political and ethnic conflict in Zimbabwe. In the community of Luke, there was conflict between social categories which were the Jews, Gentiles and Christians, and the conflict went on until the Council of Jerusalem in Acts 15 where it was resolved. The crossing of social boundaries among social groups caused conflicts. At the Jerusalem Council, James was the chairperson of the Council and leader of the Jerusalem Church (Acts 15:19; Dunn, 2006:240). What is evident in Acts 15 are the two resolutions which were made at the Jerusalem Council in the context of conflict-resolution: first, the issue of Jewish Christians demanding that Gentile Christians should be circumcised and observe the Law of Moses in order to be saved (Acts 15; De Villiers, 2013: 144; Mahan, 2013: 43; Bock, 2007:15). The resolution of the conflict at the Council was made possible because of the presentation of Peter's experience with Cornelius in Acts 15, and Paul and Barnabas' testimonies of their mission to the Gentiles. The judgement that the Council made that Gentiles should be accepted into the Christian community, on condition that they observe the stipulations of the Apostolic decree, was instrumental in the conflict-resolution between Jewish and Gentile Christians. The Apostolic decree was a legal document which was meant to be a code of conduct for both the Jewish and Gentile Christians (Achte-meier, 1987: 83). The second decision was based on four prohibitions in the Apostolic decree (Story, 2010:40) namely; refraining from (a) things polluted by idols, (b) fornication, (c) what is strangled, and (d) blood (Acts 15: 20). Luke, the author of Luke-Acts, purported that the conflict between Jewish and Gentile Christians was resolved, but this is investigated as the conflict was never concluded. The study becomes important in that it examines and analyses whether the conflict between the Jews and Gentiles was resolved at the Council of Jerusalem in Acts 15.

It is in this context of conflict-resolution (in Luke) at the Jerusalem Council that the researcher became interested in reading Luke's community (Acts 15) with the lenses of social identity complexity in a bid to draw parallels with the Zimbabwean political situation. In Zimbabwe, from the 1990s, the political and economic situation deteriorated sharply because of the conflict which was between the ruling party; that is, the Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front) (hereafter ZANU PF) and opposition parties (Raftopoulos, 2013: 68). This resulted in hyper-inflation, retrenchment of workers (Muzondidya, 2013: 85), the adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) (Mlambo, 1997:47), food riots, and violence against opposition political parties during elections (Kanyenze, 2004:69). These foregoing issues motivated the researcher to find out more on the conflict spiralling in Zimbabwe. The situation worsened in 2008 because of hyper-inflation, unemployment, and shortage of food. In light of this crisis, Sachikonye's (2004:10) advocacy for a dialogue between all political parties in order to avert the political impasse becomes significant in trying to resolve conflict.

1.3 The research gap and thesis

This thesis argues that there are few researches which have utilised interdisciplinary social sciences perspectives such as social identity complexity theory which investigates the complexity identities within early Christianities. The early Christian writer, instead of presenting the story of Jesus in the formation of Christian communities, deals with internal ethnic conflict. This study investigates social identity complexity in Luke as a lesson to tackle ethnic and political tension or violence in Zimbabwe.

The construct of social identity complexity, as conceived by several scholars (Sufei, Ziqiang, and Chongde 2015; Kok 2014; Schmid, Hewstone, and Al Ramiah 2013; Crisp, Turner, and Hewstone 2010; Schmid et al.2009; Dube 2009; Cromhout 2009; Kirk 2005; Roccas and Brewer 2002; Hebdige 2000), is used in this study as a tool to identify the overlapping and complex identity within the early Christianities that can be utilised to interpret the historical setting and issues of the first century Christianity and those of Zimbabwe.

The community of Luke, through the Book of Acts, shows the stages of development in the growth of early Christianity (Haenchen, 1985 446; Scott, 1997: 205). In Luke-Acts, there is a rapid movement of the gospel to different places and cultures, and how this escalated conflicts and debates between Jewish and Gentile Christians. These disputes between Jewish and Gentile Christians, in the community of Luke, can be reduced to issues of ritual, political, and ethnic practices (Elmer, 2006: 7; Dibelius, 2004: 66; Scott, 1997:205).

Although the community of Luke and Jerusalem Council in Acts has received considerable attention in Luke-Acts scholarship, there is no evidence of studies that focus on the social identity complexity and conflict-resolution in Luke (the Jerusalem Council) and the

Zimbabwean political situation. However, De Villiers (2013:145), in his article, *Communal discernment in the Early Church*, made some important contributions that this research utilises. His contribution can be summarised as showing that the success of conflict-resolution was the result of careful debate, respect for others, listening with an open mind, willingness to compromise, giving up one's interest, and willingness to allow others into one's safe haven. This research makes a unique contribution to the research on Luke-Acts by applying social identity complexity theory to the Jerusalem Council and the Zimbabwean political situation.

Studies such as those cited above have all examined Luke's community in different ways. They each make a significant impact on the understanding of the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15. However, the examination of the existing research on Luke-Acts is not exhaustive. The recent monographs of Bauckham (2005) and Bockmuehl (2000); doctoral theses by Savelle (2013) and Moulton (1999) and commentaries from Brown (2013); Pervo (2006); Dibelius (2004); Witherington (1998) and Haenchen (1985), consulted here, give this research adequate ground to argue that previous studies have not provided a comprehensive analysis of the community of Luke (Acts 15). These studies can be beneficial to this research in that the speeches of Peter, Paul and Barnabas, and the leadership of James are useful as background information to the study.

The Zimbabwean conflict mainly involved three political parties, namely: ZANU PF under Robert Mugabe; the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC-T) under Morgan Tsvangirai; and the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC-M) under Arthur Mutambara. The conflict resulted in the signing of the Global Political Agreement on 15 September 2008, by Mugabe,

Tsvangirai and Mutambara as a power-sharing government document (Chipaike, 2013:17). Scholars such as Raftopoulos (2013: xvi); Raftopoulos (2009: 222); Muzondidya (2009: 188); and Chung (2004: 243), among others, undertook significant research on the GPA in Zimbabwe. However, these researchers have done research on the GPA from a purely political perspective. This thesis seeks to make a social identity complexity analysis of conflict-resolution from the strategies from Luke (Acts 15). It is, therefore, the purpose of this research to use social identity complexity to explore the intersections and complexities of the early church in Luke and try to construct new identity formation that can enlighten the conflict-resolution process of the political situation in Zimbabwe.

1.4 Literature Review

The focus of this history of research is to review literature that focuses mainly on studies that relates to the community of Luke, especially Acts chapter Acts 15. Views from different scholars and perspectives are reviewed and analysed showing research gaps and each cited study's relevance to the community of Luke (Acts 15) and the political context of conflict-resolution in Zimbabwe. The review traces the development of conflict between Jewish Christianity and non-Jewish from the time of Baur (1878) up to the contemporary period. This review takes into consideration the use of social scientific models in the interpretation of New Testament studies. The history o does not claim to review all the literature related to the community of Luke (Acts 15) and the political landscape in Zimbabwe, but is representative of the contribution to the development of conflict in the Christian and non-Christian communities.

1.4.1 Social Scientific Perspectives Traced

This research traces the trajectories in conflict in the early Christian identity formation and

how it was examined and studied in the past decades. The work of Baur (1878) is significant because it gives a good background to this research. Baur (1878) unpacks the fact that the early church was characterised by conflict based on ethnic lines between a Judean (Petrine) group and a non-Judean (Pauline) group. The conflict which took place in the early Church should be understood as a process of identity formation among the Christ movement. According to Baur (1878), identity should be perceived as ethnicity and ethnic boundaries made between groups. Circumcision and regulations concerning meals were ethnic identity markers which were the major source of conflict among the two ethnic groups. Baur (1878) argues that the split of these two groups started when there was a conflict between Hellenists and Hebrews that resulted in the execution of Stephen. According to Baur (1878), the conflict between Hellenists and Hebrews escalated on ethnic grounds; particularly on purity regulations, namely, temple, meals and circumcision. This is evidenced by the tension in Acts 10-11 where Judeans were eating with non-Judeans while Acts 15 highlights a conflict based on circumcision.

The views of Baur created a lot of debate. For instance, Baumgarten (1854) criticised Baur for not considering the social implications for Jews leaving their identity as adherents of Judean religion. He also argued that Paul's demands that Jews should abandon their identity as Judeans was not feasible and suggested, instead, that he could have been inclusive in his approach. Baumgarten (1854) further contends that the question of either rejecting or embracing some ethnic customs was not the major issue, but the social implication may have been paramount in this paradigm shift. Ritschl (1857) responded by criticising Baur and arguing that he (Baur) failed to identify more diversity in both Judean and non-Judean Christianity. Ritschl (1857) proposes that Baur's way of looking at the whole issue was too simplistic and complex. It was simplistic because he failed to see diversity in both ethnic

groups, and complex in that he (Baur) could not bring unity within the apostolic Christianity.

A recent scholar (Campbell, 2006:16) notes that Baur “contributed enormously to the tendency in the Paulinism of the last century and a half to denigrate the image of Judaism in the New Testament.” The idea was to show the negativity of Judaism over, and against, Judean Christianity. Accordingly, this view fuelled conflict between Judean and non-Judean Christianity. The conflict culminated at the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15. In addition, Kelley (2002:76) notes that:

For Baur, Christianity, despite its origins in the East, is the Western religion. Consequently, his task is to define the essence of Christianity by purging it of anything that smacks of Judaism or Orient, of nationalism, legalism, and particularism.

This point of view, corroborated by the research of Weber (1897), is buttressed by Campbell, argues that “...the long-term effect of depicting Judaism in a negative light” (2006:16) was questioned by the majority of scholars such as Moore (1927). That the negativity of Judaism came to the fore due to Baur’s contribution is however disputed by Moore (1927) who identified the negative shift concerning Judaism and proposed his own reconstruction. This perspective was re-examined by Sanders (1977:84) who, “...examined the prevailing view of Paul as opposed to anything Judean in relation to the Reformation hermeneutics of Luther”. The fact that Paul was misunderstood as a representation of Judaism drawn from his writings might be historically incorrect. In Paul’s writings, he seems to portray Judaism as a legalistic system where salvation is earned through good works. However, Dunn (1990:187) criticised Sanders’ depiction of Paul as ‘only a little better than the one rejected’. In as much as Sanders (1997) accepted Paul’s Judean ethnic identity, he argued that he forsook this identity in preferring being ‘in Christ’. On the other hand, Dunn (1990) posits that Paul did not abandon his ethnic identity and he did not criticise the Law. In the same vein, Dunn (1990) maintained that Paul was concerned by the misuse of the Law which formed social barriers such as ‘the

works of the law' and he preserved an exclusive ethnic purity.

1.4.2 Deviant Perspective

This discussion of the relationship between Paul and Judaism is important to this research because the study of Paul, in relation to Judaism, leads to the element of early Christian identity. This perspective has sparked further research between early Christianity and the Hellenistic context. The other segment reviewed is the social location and social development in early Christian identity. The major scholars who did substantial research on the social location and social development are Judge (2008) and Kee (1980). Their research focused much on describing the social circumstances in which Christianity developed. These scholars realized that to understand identity formation was more than knowing ethnic boundaries and diversity. It is against this background that many scholars, such as Sanders (1993) and Esler (1998), began to utilize different models and perspectives from social psychology, anthropology, culture, among others, to analyse the New Testament. In his book, *Schismatics, Sectarians, Dissidents, Deviants*, Sanders (1993) employed deviant theory to analyse the connection or relationship between Jews and Christ-followers around 135 CE. Sanders (1993:133) uses the lens of deviant theory to posit that, "...the control of deviance is a form of boundary maintenance brought on by external or internal changes that cause an identity crisis." In his research, he concluded that the majority of Judeans removed deviant Christians so that they could safeguard their social boundaries. It could be interesting to note that if there were mainstream Christ-followers, they could, as well, have ordered deviant Judeans out of their social group because they might not have accepted their message.

1.4.3 Social Identity Approach Perspective

The momentous scholar of our day is Esler (1998) who is the precursor of using social

identity approach (SIA) in the interpretation of New Testament studies. According to Baker (2011:232), “[t]he social identity approach involves social differentiation based on group membership and includes consideration of salient group norm, boundaries, and rituals.” Esler (1998) used a number of elements of this approach to study Galatians, Romans, and the Gospel of John. When Esler (1998) studied Galatians, he focussed on intergroup dynamics and the differences were between in-group and out-group members. He proposed that Paul’s primary aim in Galatians was to form and sustain the identity of the Christ-following group. The Christ-following group that Paul addressed comprised of both Judeans and non-Judeans. The identity was to be formed by making boundaries of these groups. His teaching was not more of Christian freedom, but on group identity that draws boundaries between Judean out-groups and his in-group readers.

Esler (2003) also studied Romans in a different way to that he did to Galatians. In his approach to Romans, he focussed on intragroup dynamics and the growth of a broad in-group identity. Esler (2003) argued that there was a deep-rooted conflict within the Roman congregations between the Judeans and non-Judeans Christ-followers after the former went back to Rome following the proclamation of Claudius. Paul, in Romans, tried to construct a common in-group identity between the two social groups who were in that community. The major aim was to create a broader scope of a Christian group identity, including both social groups (Baker, 2011).

1.4.4 Identity and Narrative Process Perspective

In their recent study of the Gospel of John, Esler and Piper (2006) made a paradigm shift in their study from identity and social processes to identity and the narrative process. The approach that Esler and Piper (2006) used emphasised how audiences and texts relate to each

other to form identity. Esler and Piper (2006) argued, in their research, that the stories of Lazarus, Martha and Mary, act as prototypes of the Christ-followers. With this kind of study, one is persuaded to enter into the domain of characterisation in the Gospel of John. The two scholars (Esler and Piper) managed to combine the prototypicality (an element of SIA) and narrative theory.

Another scholar, Marolh (2008), also used SIA, when he analysed the epistle to the Hebrews, with the aim of establishing its addressees and purpose. He propounds that the addressees perceived themselves as a separate social group by the use of ‘us’ and ‘them’ right through the epistle. In addition, he pointed out that the author of the epistle was able to connect to both in-group (‘us’) and out-group (‘them’) to faith. The in-group (‘us’) are the faithful while the out-group (‘them’) are the unfaithful. Marolh analysed and compared the persons of Moses and Jesus in relation to a ‘shared life story and prototypicality’ (2008:78). He concluded that the writer of Hebrews was able to incorporate the audience and Jesus into a narrative whereby Jesus’ prototypical of Moses ‘shared common identity’, which is faithfulness. Marolh (2008) concluded that the purpose of Hebrews could be comprehended in terms of social action responding to the problem of the audience’s shared negative social identity.

The reviewed literature, up to this point, reveals that social-scientific models, specifically the SIA are useful in analysing the conflict processes in early Christian identity formation. However, this thesis wants to go a step further by utilising social identity complexity in examining the conflict in the community of Luke and applying it to the political situation in Zimbabwe. It is important, at this juncture, to review literature that focuses on the community

of Luke.

1.4.5 Social Conflict Perspectives

1.4.5.1 Harmony Perspective

The Jerusalem Council could be understood as a model of a Spirit-led community in the understanding of the text. This theory tries to draw some lessons from the Jerusalem Council in the context of the hermeneutical process. The scholars who subscribe to this view are Bockmuehl (2000:81); Green and Turner (2000:108). According to this view, the Jerusalem Council is a model of how the Spirit directs Christian communities in the interpretation and application of a text in the contemporary world. According to Arrington (1988:388), Acts 15 illustrates an “interplay of the text, experience, Pentecostal tradition, and reason under the direction of the Spirit” that gives a significant hermeneutical design. This theory is important to this research because it is the Spirit which creates a number of spiritual experiences that impact on the decision at the Jerusalem Council, such as the conversions of Gentiles (the signs and wonders done among them and the outpouring of the Spirit on Cornelius). It is the same spirit that then directed James’s selection of a text (Amos 9:11-12) that supported the inclusion of the Gentiles in the Christian community without circumcision (Thomas, 1994:41; Green and Turner, 2000:108). However, it can be argued that how the Spirit directs the Jerusalem Council through the text needs a closer examination, especially directing the Jerusalem Council to one specific type of Old Testament text (Amos 9:11-12). What can be questioned about Thomas’ (1994:42) theory is the time of the Jerusalem Council and its context in terms of its historical flow. Can the same context of the first century be successfully applied to the contemporary situation? The Jerusalem Council took place fifteen to twenty years after the death and resurrection of Jesus (Wiarda, 2003:237). This research would want to suggest that the first century context of the Jerusalem Council may provide

principles that can be applied to today's world, precisely to the Zimbabwean political landscape.

1.4.5.2 Progressive Revelation Perspective

The Jerusalem Council can be understood as a pattern for theological decision-making, based on a concept of progressive revelation. This view has been advanced by Smith (1993:215) who argued that time and progress was the major driving factors in the early Church's ruling with respect to circumcision. In addition, Smith (1993:242) went on to describe the Jerusalem Council in the process of developing his case for using feminine language for God in worship in churches. In his argument, the decision made by the Council, concerning circumcision, parallels the decision that some churches of today have made to introduce feminine language for God. Smith's (1993:242) position is based on his concept of progressive revelation. He argued that in the past, God's revelation concerning the law was replaced by the new revelation at the time of the Jerusalem Council. Similarly, the old revelation that exclusively used male language for God should be removed to pave way for feminine aspects of God. Smith's (1993:242) view is not very clear in that it does not specify where the feminine aspect comes in to the Jerusalem Council. While it may be accepted that there could be progressive revelation, it is difficult to link it with the coming in of the female face. Smith's (1993:242) theory could be simplistic and narrow in that one aspect of the Jerusalem Council episode could have been replaced by something new. This thesis argues that there are more important issues which were dealt with at the Jerusalem Council than what Smith purports to say. It can be argued that what was important at the Jerusalem Council was God's purpose for Gentiles to get salvation without circumcision.

The two perspectives presented above basically discuss the role and importance of the Holy Spirit as a pattern of conflict-resolution on the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15. Different scholars such as De Villiers (2013:132); Story (2010:37); Tyson (2008:110); Bockmuehl (2000:81); Green and Turner (2000:108); Smith (1993:215) approached the Jerusalem Council from different angles, but pointing to the same direction. For instance, De Villiers (2013:132) stressed the concept of community discernment of the will of God as a very important ingredient of conflict-resolution at the Jerusalem Council. This is related to what Smith (1993:215) suggested, that the decision-making done at the Jerusalem Council was an act of progressive revelation. De Villiers' (2013:132) discernment of God's will and Smith's (1993:215) progressive revelation are similar in that both need faith and the Holy Spirit for them to take place. Both discernment of God's will and progressive revelation facilitated the resolution of the conflict at the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15 in a similar way. Story's (2010:37) approach to the Jerusalem Council can be summarised as (1) conflict, (2) resolution, and (3) advance of the Christian message. This characterisation is comparable to that of Tyson (2008:110) who proposes that the process of the Jerusalem Council could be shortened as (1) peace, (2) threat, (3) resolution, and (4) restoration. Story's (p 37) "advance" is almost the same as Tyson's (p 110) "restoration." Bockmuehl (2000:81); Green and Turner (2000:108) seem to be slightly drifting away from the said views by arguing that the Jerusalem Council should be seen as a model that shows how the Holy Spirit directed the Council in the interpretation and application of the text in the contemporary world such as the political situation in Zimbabwe.

1.4.6 Canonical Conversation Perspective

Wall (2000:165) proposed that the Jerusalem Council could be an example of canonical conversation. Wall (2000:166) explores a new approach of understanding the Jerusalem

Council from the perspective of “canonical conversation.” This theory highlights the concept of “canonical conversation” in relation to the Jerusalem Council and the proceedings that surrounded it, hence the construct of “Intercanonical conversation.” By canonical conversation, Wall (2000:165) refers to the plurality in interpretation within the New Testament and the disagreements reflected in it. The New Testament writers engage in internal debates characterised by agreements and disagreements in interpretation. One would ask, how would the Jerusalem Council come in as a model? According to Wall (2000:180), the debates among the apostles found in Acts 15 show a model or pattern that is prevalent in the New Testament for interpretational diversity. Wall (2000:182) further proffers that due to the fact that there were debates among the delegates at the conference, it also follows that there is debate among New Testament writers. This kind of unresolved conversation gives a model for today’s contemporary issues such as Zimbabwe’s political problems.

However, one may question the authenticity of the link between the Jerusalem Council and the canonical conversation which Wall (2000:165) suggests centred on the “disagreements” and “unresolved debate.” It can further be asked if the narrative in Acts 15 is about disagreements and agreements based on interpretation of the text or not. There were debates before and during the Council, but the account seems to show signs of a growing consensus (Savelle, 2004:450). The consensus implies a “win-win” decision for both groups; that means each voice was heard and duly respected. Consensus is seen in Acts 15:5, “So we all agreed.” The contribution of Savelle is relevant and useful to this research in that it articulates and emphasizes unanimity of Jewish and Gentile Christians (Savelle, 2004:451). This is so because we are told that the whole council becomes silent when Paul and Barnabas were presenting their experiences among the Gentiles (Acts 15:12). James also referred to Peter’s speech supporting what he had said and, so, showing signs of resolving the conflict by a

declaration of the decree. It can, therefore, be argued that the Jerusalem Council can be used as a possible model for conflict-resolution in Zimbabwe.

1.4.7 Legitimacy of Gentile Inclusion Perspective

Talbert (1997:136) studied Acts 15, highlighting the legitimacy of Gentile inclusion into the Christian community. He argues, “[L]uke’s first panel prepares the reader for the theological and practical issues raised in the Jerusalem Council” (Talbert, 1997:137). In addition, he traced the incidents in which the Gentiles were accepted into the Church from the Day of Pentecost (Acts 2:5-12), the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts 8:26-40), Paul’s mission to the Gentiles (Acts 9:15) and Cornelius’ conversion (Acts 10:1-11:18) which is important for Acts 15. Talbert (1997:138) observes that “the extension of the gospel to the Gentiles is followed by the episode of Jerusalem approval.” The first chapters of the book of Acts were carefully crafted by Luke to prepare his readers to look at the important decision of the Council. This resonates with Conzelmann’s (1987:115) reference to the Jerusalem Council as “the greatest turning point, the transition from the primitive church to the Jesus movement.” Conflict was brewing from the introductory chapters of Acts until this very important Council (Acts 15). Dunn (2009:195) also notes that “[L]uke had already prepared the ground to deal with this potential crisis.” Talbert (1997:140) concluded that the issue of the Gentile-inclusion was very important for both the Antiochene Church and the apostles in Jerusalem in as far as the resolution of the problem and communicating it was concerned.

Achtemeier (1987:11) argued that the events leading to the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15) could be traced from Acts 11 which he refers to as the first conference where Peter had an encounter with Cornelius and the visions he experienced which pointed to the acceptance of

the Gentiles without restrictions. Cornelius was converted to Jewish Christianity without being circumcised according to the Jewish tradition. The circumcision party accused Peter of not observing the Jewish customs when dealing with non-Jews, especially when he had table fellowship with Gentiles (Achte-meier, 1987:13). What is significant at the conference of Acts 11 is that Peter played a pivotal role and an agreement was reached in that there were to be no restrictions to the Gentile converts to be accepted into Jewish Christianity.

The second conference, according to Acts 15, resulted in the statement made by “some who came down from Judea” to Antioch instructing people that if they did not observe the Mosaic customs they would not be saved (Achte-meier, 1987:14). A delegation that included Paul and Barnabas was sent to Jerusalem to discuss the issue. When they reached Jerusalem, they faced resistance from traditionalists who argued that circumcision and the Law of Moses were necessary conditions for Gentiles to be accepted in the early Church.

1.4.8 Related Doctoral Theses

There are two PhD theses related to this study. The first one was done by Savelle Jr (2013) who researched on: *‘The Jerusalem Council and the Lukan perspective of the law in Acts.’* His thesis focused on the Jerusalem Council incident in Acts 15 as giving a significant literary and dogmatic understanding of Luke’s perception of the Mosaic Law. He established that this point of view demonstrated to be disjointed concerning the connection of the Mosaic Law to a Christian. This research is related to Savelle’s thesis in that it also looked at the Jerusalem Council as a starting point. However, this thesis focuses on a possible application of the Jerusalem Council as a model to the Zimbabwean political environment.

Moulton (1999) wrote the second thesis titled: *'The use of the Davidic Covenant in Acts 15*. The thesis focused on the debate between classic and progressive dispensationalism, centred on the use of the Davidic Covenant as used in 2 Samuel 7, Amos 9 and Acts 15. He argues that classic dispensationalism is the restoration of the collapsed tabernacle of David that denotes the renewal of Israel in the millennial kingdom only. Progressive dispensationalism refers to the Davidic assurance in two ways: (1) partly in the church, and (2) in the millennial kingdom. Moulton (1999) supports the classic dispensationalism by arguing that the Davidic Covenant was not changed in Amos 9 and Acts 15 and that Jesus Christ was not seated on a divine Davidic seat but on His Fathers' throne. This thesis focused on the words borrowed by James from Amos 9 when he declared the decree. This research is different from Moulton's because it explores conflict-resolution on the Jerusalem Council in relation to the political situation in Zimbabwe while Moulton (1999) deals with the dispensationalism debate. Moulton's thesis is useful to this research because it is used as background information to the study.

1.4.9 Historiography of Acts and Galatians Perspective

In studying the Jerusalem Council, some scholars such as Bock (2007:486); Jervell (1998:486), have been interested in whether the Council took place in Jerusalem or it was Luke's creation. The issue of the historicity of the Jerusalem Council is a subject of much discussion in the Luke-Acts scholarship. There are various perspectives suggested by different scholars such as Jervell (1998:486) on whether the Jerusalem Council occurred or not. Witherington (1998:90) has rightly argued that it is difficult, in the New Testament, to discuss the relationship between Galatians 2 and Acts 11:30; 12:35 and 15. It is important to link the passages indicated above because they are the basis for either accepting or repudiating the Council's historicity. Bock (2007:486); Jervell (1998:403) are of the view

that technically, the Jerusalem Council should be called a consultation. Their argument is that it is not a Council because the meeting was engaging ecclesiastical issues as well as apostles and the Jerusalem congregations. Other scholars such as Bruce (1990:329) go a step further in saying that there was no conference in Jerusalem, but a consultation as Paul admits in Galatians 2. According to this view, due to the fact that there was just a consultation, the Lukan apostolic decree is, therefore, a theological section that wanted Jews to keep their tradition. It appears a number of scholars such as Jervell (1998); Williams (1990) subscribe to this view. They argue that whenever Acts contradicts with Pauline letters, we follow the letters because it is Paul who writes them himself. It is probable that this school of thought questions the reliability of Luke's history that is characterised by defensiveness and apologetic tendencies.

The first solution to the problems raised above is that the Council took place in Jerusalem as recorded in Acts 15. The Gentiles at the Council were made to observe the Law and to be circumcised. Bock (2007:487) suggested that circumcision was a covenant obligation that was practiced before the Mosaic Law and in the tradition. This was the Abrahamic covenant that was supposed to be followed by all the people of God. However, this view appears unlikely because there is no evidence that the Gentiles were compelled to be circumcised and to observe the Mosaic Law before the Jerusalem Council.

Paul and Barnabas had a different view altogether. They argued that Gentiles should not be circumcised; that they do not need to become Jews for them to become Christians (Bock, 2007:488). Paul was advocating his famous doctrine of justification by faith in Jesus, not by

the works of the law. It was difficult for a single social group to resolve the problem alone without other communities. Therefore, the Council was convened in Jerusalem.

Schnabel (2004:1008); Barrett (1998:xxxviii-xxxix); Witherington (1998:440) posit that the Apostolic Council in Jerusalem, recorded in Acts 15, could be the same conference that Paul describes in Galatians 2:1-10. They propose that it is historically sound to link the Jerusalem consultation of Galatians 2:1-10 and Paul's famine-relief visit of A.D. 44. Their argument is based on the fact that, in Galatians, there is no mention or reference to the decree. Another point is that the Council recorded in Acts 15 came as a result of the coming of the Jewish Christians to Antioch, challenging or forcing the Gentiles to observe the Mosaic Law. The Council in Galatians was a result of the people who came to Antioch from James' group, who were creating conflict among Peter, Barnabas and, probably, Paul. According to Bock (2007:491), there is a tricky difference between the Paul is presented Act 15 and Galatians 2. The Paul in Acts 15 was prepared to compromise, but the Paul in Galatians 2 could not accept that there was a council in Jerusalem. The absence of the decree in Galatians might not be much of a train crash because it is probable that Paul could have had his own approach of being sensitive to the "weaker" brother. Paul did not make reference to the decree even in Romans 14 and 1 Corinthians 8-10 where they appeared to have been relevant. The differing portraits of Paul in both Acts 15 and Galatians 2 seem to be rather odd. Nevertheless, Paul's silence might have been caused by that he (Paul) had his own desires in handling such questions. This explanation admits to the fact that there was a council (Acts 15) in Jerusalem as it is recorded in Acts 15. It is probable that Paul was deliberately silent about it and decided not to tell the truth about what actually took place at the council. The context in which Paul presented this was apologetic because he was defending his apostleship. So he ended up overstressing his apologetic stance.

Jervell (1998:404); Fitzmyer (1998:539); (Marshall (1980:244-45) favours the view that Acts 11:30 is equal to Galatians 2 not that Acts 15 is the same as Galatians 2. Marshall (1980:244) argues that what we have in Galatians 2:2 was a private meeting with Paul and the three pillars James, Peter and John. The situation in Acts 15 is different in that the meeting was public and large. He also argued that Galatians 2 did not make any reference to Acts 15 (Marshall, 1980:245). According to him, it is difficult to consider that Paul could leave the decree in Galatians 2:1-14 as it is in Acts 15. The strength of this argument is that it is likely that the decree was passed in Acts 15 after Galatians was written hence its silence. Bock (2007:488) argued that it is probable that the basic agreements were done in Acts 11:30, but these agreements were made public in Acts 15 when Paul was not there. It is difficult to go by this argument because Paul was supposed to be present in the council of Acts 15 so that he could make a compromise to the resolution. There is also a probability that Paul was present at the council in Jerusalem. However, Paul probably walked out of the council before it ended may be in protest because he was not in agreement with the deliberations of the meeting. It could be that the minutes that were made were not known to him.

Williams (1990:257-59) rejects the connection which could be there between Acts 11:30 and Galatians 2. He argued that the connection is questionable because in Acts 11:30 apostles are not referred to but are mentioned in Galatians 2. Another objection by Williams is why it is that Titus is only mentioned in Galatians 2 but not in Acts 11:30 (Williams, 1990:256). One may question why the major issue of controversy in Galatians 2:11-14 were dietary issues and not circumcision? According to Williams (1990:258), Barnabas in Acts 11:30 appears to be a leader of Paul but the situation changes in Galatians 2. According to Bock (2007:490),

the objections made by Williams (1990) might be answered. He suggested that Luke could have had a literary aim of discussing the problem of Gentiles in greater detail in Acts 15 where the conflict was resolved. This may also imply that not all the information in Acts 11 (Paul's) visit was discussed by Luke. His major focus was to report on the efforts he had made on relief. The primary advantage of equating Acts 11:30 and Galatians 2 could be that there is a reason why Galatians did not include the decree because it was before Acts 15. However, its major weakness is that it distorts Pauline chronology in a very clear way.

Basing on the arguments presented so far, it is justified to argue that the council in Jerusalem took place. An analysis of the views given above shows that both texts referred to an occasion which took place in Jerusalem. It is possible to argue that all the text referred to in this discussion have the same major characters who were involved namely, Paul, Barnabas, Peter, and Jewish Christians. Witherington (1998:91) supports the view that the Jerusalem Council occurred; he argues that all the texts appear to have been dealing with that same issue. The issue at stake was whether Gentiles could be accepted into the Christian community without observing the Mosaic Law and being circumcised.

In a counter narrative, scholars such as Williams (1990:256) question the historical reliability of Luke's argument that the history in Acts is apologetic. He argued that Luke had the tendency of defending Christianity as a religion on its own that was not a subversive movement that could threaten, in any way, both the Roman and Jewish authorities. William' (1990:256) suggests that the Council could not have happened because of Luke's historical unreliability. This thesis would agree with Witherington's (1998:91) argument that the texts

in question fit well in Pauline chronology and that the Acts 15 conference occurred seventeen years after Paul was converted; probably around AD 49/50.

1.5 Complementing Theoretical Perspective

1.5.1 Historical Critical Method (form and redaction criticism)

Historical critical method is used to ground the study in its historical context; looking at authorship, place and redaction. As a complementary theoretical perspective it views the Jerusalem Council as an event which was written by Luke. It is probable that the Jerusalem Council event could have originated from Paul or Peter, with the view to resolving the conflict within the early Church. It could have been used as an analogous story that provided reconciliation in the early Church.

1.5.2 Narrative Criticism

Narrative criticism used to determine how the story in Act 15 fits into the overall narrative discourse of Luke. This theoretical perspective views Acts as a book that contains stories and that these stories can be analysed as ordinary literary works. When this theoretical perspective was introduced by scholars such as Chatman (1975:275), conservative scholars could not accept it because they argued that the proponents were advocating for a scenario where they wanted to take the word of God as a work of fiction. However, scholars such as Keegan (1985); Powell (1990); Green (2010), among others, saw the ushering in of narrative analysis as a positive development in the interpretation of New Testament for it brought new insights in the area. In this thesis, narrative criticism would be beneficial in that the Jerusalem Council would be seen as a story told for a purpose.

1.5.3 Reader response Criticism 0773900240

Using reader-response criticism, I am interested in how the story resonated with Luke's audience but also how it is discursively appropriated in Zimbabwe. Reader response theory is different from other theoretical perspectives which focus mainly on the author or the discourse of the story. Reader response focuses on the reader and the audience and their activities in a story. This theoretical perspective is important in this research because it helps to understand the ideology from which the story was told. It is from this perspective that forms the basis of using the story as resonating with the Zimbabwean experience.

1.6 Theoretical Perspective: Social Identity Complexity

This thesis uses social identity complexity as its theoretical perspective. The said theoretical perspective is developed in chapter two of this thesis.

1.7 Conclusion

The reviewed studies each examined the Jerusalem Council in a different way. They each make a significant impact in the understanding of the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15. However, the examination of the existing research on Acts 15 is not exhaustive. The recent monographs, doctoral theses and commentaries consulted here will give this research adequate ground to argue that present studies have not provided comprehensive analysis of the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15. These studies can be beneficial to this research in that the speeches of Peter, Paul and Barnabas, alongside the leadership of James, would be useful as background information to the study. The debate, discussion, dialogue, respect of others, willingness to compromise, resolution and implementation of the decision accepted at the Jerusalem Council can be applied to the contemporary Zimbabwean political situation. However, none of these studies directly explored the theme of conflict-resolution in Acts 15,

as it directly corresponds to the contemporary Zimbabwe's political environment. This thesis will try to address the inadequacy by making the Jerusalem Council a possible model of conflict-resolution in Zimbabwe's political situation. The next chapter focuses on the theoretical frame work of this thesis.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Perspective: Social Identity Complexity

2.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter I surveyed various theoretical perspectives regarding Acts 15 which ends with adopting social identity complexity as a plausible theory. This chapter develops social identity complexity by looking at its development, main proponents and tenets. Social identity complexity explains the several cross-cutting group memberships, group features, and tolerance. A brief historical development of the method is discussed focussing on social identity theory (SIT) and social categorisation theory (SCT).

2.1 Social Identity Theory

Studies on intergroup behaviour reveal that people develop two standard identities which are “a personal self and a collective self” (Tajfel and Turner, 1986:7). The “personal-self” involves characteristic information regarding an individual, while the “collective-self” integrates information concerning the groups they belong to. This chapter uses “identity,” mainly with reference to social identity (Roitto, 2009:17). In this case, self identity refers to a person’s individuality as belonging to a group or organisation, for example, “I am a Christian.” Social identity can also refer to an individual’s identity, for example, “I am Tobias.” In addition, it can refer to a group or a movement as a whole, that is, “Israel is the people of God.” Another important term that this research uses is norm. According to Esler (2003:20-21), norms are “identity descriptors.” Bar-Tal (1998:94) also acknowledges that, “norms regulate group members’ behaviour without being considered as characteristic of a specific group.” In this chapter, the word “norm” is used instead of “identity descriptor.” Based on the views of Esler (2003) and Bar-Tal (1998) the term norm is used in this study as cognitions about good behaviour, attitudes and goals which are shared and accepted by a group.

Social identity theory by Tajfel (1982) and self-categorisation theory by Turner (1987) are two theories which discuss intergroup activities and the social individuality of the group. Social identity complexity may be perceived as developing from the two named theories. It came on the scene to cater for the weaknesses of the Social Identity Theory and self-categorisation theory. Roccas and Brewer (2002) are the precursors of Social identity complexity theory that shows how persons handle the various groups which they relate with. In the following section, social identity theory and self-categorisation are explained giving the historical background and the development of social identity complexity theory.

Social Identity Theory was developed by Tajfel and Turner (1986:88) to explicate intergroup behaviour. David (2015:145) further simplified it by arguing that a person's idea of self emanates from the group to which an individual belongs. A person cannot have an individual selfhood, but may have a variety of identities which are related to the groups to which they belong. An individual may behave in diverse ways in changing social situations with regard to the groups they belong to; these groups may include family setup, nationality, the neighbourhood they live in among others. When an individual perceives himself as part of a group, he becomes an in-group member for them. Other groups that an individual does not belong to are out-group members. These are processes that provide and create the in-group and out-group approach. Brewer (1991:476) separated personal identity and social identities in his discussion of SIT. Brewer (1991:476) explained personal identity as the "individuated self- those characteristics that differentiate one individual from others within a given social context" and social identity as "categorizations of the self into more inclusive social units that depersonalise the self-concept." Therefore, social identity brings the connection and is flanked by an individual's psychology and the arrangement and role of social groups.

SIT focuses on unfairness, injustice, and with intergroup activities such as conflict, cooperation, social change, among others (Meyer, 2014:10). Tajfel and Turner (1982:10) view SIT as composed of three aspects namely; “a cognitive component (self-categorisation); an evaluative component (group self-esteem) and an emotional component (affective commitment).” This discussion leads to a small section on self-categorisation. SIT is beneficial to this research in that the researcher can comprehend issues that contribute to unfairness, injustice, intergroup conflict, group polarisation among others in the context of Luke’s community and then in Zimbabwe’s political landscape.

2.2 Self-categorisation

SIT argued that the relations between groups were characterised by the interaction of cognitive, motivational, and socio-historical considerations. After the death of Tajfel in 1982, Turner and friends went on to improve the cognitive aspect of the theory (Turner, 1987:120). In this regard, they (Turner and friends) moved beyond the intergroup focus of SIT to intragroup processes. Turner (1987:120) proposed that SCT and SIT share almost the same hypothesis and methods and that came from the same principles and theoretical perspectives. Turner (1987:120) and friends also suggested that there were recognisable similarities between the theories and what some critics now call them ‘social identity perspective’ or the ‘social identity approach’ when referring to both SIT and SCT. However, it should be noted that these two approaches have dissimilar focus and emphases.

Self-categorisation theory is a theory that explains a person’s categorisation as a member of a specific group. “Self-categorised is a precondition for all other dimensions of collective identity” (Meyer, 2014:10). People either categorise themselves into particular social identities or are categorised in specific categories by birth such as national identity. People

are categorised into social identities, for example, professor, student, Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF), Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) among others. When individuals are aware of the categories which they belong to, they understand themselves better, and are able to characterise properly their behaviour with regards to the groups they would belong to. This research is interested more in a person's categorisation with regards to several groups and the prominence of different social identities recognized. Roccas and Brewer (2002) aptly argue that;

[c]ontext is important with regards to social identities being mutually exclusive in self-categorisation, and if one single social identity is salient in a specific setting, then social categorisation will dominate self-categorisation and the categorisation of others with regards to the group in that situation.

Multifaceted social identity is based on two things: being aware that there are more than a single group (in-group) categorisation and several group categories may never come together. Brewer and Pierce (2005:98) contend that "social categories can be represented by the prototypes or characteristics of the group or they can be represented in terms of the category boundaries that determine who are considered group members." People vary in the way they see the prototypes of the groups in which they are at the same time as members are comparable to each other and showing the same features. There are attributes such as attitudes and conduct which distinguish one group from the other thus highlighting intragroup likenesses as well as variances. Hogg and Reid (2006); Brewer and Pierce (2005) argue that prototypes conform to the meta contrast principle in which the apparent proportion of variations in a group (in-group) features are not as much as the variations that exist among the set of other variations.

2.3 Social Identity Complexity Theory

SIC theory, which has roots in social-psychology theory, was developed by Roccas and Brewer (2002) from social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1986) to study group processes (Kok, 2014:1). The inadequacy of SIT in analysing multiple group dynamics led to the emergence of social identity theory. SIT could be used to interrogate ancient group dynamics and identity formation but could not be used to analyse several group memberships or fluid identity formation. (Kok, 2014:1).

SIC is a relatively new method of interpretation in the New Testament Studies and Roccas and Brewer (2002) became the precursors in the development and application of SIC theory in the studies of the “*dynamic multifaceted nature*” of early Christian identities. Roccas and Brewer (2002:90) explicate the SIC theory as “a new theoretical construct that refers to the nature of the subjective representation of multiple group identities.” It explains how a person with several in-group characteristics identifies by not just a person who identifies independently, except how various identities are instinctively jointly to give an all-encompassing picture of a person’s in-group membership. This may also mean that for an individual to have multiple social identities, certain virtues must be developed such as openness to change, universal values, and tolerance for diversity. In this sense, Schmid *et al.*, (2009:109) argue that an individual may inhabit several overlapping social identities, where an individual who might be sharing memberships beyond the totality of the characteristics perceived as in-group, and those that do not share any identities with anyone may become out-group members.

From a social-scientific perspective, New Testament scholars such as Tucker and Baker (2014); Kok and Van Eck (2012) argue that in the ancient Mediterranean societies people had

solidly group-oriented individuals. The group-oriented society has a dominating role in as far as the social identity of a person is concerned. It is against this background that this theoretical perspective is seen as instrumental in understanding the boundaries that inhere between the in-group and out-groups in the community of Luke. The perspective identifies particular groups such as Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians, implying that there could be inclusive and exclusive social boundaries. Utilising this theoretical framework helps in understanding how Jewish Christians during the time of Paul constructed their particular self-social identities and how the outsiders understood them.

2.4 Multiple crosscutting group memberships

Social identities are based on nationality, religious affiliation, race, language, gender, political affiliation, ethnicity, sexual orientation, among others. Before the study of Roccas and Brewer (2002), the research on social identities focused mainly on in-group categorisation, but there was very little research on categorisation of several identities for insider and outsider constructions. A number of researchers are developing an interest on SIC theory whose studies consist of SIC level and the way they are related to out-group perceptions (Tucker and Baker, 2014; Miller, Brewer and Arbuckle, 2009; Brewer and Pierce, 2005), respect, in-group partiality, and multiplicity.

SIC theory focuses on multiple group memberships which differ in the degree of complexity. SIC can be found in two similar subsections namely; overlap complexity and similarity complexity (Kok, 2014; Miller *et al.*, 2009; Brewer and Pierce, 2005; Roccas and Brewer, 2002). Overlap complexity refers to the prejudiced insight into real overlap in terms of figures among diverse categories. This implies that a person can see a variety of social identities overlapping and the complexity degree transfers to the level of overlap connecting

the features of people's groups as well as those of group membership (Schmid *et al.*, 2013). High complexity is contrary to the depiction of each in-group as different from the other with regards to its features and membership. For instance, a person can categorise himself/herself in terms of social identity as an apostle and Gentile Christian. If this person only views individuals who are Gentile Christians as belonging to his/her in-group, then it can be presumed that his/her social identity can be simple. But, other people might want to create a distinction that not all apostles are Gentile Christians and that not every Gentile Christian is an apostle. Therefore, according to Meyer (2014); Schmid *at el.*, (2013), these individuals have a multiple and complex social identity formation. SIC theory is beneficial to this study because it identifies the overlap and complex identities within the early Christianities especially in Luke's community.

2.5 Background and results of social identity complexity

Other important aspects which Roccas and Brewer (2002) talk about are the precursors and results of SIC theory. They (Roccas and Brewer) argue that there are primarily three issues that influence a person's demonstration of multiple group identities and these are as follows:

- experimental,
- personal attributes
- situational factors.

Experimental issues or features refer to the organisation of a society and the resemblance among groups. Miller *et al.*, (2009) propounded that people are surrounded by individuals who resemble each other and who are socialised by family, school and society and are more or less similar to each other. These experiences form the level of SIC theory. An individual's direct social situation is not as sophisticated as that of society in a holistic way. The local

arrangement inspires a configuration of great similarities and overlap among in-groups and therefore the social identity becomes simple. This refers to similarities between groups or categories that make people to easily cross boundaries, for instance, Gentiles and Christians, man and woman, ZANU PF and MDC among others. Roccas and Brewer (2002:96) rightly argue that “different or special conditions are necessary to create the awareness of one’s identity complex”.

According to Schmid *at el.*, (2013), research has revealed that SIC theory might be more complex in societies that are greatly diverse culturally when compared to stratified societies. Nevertheless, even staying in a multicultural society that might not instantly result in high sophisticated social identity. Luke’s cosmopolitan context may be analysed using the insights of SIC. Norms in multicultural societies might alleviate the degree of complexity because groups in this type of society may be more dominant and thereby affect the behaviours of individual’s self-categorisation. Uniqueness of groups might affect the degree of complexity. For instance, the level of social status of Gentile Christians’ in-groups might influence how members may self-categorise and this may result in modest representations.

People who can open up to situations which are beyond their individual experiences and endure vagueness in outlining insider and outsider boundaries are probably bound to develop an additional multifaceted social identity representation. Tucker and Baker (2014); Miller *et al.*, (2009) are of the view that a person’s beliefs, values, and intelligence work together to regulate SIC levels.

According to Roccas and Brewer (2002:91), situational factors such as “distinctiveness, cognitive load, stress, mood and in-group threat,” may result in influencing people’s SIC. The magnitude of contact and distinctiveness was also investigated by Schmid *et al.* (2009:109) when they said, “threats serve as antecedents to social identity complexity and their results confirmed a correlation between the factors.” Schmid, *et al.*’s (2009) and Miller *et al.*, (2009) confirmed the hypothesis and the researches done by Roccas and Brewer’s (2002).

Sufei, Ziqiang, and Chongde (2015:429); Meyer (2014); Verkuyten and Martinovic (2012:1166); Roccas and Brewer (2002:89) refer to similarity complexity as the sameness of categories. It can also be described as a level at which a person sees different groups to be interrelated because of the original characteristics such as “attitudes, behaviours and characteristics that define one group from another” (Meyer, 2014:14). For instance, a Gentile Christian may assume that most Gentile Christians are apostles and that being a Gentile Christian is just the same as being an apostle. Therefore, higher resemblance of complexity as well as the understanding these groupings similarly lead to a low SIC.

According to Kok (2014); Sabanathan et al., (in press), some individuals might have several groups which they belong to while others may have a few. Paul could be a good example here, he was a Jew who persecuted Jewish Christians, was converted to become a Jewish Christian, then an apostle to the Gentiles and had dual citizenship. So Paul had a variety of groups to which he belonged. Other groups are more complex than others. The study by Roccas and Brewer (2002) reveals that individuals whose SIC level is high might hold negative perceptions of out-groups. It is significant to note the organisation of several socially

defining qualities for the reason that “representation of one’s in-groups had effects not only on the self-concept but also on the nature of relationships between self and others” (Roccas and Brewer, 2002:88). At this juncture, it is important to consider several ways in which multiple group loyalties are structured and represented by people.

Sufei, Ziqiang, and Chongde (2015); Roccas and Brewer (2002) agree on another significant feature which is the degree of overlap which exists among a variety of societal categories in the biased depiction of an individual’s several group allegiances. In other situations, it could be an objective degree of overlap. In some instances, there are other groups that are deeply embedded within each other.

2.5 Multiple in-group memberships: objective vs. subjective representation

According to Kok (2014:2), “multiple in-groups can also be presented subjectively or objectively in ways which the overlap between the different groups is not partial in nature.” The overlap among various groups differs from being extensive to just a partial overlap (Sufei, Ziqiang, and Chongde, 2015; Knifsend and Juvonen, 2014). For example, it is an important aspect to consider in this research situations where the insiders and the outsiders are considered as having an identical class like a Jew who stays in Jerusalem. In such situations, identification is perceived as simple but in others where overlap is complex, the social identification might become equally sophisticated. In agreement, Roccas and Brewer (2002:89) argue that whilst an individual may evade minimizing the subjective fullness of insiders in an easy way as discussed previously, but relatively identifies that in-group personalities might not overlap, after that an individual’s social identity might be complicated as well as comprehensive in outlook. Social circumstance may generate contexts where peoples’ social identities relate to various, “non-convergent social identities as seen variedly”

(Meyer, 2014:17). For example, a black Zimbabwean pastor may have his specialized distinctiveness as a pastor highlighted in other societal situations. In some contexts, this pastor's insider membership could be viewed as outsider membership when his nationality is highlighted. Meyer (2014:17) argues that "an individual's subjective representation of their multiple in-group membership may vary in relation to the objective in-group overlapping memberships". Roccas and Brewer (2002:90) proposed that persons might utilise patterns of identity representation namely: intersection, dominance, compartmentalisation, and merger. These elements are further explicated below.

2.5.1 Intersection

Intersection is a model that describes in-groups as the crossroads of several group memberships. Through intersection, a person can at the same time have an appreciation of multiple identities, but "in the process maintain a single in-group representation by defining the in-group as the intersection of the multiple in-groups" (Kok, 2014:2). Anyone who cannot uphold the shared identity becomes the out-group. For example, a female Jewish Christian can describe her main social identity with regards to the multiple combinations of both gender and religious affiliation, an identity shared only with other female Jewish Christians. This perspective helps in understanding that Paul was an apostle to the Gentiles, but he maintained his identity as a Jew. In this case, Paul had multiple identities, but he maintained a single in-group representation. It can be pointed out that social identity constructs a socially differentiating pattern because of its exclusive nature which results in the limited nature of the constructed in-group boundaries (Kok, 2014:2; Meyer, 2014:19; Tucker and Baker, 2014; Schmid, Hewstone, and Ramiah, 2013:136; Roccas and Brewer, 2002:90). The intersection model of in-grouping is comparable to the "conjunction/dissimilarity" prototype as discussed by Roccas and Brewer (2002), whilst Schmid, Hewstone and Ramiah (2014); Kok (2014:2)

described it as “social exclusion” pattern. Those who fit into the wide class of the group, while not sharing that particular intersection are called out-group members. Constructing social identities thus becomes very simple and individuals who follow this type of social identity construction are likely not to be inclusive in nature. Such individuals may be likely to be exclusive and tend less to go beyond social boundaries (Kok, 2014); Tucker and Baker, 2014; Roccas and Brewer, 2002). This theoretical perspective helps the research to understand the social exclusion pattern in both the community of Luke and in the inclusive government in Zimbabwe. It is therefore important to interrogate how these social groups viewed themselves and how they related to each other. The intersection model can be diagrammatically shown in **Figure2.1 (a)** as adapted from Roccas and Brewer (2002:90).



Figure2.1 (a): Intersection

2.5.2 Dominance

In the dominance model, an individual can accept one major group identity where some probable group identities could be minor. Roccas and Brewer (2002:90) suggest as follows:

This model, the in-group is defined as those who share membership in the primary in-group category; all other category memberships are essentially not social identities at all but simply aspects of the self as a member of the primary group. In other words, alternative social identities are embedded within the primary group identification (as sources of intragroup variation) but not extended to those outside that in-group.

A Jewish priest who sees his professional identity as a priest of a synagogue as his major social identity perceives some priests of other synagogues as in-group members. A Jewish

priest's identity is a man who studied at a prominent Jewish institution of higher learning. These are other qualities of a priest who stays at a synagogue and his professional identity becomes his dominant social category. His social identity does not extend to other men who graduated from a prominent Jewish University. When an individual's social identity obtains preference over others, one may categorise some persons with a view of their membership in a particular category. An individual belonging to a dominant category may be perceived as in-group and persons that cannot be part of the category can be referred to as out-groupers (Roccas and Brewer, 2002). This is similar to what Meyer (2014:19-20) described as "category dominance" model of relating to multiple categorised others. Roccas and Brewer (2002:90) brought in a different perspective and described complete dominance as "hierarchical" pattern of multiple categorisations. In this regard, any individual who falls out of a dominant category is perceived to be an outsider irrespective of some other identities one could have. Even inside an in-group category, additional differentiation might be seen on the basis of some joint identities. For example, a female Jewish priest might think she is nearer to some female priests (just for argument's sake) more than to the male, but tends to relate more to male priests than to the females who are not priests. Therefore, in this model, one social identity is dominant. This can be represented diagrammatically as in **Figure 2.1(b)** adapted from Roccas and Brewer (2002:90)

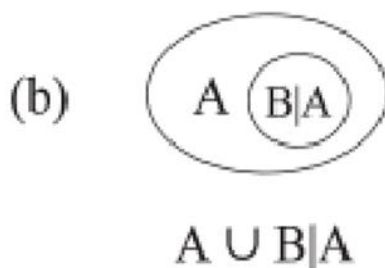


Figure 2.1(b): Dominance

2.5.3 Compartmentalisation

When an individual has more than one group identity, it becomes important for one to have a social group that forms that person's social identity, several identities can be stimulated by a process Roccas and Brewer (2002:90) call "differentiation and isolation." Expressed differently, an individual might have several social groups which could be significant to him/her at the same time and which form and define that individual's social identity (Kok, 2014:3). According to this representation, social identities are situation-specific. In other contexts, an individual's group membership develops mainly on the basis of his/her social identity whilst some group identities may become a dominant identity in some different environments. As a result, contexts will define the identity that will be dominant on a particular individual. An individual can assume different social identities in accordance with the demands of the social context. In Zimbabwe for instance, because of the cultural belief systems, a number of Christians are Christians during the day but during the night they are traditionalists. In the Shona traditional belief system, a sizable number of people are caught up in situations that result in two different social identities which, in a number of ways, do not overlap. For example, the son of a traditional Shona person who predominantly stays in town will assume two group identities, the one he has in town and the other one reserved for the rural areas where his/her parents live, a situation which Kok (2014:3) refers to as 'taking off a western hat' and 'putting on his African hat.' The perspective helps in understanding the role which Joseph Barnabas played when he was tasked by the Jerusalem church to go and supervise Paul's mission to the Gentiles in Antioch. Barnabas had to 'take off a Jewish hat' and 'put on a Gentile hat' while in Antioch. This illustrates clearly the issue of compartmentalisation. Roccas and Brewer (2002:91) understood this phenomenon and explained it thus: "(W)ith this mode of identity structure, multiple non-convergent identities are maintained, but the individual does not activate these social identities simultaneously." Situations will define which identity that will become clearly noticeable.

According to Roccas and Brewer (2002:91), it is not just that identity can be *contextually specific*, but that it can also be *mutually exclusive* as well. Kok (2014:3) rightly contends that:

The interesting nature of the group dynamics is that in a specific context, where a particular social identity is activated and more dominant, a person might treat others, who in another context might be in-group members, as out-group members.

Therefore, contexts define boundary markers among personalities that are, to a greater degree, *equally exclusive* in outlook. Could the theory explain the tension between Peter and Paul at Antioch?

Roccas and Brewer (2002) in their research established that individuals utilising this approach tend to react in a positive way to those people who may happen to share in-group identities than those who only share one of these social categories. This perspective helps this research in understanding and analysing the negative compartmentalisation of both Peter in the community of Luke and the former president Mugabe in the government of national unity. This compartmentalisation model is illustrated in **Figure2.1 (c)** adapted from Roccas and Brewer (2002:90).

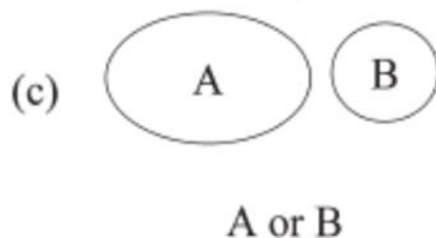


Figure2.1 (c): Compartmentalisation

2.5.4 Merger

The merger is the last and final SIC model in which non-convergent group membership is at the same time seen and incorporated in the largely all-encompassing form. Within merger

model, in-group recognition may be stretched to those who could give out whichever individual's significant social category memberships. According to Roccas and Brewer (2002:91), "social identity is the sum of one's combined group identifications." In other words, this refers to the totality of an individual's combined in-group characteristics that leads to all-encompassing and multiple social identity which is multifaceted outlook. For example, a Jewish priest's classification by men as a social group goes beyond the social category of a priest as well as non-priest, and his identification with priests goes beyond the boundary of the gender divide. Yet, all identity groups could be also significant beyond contexts. Kok (2014:4) correctly states that: "In this model, social identity transcends single categorical divisions between people... [T]he more social identities the person has, the more inclusive the definition of in-group becomes..." This is in agreement with cognitive consistency theorists who understood merger pattern as comparable to 'transcendence' (Roccas and Brewer, 2002:91). Could the merger model be useful in analysing and exploring Paul's inclusive social identity complexity in relation to Tsvangirai and the community of Luke as well as the inclusive government in Zimbabwe respectively? The merger model is illustrated in **Figure 2.1(d)** adapted from Roccas and Brewer (2002:90).

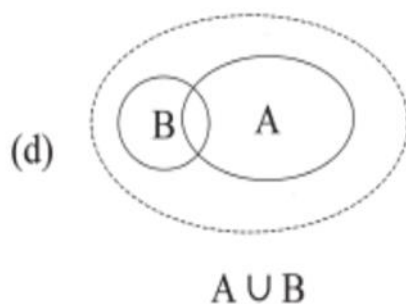


Figure 2.1 (d): Merger

All these models discussed above namely; intersection, dominance, compartmentalisation, and merger are approaches of 'inconsistency resolution' and can likely be approximately

rationally complex in outlook. An individual with a higher level of SIC might be prone to “*differentiate and integrate*” differing perspectives (Kok, 2014:4). Whenever there is neither variation nor multiplicity stifled, complexity becomes easy and this results in a lower SIC. In the intersection model discussed above, diversity is not complex in outlook. Meyer (2014:20) rightly argues that intersection suppressed the variations by dropping the complexity to a simple and exclusive social in-group identity formation. SIC theory helps in the application of different models of identity representation that are intersection, dominance, compartmentalisation, and merger in conflict-resolution in the community of Luke and the GPA in Zimbabwe’s political landscape. These models of identity representation can be useful in understanding the community of Luke in which multiple in-group representation can be structured.

Dominance is the second model that was discussed above, and it can be perceived as a simplified strategy in that it stifles variation and possesses social specific categorisations that dominate others. Variations could be stifled with “suppression and domination” (Kok, 2014:4; Meyer, 2014:21). In the compartmentalisation model, there is a higher degree of SIC because the perspective does not distinguish the variation as well as complexity of yet the major problem is that of maintaining the group categories apart since “these conflicting identities are not really reconciled or integrated but rather kept separate” (Roccas and Brewer, 2002:92). Kok (2014); Meyer (2014) Roccas and Brewer (2002) agree that the merger model has the highest level in SIC and this is because of two reasons: (1) the model distinguishes the conflicting exclusive social identities, however (2) it focuses not simply on *differentiation* but as well as on *integration* within an all-encompassing social identity. What can be observed from the findings of the above-mentioned researchers is that the environment

of the social categories has a bearing on the level of complexity. This might be so when a small group is represented by a dominant social identity. For example, when mixed races stay in an affluent suburb of Arcadia in Harare, they might be a small group but may be perceived as a dominant social identity group. This model may not be as complex as a model of intersection that has more inclusive categories.

In a way, domination appears to be to a greater extent more complicated than intersection which is, to a smaller extent, integrative. The same can be said of compartmentalisation where an individual who has extremely compartmentalised identities can characterise them in a specific situation in such a manner that it can be greatly “*exclusive and dominating.*” As indicated in **Table 2.1**, such a model of compartmentalisation is less inclusive compared to the other model of dominance. When an approach such as compartmentalisation, which is low in outlook and where a variety of categories cannot ‘spill over’ into a variety of domains, the model might appear to be functioning as a merger when in actuality it cannot be, “because an integrated and complex identity that transcends boundaries is not really represented” (Tucker and Baker, 2014; Roccas and Brewer, 2002:92). Roccas and Brewer (2002:92) made a pertinent observation when they said, “individuals may adopt different modes of identity representation at different times...”

The four models of the degree of social identity complexity can be summarised as in **Table 2.1**.

TABLE 2.1: Level of social identity complexity

Pattern: scheme of controlling complexity	Level of complexity
Intersection	Least in social identity complexity
Dominance	lower in social identity complexity
Compartmentalisation	high in social identity complexity
Merger	greatest in social identity complexity

2.6 Complexity: Group features and group membership

The models which are in **Table 2.1** are different degrees of complexity. It can be observed that dominance and intersection have low-complexity representation whilst compartmentalisation and merger have high complexity.. People with low social personality complexity may possess several identities individually and mutually clustered as distinct in-group demonstration (Meyer, 2014; Roccas and Brewer, 2002). The individuals who have high social identity complexity recognise variances among in-group categories.

Social categories may as well be perceived with regards to category boundaries (Tucker and Baker, 2014; Brewer and Pierce, 2005). Roccas and Brewer (2002:94) rightly argue that “therefore when an individual perceives a high overlap between the members of their groups they will have a less complex social identity”. It can be observed that both scopes which are –

“*group characteristics and group memberships*” – may be perceived as guides for supposing that various in-groups could be perceived as distinct and as integrated social identities.

2.7 Tolerance

Schmid *et al.* (2009); Roccas and Brewer (2002); Brewer and Pierce (2005); carried out a research which revealed that a higher complex social identity formation results in higher acceptance of outsiders. Tolerance or forbearance could be built with several identity formations however, for the sake, of this research the meaning given below can be construed as belonging to secondary theories. Ferrar (1979) suggested that tolerance should be understood in terms three definitions which are:

- (i) Adjustable studied inclinations to the beliefs and practices of a group, that allows non-authentic assessment of specific people or followers.
- (ii) Acceptance of a variety of practices and beliefs.
- (iii) Allocation of diversity of privileges and rights.

According to Esmer (2010:134), tolerance can be defined as “the acceptance of differences (religious, ideological, physical, cultural and so on) without in any way judging them and without implying a hierarchy.” Esmer (2010) carried out a neighbour test for tolerance on four groups of people namely, sexual tolerance, religious tolerance, socio deviance tolerance and ethnic tolerance. Esmer’s study was done in a plural society where he derived his definition of tolerance.

People who have a high SIC have an increased consciousness that outsiders may be insiders in a different context. A person might reduce the amount of probability to support the inclination of the in-group while recognising that insider memberships can partly overlap in some in-groups resulting in increasing tolerance of out-groups (Roccas and Brewer,

2002). When the insiders and outsiders overlap, the philosophies of cognitive balance will be realised as a person being a member of an in-group “on one dimension and an out-group member on another experiences cognitive inconsistency, as they are evaluated positively on the one dimension but negatively on the other” (Brewer and Pierce, 2005). This inconsistency may result in people within out-group and those being judged in the in-group in a positive way overall. Therefore, based on this ground, rational and inspirational issues result in people having a higher SIC to be more tolerant, and to have less favouritism towards in-group members and to be positive towards out-group members.

2.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, social identity complexity theory was defined, interrogated and justified as a suitable model for this thesis. The chapter highlighted the historical development of the theoretical perspective from social identity and social categorisation theories. It also focused on how social identity complexity explains various cross-cutting group membership and group features. It is important to note that this research does not claim that all other theoretical perspectives are not useful. Malina (1982:237) is right in saying; “there is no model to help understand all models, just as there is no one language that one could learn to be able to understand all languages.” The above-mentioned “theoretical perspective” does not claim to be comprehensive on its own in interpreting the problem under study. Rather, the implied perspective uses insights of the previous methodological perspectives in its interrogation of the problem under study. The next chapter focuses on the location and identity complexities within Luke’s community.

Chapter 3: Luke's Community: location, and Identity Complexity

3.0 introduction

The previous chapter deployed the social identity complexity as a theoretical perspective of this research and this chapter examines the location and identity complexity within Luke's community. It is guided by the question: What complexity of identities existed in Luke's Antiochean community? After exploring the various ethnic identities in this chapter, the next chapter (chapter 4) uses social identity complexity to understand Act 15. In other words, this chapter specifically focuses on the social boundaries that were found in the community of Luke and these are; Gentile Christians and Jewish Christians and, God-fearers, the rich and poor, and those who stayed in urban and village areas.

3.1 Location of the community of Luke

The location of the community of Luke is fraught with several explanations and arguments ranging from places like Ephesus, Antioch, to Corinth. Scholars such as Moxnes (1994:380); Esler (1994:26) are not agreed on the specific city that constituted Luke's community. For instance, in the Gospels there is a particular community for each author and these come in the form of the Marcan, Matthean and Johannine communities. This is different from Luke who has a variety of communities rather than a particular community. Among the possibilities advanced about the location of the community of Luke is Ephesus which is discussed below.

3.1.1 Ephesus

Ephesus is a probable community of Luke. There are several reasons that have been proffered by scholars to suggest that Ephesus is one of the probable communities of Luke. The first argument advanced by Moxnes (1994:380) says that the community of Ephesus exhibits an

environment which is in the Hellenistic diaspora of the Roman Empire. It is likely that the community was composed of both gentile and Jewish Christians. It is also plausible to argue that in Luke's community the majority of Gentiles had not been transformed to become Christians but could have been familiar with Jews in their synagogues. Keener (2012:428) is probably right in contending that Luke was writing to social and religious groups which were acquainted with the knowledge of Jesus' proclamation of the gospel; otherwise he could have explained such terms like 'the Kingdom of God' And 'Son of Man' (Esler, 1994:26). Moxnes (1994:380) have argued that Luke had a particular city in his mind and that this could have been Ephesus.

However, scholars such as Riches (1993:234) propose that Luke could have been concerned with the emerging churches which were scattered across the Roman Empire. If Riches' (1993:234) suggestion is something to go by, it could be difficult to think of the community of Luke as Ephesus alone. The major argument in Esler's (1994:26) could be his intention of showing "particular relationships" involving Luke's religious, theological, political, and social setting. The connections created Christian social groups "of a certain type, all of them being characterized by a quite circumscribed set of tensions within their membership and with the world outside" (Esler, 1994:26). It is likely that these "tensions" could have been sufficiently general in their outlook as to be located within a variety of the eastern side of the Hellenistic cities in the Roman Empire. Esler (1994:34) thinks that the address by Paul to the older people of the Church of Ephesus (Acts 20:17-35) might have implied that Luke had a particular community in mind. Such a view finds credence especially when he refers to the Ephesian Church as a "flock" where elders were the shepherds. He warned them that after his departure "fierce wolves" would come and mislead the disciples. In this case, Ephesus could be a community of Luke which Esler (1994) suggests. Esler (1994:26) refers to the warning

that Paul gave to the older people of the Ephesian Church that they should look after the flock after his departure for ‘fierce wolves’ may come and mislead the community. The issue was not just a general message to the community of Luke but that Paul had already predicted the problems which Christians would experience in the years to come. It is in this context that Luke orchestrates the idea of the ‘flock’ in light of the problems and troubles of his Christian community. Luke in the Lukan community also establishes clear social and religious boundaries between the community and the outsiders. This was a measure which was instituted by Luke to keep away enemies who were coming from outside and crossing into and threatening the community. But there were also problems which were coming from within the Lukan community itself. The notion of separateness of the Christian community was characteristic of the situation in the Gospel of Luke where Jesus taught: “[d]o not fear, little flock, for the Father has been pleased to give you the Kingdom” (Luke, 12:32). According to Esler (1994:26), the repeated use of the term “flock” is suggestive of the view that the social groups were members of a small Christian community experiencing hardships from within and without. It appears that Luke had a Christian community in mind although this is disputed by others who argue that he had a variety of communities (Elmer, 2006:1-11; Schnabel, 2004:265; Oakman, 1991:156; Theissen, 1982:50-70). However, Keener (2012:430) contends that Ephesus might be a plausible community of Luke. There is a high probability that Keener (2012:430) suggested this because it is in Ephesus where Luke devotes more space about his mission activities in spreading the Gospel and it is where Paul reached the climax in his ministry. In addition, it is in Ephesus where Luke’s grave was discovered and if this claim is something to go by, one can safely say that it is a probable community of Luke. According to Keener (2012:270) and Riches (1993:213), although Paul’s mission had an ultimate aim of establishing a community in Rome, the major focus was his ministry in Asia, Macedonia, and Achaia which was mainly in the Aegean region

which is recorded in Acts. Paul's mission activities in Rome only receive insignificant space which may not warrant it being a probable community of Luke.

The location of the community of Luke appears to be outside Palestine. This claim is primarily based on the specific information that is found in Luke-Acts and other Pauline letters such as 1Corinthians and Romans. According to Moxnes (1994:380), Luke's description of houses seems to depict a contrasting environment as well as whose way of life from that of a village in Palestine. The environment appears to be in an urban setting. The sayings of Jesus in Luke 12:10-13 appear to point to the future persecution which reflects an environment in Hellenistic Diaspora. Luke used language which reflects the situation of a Hellenistic city and not that which was ruled by the Roman rulers and the Jewish council in Jerusalem. Consequently it is possible that the community of Luke might be a metropolitan environment, probably in Ephesus.

Early Christian cities are known through archaeological excavations particularly in the Mediterranean region. According to Freeman (2011:17); Moxnes (1994:381), a city should be "interpreted" by understanding the type of buildings which include gates streets, statues, monuments, as well as market places. The spatial structure and organisation reflect the social stratification of a city. Moxnes (1994:382) posits the view that at the centre of the city was the temple and other important buildings for the administration of the city. He further points out that in the central district of the city were other buildings like the theatre, baths and gymnasium. All this evidence could simply be pointing to a city in the Roman Empire which might be Ephesus as a community of Luke. There were also residential areas where the Roman elite stayed. It can be argued that the type of houses in this community possibly

reflects those in Ephesus. In this city, there was also an area where the majority of the people stayed. In addition, there were also people of different social groups who included slaves as well as servants of the rich, shopkeepers, artisans and merchants, organised into associations and usually found in designated roads especially in cities with seaports such as Ephesus (Neyrey, 1995:258-259). In such seaports, there were aliens who were people who came to Ephesus from different parts of the Mediterranean and Middle East (Moxnes, 1994:382).

3.1.2 Corinth

Corinth is also suggested as another credible location of the community of Luke. There are also reasons that point to Corinth as a feasible community of Luke. Haenchen (1985:118); Tyson (1984:104); Keener (2012:432) propose that Corinth is the plausible location for the community of Luke because Christians appeared to stay there peacefully. Paul and Luke probably arrived in Corinth in 52 CE during Paul's second missionary journey. Paul discovered that the political situation and history were quite different from that of Antioch. Around the third century BCE Corinth was a great city which was characterised by economic prosperity in the Greek world. The problem came when Corinth was colonised by Macedonia around 222 BCE (Engels, 1990:15). During the Macedonian rule, Corinth suffered for about 100 years. The situation was worsened by the Romans who conquered Corinth resulting in the killing of Corinthian men and the selling of women and children into slavery (Millis, 2010:21). This was orchestrated by the Roman general Mummius who literally plundered Corinth. In about 44 BCE, Julius Caesar appeared on the scene and declared that Corinth should be reborn as a Roman colony. The colonialists were sent to re-establish a brand new city which had new political, religious and cultural structures. The city of Corinth got back its glory and it returned to its original status of becoming the Roman capital in the province of

Achaea (Engels, 1990:16). It is in this context that Luke came to stay in Corinth because of its peaceful environment and it became his operational base for his mission.

Corinth had a strategic location that facilitated good trade for those merchants who travelled from Rome to the Aegean and Asia. The economic prosperity of Corinth was noted by Engels (1990:18) who said: “Corinth is called wealthy, because of its commerce, since it is located on the Isthmus and is master of two harbours, one which leads straight to Asia and the other to Italy.” The geographical location of Corinth became a very important commercial link in the Roman Empire and brought a lot of wealth and a number of people with different social identities. The situation in Corinth appears to be complex to societies that are greatly diverse culturally when compared to stratified societies. Religiously, the people of Corinth had two gods namely; Aphrodite and Poseidon. These gods attracted a number of tourists from all over the Empire. According to Engels (1990:99), Poseidon was understood as a sea god along with earthquakes while Aphrodite was called a war god. According to Millis (2010:30), another role of Aphrodite was in worship reflected by the nude images from her waist as she bathed which shows that she was worshipped through sexual activities. This could explain why there was a lot of sexual immorality which Paul was battling at the Corinthian congregation (1Cor. 5:1ff).

According to Luke (Acts 18:12), when Paul arrived in Corinth he started preaching to the Jews in synagogues. When he was rejected by the Jews he left the synagogues and went to preach to the Gentiles. It is probable that Paul left the Jewish community because of their insularity which might have resulted in conflict. After Paul left the synagogues, the Jews attacked him (Paul) and they dragged him before the Roman proconsul, Gallio (Acts 18:12).

The Jews alleged that Paul was “persuading people to worship God in ways that were contrary to the law” (Acts 18:13). However, the text is not very clear whether this was referring to the Roman law or the Jewish religious law but chances are that the text could have been referring to the Jewish law since it was the Jews who took Paul to Gallio. Gallio, realising that the conflict was among the Jewish people themselves and that the matter was not within his jurisdiction, ordered that, “see to it yourselves; i do not wish to judge of these matters” (Acts, 18:15). Thus the community of Luke continued as it was before and Paul only left Corinth after a considerable length of time.

Although there appears to be evidence that points to the community of Luke as being located in Corinth, chances are that the similarities between Ephesus and Corinth as instanced by the fact that both cities had two seaports. Therefore, it is possible that Ephesus might have been referred to and not Corinth, as argued by Keener (2012:432).

3.1.3 Antioch

The position that I take is that Luke’s community was in Antioch. This is because a number of scholars such as Harris (1985:266) argue “that Luke was a Greek physician who lived in Antioch in ancient Syria.” Nonetheless, some scholars like Bart (1989:157) suggest that Luke was a Hellenistic Jew. He further argues that the theology of Luke-Acts is characteristic of a gentile Christian who was writing for a gentile audience. On the other hand, Bart (1989:158) contends that it is plausible that Luke-Acts was written to a society which comprised both Gentiles and Jewish Christians due to the fact that there is an emphasis on the gentile mission. The community referred to here could be Antioch. This could be so because Antioch was close to Jerusalem hence the Jewish population could have been significant against the gentile Christians.

According to DaSilva (2004:371), there are several reasons why Luke's community could have been Antioch: because Antioch was the springboard for the mission to evangelise Europe (Acts, 15:40; Acts, 16:11) and Luke was part of the delegation which evangelised Europe. It is most plausible that Paul, Timothy and Silas who were co-workers of Luke were residents of Antioch. DaSilva (2004:371) suggested that the author of Acts was Lucius/Luke of Cyrene who was known as one of the prophets and teachers in Antioch (Acts, 13:1ff). It is most likely that he was the Lucius of Romans 16:21. He was therefore a preacher who preached to the Gentiles in Antioch and likely a companion of Paul in his second missionary journey.

Dunn (2006:180) maintained that Lucius was not given his proper position and prominence in Antioch. In this regard, he could not be Lucius of Cyrene who was a very important person in Antioch. One can argue that the author failed to give the significance of name order during the time of Luke. However, Paul gave Lucius prominence by putting him in the second number of the eight whom he greeted in Romans 16:21-23. Therefore, this Lucius might not be the Luke who was a resident of Antioch and a companion of Paul in his missionary journeys.

DaSilva (2004:374) argues that it is possible that the author of Luke-Acts may have mentioned his own name. If one may ask, why not? It is almost clear that the writer (s) of Luke-Acts and other Gospels made self-references. However, some Gospel writers such as Matthew and John were attributed to persons who were to name themselves in their books. In addition, people like Josephus generally named themselves in their writings. But authors such as Matthew, Mark, John and Luke-Acts did not name themselves and this was in tandem with the style of Jewish literature that can be traced back from the Old Testament historical books.

This technique was probably meant to keep their readers and audiences focusing on the text rather than on the authors.

It's possible that Lucius was the author of Luke-Acts and was staying in Antioch. It becomes possible that Antioch was the community of Luke. There is also a possibility that the author was Lucius of Cyrene (Acts 13:1ff) who witnessed some events which he narrated as going beyond the 'we' sections. Therefore, Antioch is most likely to be the community in which Luke resided.

The most important aspect on the location of the probable communities of Luke examined here is the geography. It appears Luke was more acquainted with the geography which was from Jerusalem to Antioch. This could have been so because Antioch was closer to Jerusalem than either Corinth or Ephesus. The close proximity of Antioch to Jerusalem made Jewish Christians to greatly influence the Christians in Antioch more than those in Corinth and Ephesus. The closeness of Antioch to Jerusalem also resulted in the Antiochene church being under the authority of the Jerusalem church (Acts 11:25-26). Due to the strong influence of the Jerusalem church to Antioch, Antioch became a breeding place for conflict based on whether or not Christians as a social group should allow Gentile converts to cross their social boundary markers to be circumcised and observe the Mosaic Law before they are accepted in the Christian community. The conflict led to the convening of the Jerusalem Council (Acts, 15:1-35).

3.1.4 Significance of Antioch

Antioch was a significant city in the spread of the gospel in the diaspora and in the Roman Empire. It was one of the most densely populated cities of the time and was highly syncretistic religiously. Due to the fact that it was densely populated, there were serious problems of diseases and inner strife. According to Strauss (2011:284), “Antioch was the third largest city in the Roman Empire (after Rome and Alexandria) and some estimated that its population was about 500,000.”

Another important element for Antioch was its cultural diversity. Antioch as a city shared a number of characteristics which resembled an urban city of today. This attracted a number of people from different countries with a variety of languages and cultures. These different people were categorised into multiple social identity formations which included traders, travellers and the residents of Antioch. These multiple social identities reflected the community of Luke which is Antioch. The fact that there was a multiplicity of cultures in Antioch makes it follow that there was also religious pluralism and tolerance. The multiplicity of social identities and cultures brings in the identity complexity and overlaps in social interaction within different social groups. As a way of maintaining peace and order in Antioch because of the diversity in ethnicity, culture and religion, different social groups had categorised themselves by building walls to keep each social group away from one another. However, although these multiple social groups were categorised this way, there could have been overlap complexities in this society. In this case, a member of each social category in the community of Luke might behave in a different way with regard to the social group to which they belonged which included the family setup, nationality and neighbourhood. Otherwise, according to Rowe (2012:264), these walls generally acted as social boundaries among these social groups. The Jews stayed within the confines of their own walls and so did

the Greeks and the Romans. The walls they built symbolised the differences in their social identity and orientation although they stayed together in Antioch. Chances are that the identities in the community of Luke, particularly in Antioch, were much more complex than what one finds today. When Paul and Barnabas arrived in Antioch, they observed that there was a very big wall which demarcated the Gentiles from Jews. From a social identity complexity viewpoint, this meant the Jews had their own values, norms and centre of their religious faith and law. These acted as their social boundary markers against other ethnic and religious beliefs. The Jews perceived their own identity as divinely favoured by God. On the other hand, the Greeks' social identity was based on their great civilization and wisdom. Their social boundary markers were centred on "gaining knowledge and cultivating the human society" (Rowe, 2012:265). The last social group were the Romans. Their social identity was mainly based on power. The complexity is evident when all the social groups merge and have overlaps in social interaction.

This research subscribes to the view that the most probable community of Luke could be Antioch probably because of its closeness to Jerusalem. This closeness resulted in the Antiochene church being under the authority of the Jerusalem church. In addition, it emerged in the discussion that Luke was well versed with the geography of Jerusalem and Antioch. However, there was also evidence that the tomb of Luke was discovered in Ephesus and thus implying that it was his community. The arguments for Antioch as a probable community of Luke outweighed that of Ephesus and Corinth.

3.2. Date(s)

The proposed dates of Acts range from as early as 60 CE, intermediate 80-90 CE and a late date 110 -150 CE. Various debates have been put forth to support the three suggested dates.

The proposed dates are an early 60 CE, intermediate 80-90 CE and a late date 110 -150 CE.

3.2.1. The early date (60s CE)

A number of scholars such as Keener (2012:384); Bock (2007:25) subscribe to the early date of 60 CE. This school agrees that Acts was written by Luke the companion of Paul in his missionary activities. Tyson (2011:105) suggests that when Paul arrived in Rome as recorded in Acts 28 this could have happened in the range of 58-60 CE. However, the author of Acts did not furnish information about Paul's trial in Rome. This could imply that the book was written before the trial of Paul. Proponents of this view argue that the "we sections" imply that the author was an eye-witness in Paul's missionary journeys. Tyson (2011:105) asserts that the early date is preferred by many evangelical and conservative Christians who emphasized the historical reliability of Acts.

3.2.2. Intermediate date (80-90 CE)

According to Tyson (2011:106), modern scholars prefer the intermediate dating of Acts. These modern scholars such as Brown (2013:326); Marshall (2004:74); Witherington (1998:50); Fitzmyer (1998:55) cite a number of factors supporting their position. They argue that Acts did not record that the city of Jerusalem and the temple were destroyed in 70 CE by the Roman army. However, Goodspeed (1999:61) posits that Acts might not have been written prior to 90 CE because the writer appeared not to be aware of the Pauline letters that were not yet in circulation.

The proponents of this school are Brown (2013:326); Marshall (2004:74); Witherington (1998:50); Fitzmyer (1998:55); Haenchen (1985:117)) who reject the view that the author was an eye-witness and a companion of Paul. They argue that the author could have written Acts in a later generation. In addition, the author did not record important issues about Paul; for instance his epistles show that he maintained that he was a disciple and that to him this apostleship was important. A list of credentials of being an apostle are listed in Acts 1:21-22 but, unfortunately, Paul is excluded. In addition, a list of apostles are also found in Acts 1:13 where Judas is replaced by Matthias (Acts 1:26) to show that Paul was not included among them. Really, if Acts was written by Paul's companion, he would not have excluded Paul from an office which was very important for him.

3.2.3. Late date (110-150 CE)

A considerable number of scholars such as Pervo (2006:70); Walker (1998:78); Conzelman (1987: xxxiii) date Acts between 110 -150 CE. Pervo (2000:70) asserts that there are three factors to support this view. Firstly, Acts was not known prior to the very last part of the second century so it cannot be dated before the second century. Secondly, it appears the author used the Jewish Antiquities written by Josephus between 93 and 94 CE and so it could not have been written before that date. Thirdly, Pervo (2000:72) further argued that current research have challenged the view that the writer of Acts' was not aware of the letters of Paul. It is probable that Acts could have been written before other letters of Paul. But, chances are that he was aware of them especially Galatians. The author then may have written Acts to subvert Galatians. Walker (1998:78) observes that "these scholars draw attention to the verbal and ideational similarities between Acts 15 and Galatians 2 and further show the irreconcilability between Paul and Luke."

However, the intermediate daters and the late daters agree, in principle, on the questionable historical reliability of Acts. This research accepts any date after 80 CE because it was the period when the Jesus movement was spreading its wings to different areas. It is probable that they then created some narrative that would provide information on how this movement came to be embraced by Gentiles. Dating Acts on or before 70 CE might be problematic because Luke used Mark as a source in compiling his Gospel. Mark is generally dated around 64-65 CE. Then Luke could have been written after Mark presumably after 80 CE.

This research is indebted to the significant contribution made by Tyson (2011:108) who argues that what used to be ignored by most scholars of the New Testament is the rise and development of Marcion's teaching. Tyson (2011:108) posits the view that Marcion gives a historical context which the author of Acts is responding to.

3.3 Background: The Jewish-Gentile identification

From a social identity complexity perspective, the investigation of the community of Luke is very important to this research because it provides the social identity formation of the Jewish and Gentile Christians. A number of scholars such as, Elmer (2006:1); Schnabel (2004:654); Witherington (1998:63); Oakman (1991:154); Esler (1994:24); Theissen (1982:58) have done some researches on the possible social groups in the community of Luke. These studies were not only done to make a reconstruction of the community of Luke but also to make an understanding of the Luke-Acts writings and themes which reflect that community.

Dube (2015:1); Esler (1998: i) contends that almost immediately following Jesus' death in about 30 CE, the disciples of Jesus were identified as Jews. They probably simply regarded

themselves as a reformed social group within Judaism. It appears identity hostility emerged when the growing Christian movement spread to non-Jewish territories and started to rope in non-Jews into their fellowship without being sensitive to the Jewish culture. The conflict over table fellowship in Galatians 2 provides a tip of an iceberg relating to the increasing personality conflict involving the Hellenistic Jews and Jews. Hellenistic Jews were Jews who stayed in the Diaspora, particularly in Greek cities in the Roman Empire such as Ephesus, Antioch, Corinth and Ostia, Pergamon and Sardis in Asia Minor (Keener, 2012:385; Freeman, 2011; Moxnes, 1994:383; Esler, 1994:32) and had assumed an ordinary way of life in these urban areas (Esler, 1998: i). The Hellenistic Jews in the Diaspora had constructed synagogues throughout the Empire in addition to celebrating inherent Jewish identity. Nevertheless, with regards to the identity of the Jews in Jerusalem they viewed their Diaspora counterparts with mistrust (Dube, 2015:2).

In the Gentile community, Paul converted a number of people. This implied that the Gentiles had to be accepted into the Christian community which resulted in cultural and identity conflict (Kok, 2014:5; Esler, 1998: ii). It appears that when Paul pronounced the ‘new Israel’, he could have been alluding to the appearance of the Gentile Hellenistic Christian grouping whose background as well as personality was not grounded in the Mosaic Law. This was in addition to their relationship with Jerusalem but more on inherent belief in Jesus (Dube, 2015: ii; Nicklas and Schlogel, 2014:236). Thus, Paul brought a paradigm shift in identity; one that fostered continuity with the history of the Jews while at the same time identifying an exceptional personality of diasporic, multi-ethnic with mixed grouping (Dube, 2015: ii).

Dunn (2005:110); Sanders (1997), advocates of the emerging main model referred to it as the ‘latest perspective on Paul and they used insights from sociology. Conflict involving Jewish and Gentile Christians surfaced when Jewish Christians refused to associate with Gentile Christians due to their conviction in the concept of divine predestination and election. The Jewish Christians refused to accommodate the Gentile Christians into Jewish Christianity. Their (Jewish) premise in refusing to accept the Gentile Christians into their Christian community was that they (Jews) believed that they were a divinely elected social group which ought to exist in a unique social position characterised by observing the Jewish law as their abiding worldview (Dube, 2015:2; Nicklas and Schlogel, 2014:236). The initial views of Sanders (1977) were developed by Dunn (2005:110), by contending that maintaining and observing the Mosaic Law was essentially entangled with Jewish identity configuration. Observing the purity laws, circumcision, Torah dietary laws as well as Sabbath, were social boundary markers that could not include Gentiles.

3.4 Identity Complexity in Luke’s Community

There are different views on the composition of the social groups in the community of Luke (Bock, 2007:27; Esler, 1998:31). For some, the social groups in the community of Luke were composed of: (1) predominantly Gentile Christians, (2) others think that they were both Jewish Christians and predominantly Gentile Christians, and (3) while others presume that there were predominantly Jewish Christians (Bock, 2007:27; Witherington, 1998:64; Eisler, 1994:31; Halvor, 1994:380). According to Esler (1994:31), a number of scholars support the first view, a few go for the second, while virtually none subscribe to the third. There are others who think that Luke was writing for a Jewish audience even though the gentiles were the largest population in his congregation. This research subscribes to the second view which reflects the situation as highly probable. One may hazard the view that the second opinion

may imply that the majority of Gentiles in Luke's congregation might not have been converted to Christianity but chances are that they could have been familiar with Jewish synagogues.

3.4.1 Hellenistic/Gentile Community

In this community of Luke, other social groups can be referred to as out-group members to the Jewish Christians who were generally considered as the in-group. The out-group members had their boundary markers which were different from the in-group members. This social group (community of Luke) believed in the doctrine of justification by faith which was quite different from Jewish Christianity that believed in circumcision, observing the Torah and paying allegiance to the temple in Jerusalem (Story, 2010:34). Its origin is found in Acts 11:19-16 where the Law-free mission to the Gentiles is enunciated. There are some scholars such as Kim (2002:76); Koester (2000:96); Raisanen (1992:186) who argued that it was the Hellenist Christians who started the Gentile mission before they were expelled from Jerusalem. It may well be argued that these Hellenist Christians who were expelled returned to Jerusalem at the Council in Acts 15. An analysis of the Lukan material shows that the Hellenist Christians did not approach the Gentiles when they were in Jerusalem or during the initial stages of their mission. It is possible that the Law-free mission to the Gentiles could have started later after the execution of Stephen.

According to Elmer (2006:5), Hellenists (ἑλληνοστῆται) were a Greek-speaking social group that at times clashed with the Hebrews; that is, the Aramaic-speaking Jerusalem Church members over the distribution of food (Acts, 6:1-6). These clashes led to the appointment of seven Hellenist Christian leaders. The Hellenist Christians did not regard the fundamental beliefs of Judaism like the Temple, circumcision and the observance of the Torah as important

(Koester, 2000:98). This resulted in the execution of Stephen by Judaisers. The Stephen group were scattered from Jerusalem to different parts of the region and, in this process, an early form of Hellenistic Jewish “Christian” emerged giving them a new identity which was independent from Jerusalem and the Temple (Jorg, 2012:456).

Another notable out-group member of the Hellenist Christian community was Joseph Barnabas who was a prominent member of the Jerusalem community (Acts 4:36-37; 9:27). It is not clear how Barnabas came to be involved in the Antiochene social group. Chances are that Barnabas followed Paul in Antioch probably sent by the Jerusalem Church to supervise Paul’s mission to the Gentiles. Elmer (2006:6); Schnabel (2004:658) contend that Barnabas was connected with the Stephen group (Acts 13:1) which later defected to the Hebrew social group when there was a split between them and the Hellenists. As a member of the Jerusalem social group, Barnabas was sent to Antioch by the Jerusalem Church but got so excited to be involved in the mission to the Gentles so much that he decided to join the Antiochene community (Jorg, 2012:457; Elmer, 2006:6; Schnabel, 2004:659). Even though the community of Antioch still had Jewish people, a new and unique form of identity emerged with different identity markers such as Temple, Torah, and purity laws. In this community, he became one of the leading figures who were involved in the mission to the Gentiles.

It is important at this point to consider how Paul was associated with the Antiochene social group. Social identity complexities explain how a person with several insider identities relates with a person who identifies autonomously and not how different identities instinctively merge to give an all-inclusive picture of a person’s insider membership. This is characteristic of the person of Paul who belonged to multiple group memberships because of

his inclusive approach to his gospel. In Galatians 1:11-17, Paul claims that his gospel of justification by faith came to him through a 'revelation from Jesus Christ' and that he did not receive it through any human involvement. Paul did not return to Jerusalem until fourteen years later (Galatians 2:1). According to this view, Paul started his mission to the Jews but they rejected his gospel and he then turned to the Gentiles in Antioch. In contrast, Schnabel (2004:2659) contested this view by arguing that this reconstruction of events can only be valid if the historical situation of the entire Hellenists is rejected. It can be pointed out that this may create other problems because it lacks any solid logical justification.

It is not clear how Paul got acquainted with his mission to the Gentiles and specifically with the Antiochene social group. One can suggest that it could have started in Damascus when he was converted from being a persecutor of Christian communities to a preacher. The Damascus event was critical to Paul because his conversion made him to change his social identity and he also crossed his social boundary from being a persecutor to an apostle. This is in agreement with Dunn (1997:251) who argued that the revelation that he got changed him from being a persecutor to an advocate of a Law-free mission to the Gentiles. To this end, it can be argued that there were two distinctive social groups within the primitive Church. On the one hand, there were the Jewish Christian social group which resided in the Diaspora and observed the Torah; on the other hand, there was a Hellenist Christian social group or Gentile Christian social group with a Law-Free Christianity found in Antioch.

The composition of the community of Luke is important and quite influential in the Lucan scholarship. This view argues that an examination of the writings of Luke shows that there was a gentile audience which was being given the Gospel. This argument is based on the

premise that one can identify the “composition of Luke’s community by observing ... significant pattern of emphasis among those people whom he singles out in his Gospel and in Acts as sharing in the message of salvation” (Esler, 1994:33). However, the problem with this view when considering Luke’s audience is that it may reveal that the beneficiaries of the good news are portrayed not as former pagan idolaters but as Gentiles who were used to attending synagogues with the Jews. Both social groups were brought together with the idea of table-fellowship in their community. If one examines the events and contents in Luke-Acts without comparing them with the letters of Paul, one may have a faulty conclusion because the letters of Paul may act as a significant historical control for the events and development of the early church. The composition of the community of Luke appears to be a mixture of both Jews and Gentiles bound together in table-fellowship. The aim was probably to bring balance and unity between the Gentiles and Jews in Luke’s community. This is the most convincing view on the composition of Luke’s community in the Roman Empire because there were more Gentile than Jewish Christians.

3.4.2 The God-Fearers

The God-Fearers is another social category that was found in the community of Luke. Esler (1987:24) proposed that the Lukan community was composed of Jews and Gentiles but the God-Fearers were slightly different from proselytes. The God-Fearers participated in ritual requirements of the Law but they could not go another step in becoming circumcised. In fact, they were not fully converted into Judaism. Collins (2000:269) suggested that in the Book of Act, the phrases *σεβομένοι τὸν Θεόν* (Acts 17:4, 17) and *φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν* Acts 13:16, 26) technically mean ‘Pious Gentiles’. Esler (1987:36) refers to God-Fearers as people who imitate Jewish customs such as worshipping God of Israel, observing the Sabbath, food laws among others. They also visited Jewish synagogues and believed in monotheism.

However, God-Fearers had no clear social category because they did not have well-defined social boundary markers. This helped to show the grey areas where the social boundaries between Jews and Gentiles were not clearly visible.

There are a number of examples of God-Fearing Gentiles who were converted to Christianity. Tyson (1992:67) argues that Theophilus (Luke 1:3; Acts 1:1) is an example of a person who loved God. Another example is the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts 8:27-39) who came to Jerusalem and worshipped in synagogues. The Ethiopian eunuch can be categorised as a God-Fearer but was not circumcised in line with the Jewish customs. There are prominent people who are included in Luke-Acts who are; the first Centurion or the Master of the sick slave (Luke 7), the second Centurion (Luke 23:47), Cornelius (Acts 10:1-11:18), Lydia and the prison guard (Acts 16:14, 25-34) among others.

It is interesting to note how the early Church responded to the God-Fearers. This can be seen in how the Jerusalem Council dealt with how Gentiles could be accepted into Jewish Christianity without observing Mosaic Law. The Pharisees or the circumcision party argued that the Gentiles could only be accepted into the Christian community only if they were circumcised and observed the full requirements of the Torah. Both Paul (Galatians 2:12) and Luke (Acts 11:2) agree on the conditions for the Gentiles to follow before they could be accepted into the Christian community. After the deliberations at the Council, according to Luke, they (Acts 15) agreed that the Mosaic Law and circumcision should not exist and be forced on the Gentile Christians (Elmer, 2006:3). An Apostolic decree was passed and circulated to different assemblies in Syria, Cilicia and Antioch, (Esler, 1997:97). It appears the main aim of Luke-Acts was a process of convincing God-Fearers to embrace Christianity

without circumcision and observing the Torah. Luke may have wanted to show that God wanted to restore his Kingdom by incorporating Gentiles. This is evidenced by the removal of social and religious boundaries where Jews and Gentiles could share a meal without any problems. In light of this argument, Esler (1997:155) notes that regardless of the social boundaries between the Jews and the Gentiles on religious issues, Gentiles could visit and worship in Temples and synagogues in Jerusalem.

3.4.3 Jewish Christians

The conversion of Cornelius and his family into Jewish Christianity is very important because he is one of the earliest Gentile converts to join the Jerusalem community. Elmer (2006:2-3) questions the credibility of the Cornelius conversion episode as not historical. Notwithstanding the fact that this is not the focus of this research, this study holds that it could be a historical event because he is also seen as one of the in-group members of the Jerusalem community like, Peter, James and John. In addition, the Cornelius incident was used by Peter as an argument to approve Paul's mission to the Gentiles at the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15. According to Acts 4:1-22 and 5:20-21, there are instances where members of the apostolic circle of the community were harassed, persecuted, arrested, and imprisoned at the instigation of fellow Jews. It is significant to note that the Jerusalem community was characterised by their allegiance to the temple and the Mosaic Law. The observance of the Mosaic Law and paying allegiance to the temple were social identity markers that left out non-Jews. It is interesting to note that Cornelius had to cross the boundary markers to join the other social group which had different social values and norms. It is also significant to note that there were various Jews during Paul's time who used explicit boundary conservation strategies. According to Malina and Rohrbaugh (1992:2): "[T]his would have influenced the social identity of Jews and would have been expressed in

favouritism towards those who belonged to the in-group”. For the Jews during this period, the world existed with the Jews as a chosen nation on the one hand and other lesser nationalities on the other. Their Jewish identity and perceived divine election was characterised by holiness and separatism.

A deliberate exclusion of Jewish beliefs, customs and practises from the sources that Luke used in writing his Gospel suggests that his community was not Gentile only but a mixture that had Jewish people. The examples which are mostly referred to are Matthew 5:21-48 (provided these are from the pro-Matthew source), the conflict on the clean and the unclean in Mark 7:1-23 and in different conflicts between Jesus and the rabbis (Esler, 1994:32). These issues can be summarised as topics which are related to purity and the law. The evidence provided above may not point to a predominantly gentile community in the community of Luke but the inclusion of the issues of table-fellowship and law shed more light to the view that the congregation was predominantly Jewish, with a minority of Gentiles. However, this view is not convincing because the congregation could not be predominantly Jewish if the community was in the Roman Empire.

3.5 Social Issues in Luke’s Community: Material Possession as boundary maker

Besides ethnicity, according to Grimshaw (1999:34), the social identity of the community of Luke could be interpreted by its use of material possessions. The issue of material possessions acted as a social boundary marker that excluded the out-group members of the community who were poor. In this case, the community was composed of both urban and rural areas and those who belonged to the urban areas became the in-group while those who stayed in rural areas became the out-group members. Oakman (1991:152) contends that the social groups that stayed in urban areas were rich while those who were in rural areas were

poor. The community which was located in large cities in the Roman Empire were the rich people who had the mandate to help the poor (Walton, 2008). However, the poor were also involved in the production of food for the rich people in urban areas (Grimshaw, 1999:34). Kok (2014) argued that the in-group members always viewed the out-group members with suspicion. The implication therefore is that the poor people who stayed in rural areas suffered because their counterparts, the rich people, did not help them. The ability to possess land was an important social identity or attribute for one to get better recognition in society (Philips, 2003). It can be pointed out that even though the poor possessed land, they did not get the recognition they deserved in society because they remained poor.

There is a view which argues that the issue of the poor was not a central concern in the community of Luke. In fact, Esler (1994:165) argued against the existence of a special interest in poverty and riches in Luke-Acts. Esler (1994) further posits that the issue of poverty and riches was just an inheritance that the author derived from his sources when he compiled his book and these sources are Mark and Q. He opines that the theme was actually borrowed from the Gospel of Mark. The notion raised by Esler (1994) may not be tenable because even if the author used Mark as one of his major sources, it does not necessarily mean that the author did not have his own interest in poverty and riches. It is highly probable that the issue of poverty and riches was characteristic of the community of Luke which resulted in the creation of two social groups based on material possessions.

Oakman's (1991:162) social identity distinction between the urban landowners and rural peasants is slightly different from Theissen's (1982:160) study of the early Christian societies. Theissen (1982) differs with Oakman (1991) in that he says the early Christian

society was not permanently settled in urban areas but was an itinerant social group in rural areas. The social group moved into urban areas from their rural settlement. There emerged a second social group in the form of the itinerant group which had its own skills for personal sustenance. Notably, Theissen (1982:58) makes a “distinction between the rural itinerant charismatics on the margins of society who leave family and house behind to wander the countryside.” It is probable that these were the social groups which came into conflict with each other in the Corinthian community.

Oakman (1991:160), in agreement with Theissen (1982:58), gave the difference between the social groups in Luke-Acts based on the material possessions. He further contended that Luke’s community was small, rural, and itinerant while Acts’ community was urban, very large and they had to share their possessions in common. This could have been the Jerusalem community where there was a conflict which started when Stephen was executed and it went on until the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15) where it was tentatively resolved as presented in Acts.

There was also conflict between the rich and the poor in the community of Luke. From the evidence in 1 Corinthians, there were tensions socially which existed involving the poor and rich (Philips, 2003; Theissen, 1982). It could be that Luke was interested in meals, probably because there were social conflicts which were prevalent in the community of Luke. According to Moxnes (1994), “[w]hen Jesus encourages the invitation of the poor, maimed, the lame, the blind” (Luke 14:13). His argument is not to say that the poor have to make an invitation to the polluted which is in accordance with the purity laws. Alternatively, potential visitors are received with respect to their societal locality as those who will be in the position

to reciprocate the invitation (Luke 14:14). In the Gospel of Luke, Jesus criticised the elite saying; “[d]o not invite your friends or your brothers or your kinsmen or your rich neighbours lest also invite you in return, and you be repaid” (Luke, 13:13). Luke is describing the utilisation of generosity as a way of protecting and massaging the egos of the selected few of a social grouping which was exclusive by observing and maintaining boundary lines against out-groups. The exclusionary nature of the elite social group precipitated conflict within the community of Luke.

3.6 Conclusion

The chapter revealed different social groups within Luke’s community and established that the community of Luke was composed of a mixture of two social groups namely; Christians and non-Christians who were coming from different social and religious backgrounds. The location appears to have been outside Palestine which could probably be in Antioch because of its proximity to Jerusalem. Luke was also a companion of Paul during his missionary journeys and seems to have been aware of the geography of Antioch. Therefore, Antioch could have been the most probable community of Luke. The social identity of the members of the Lukan community was identified through material possession. Material possessions acted as categories of identities within Luke’s community. The next chapter focuses on demonstrating the use of social identity complexity on Acts 15.

Chapter 4: Historiography and Social Identity Complexity in Acts 15

4.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter I explored the various social groups within Luke's community and this chapter, using the Social Identity Complexity theory (SIC), demonstrates:

The existence of various ethnic groups, their tensions and intersectionality

How Luke's historiography in Acts 15 desires to present an imaginary merger identity beyond compartmentalised identities.

In doing this, the chapter is interested in using aspects of the theory such as intersection, compartmentalisation, merger and dominance. In exploring these identities, the chapter reveals how Luke tried to argue for a collective identity that went beyond the ethnic and social boundaries that existed in his community. This chapter also seeks to explore the historicity of the Jerusalem Council, the literary structure of Acts 15 and to discuss whether the Jerusalem Council took place or not. The chapter is not interested in the historicity of the event but on how Luke presented complexity of identity and in using historiography as a possible solution to identity complexity.

4.1 The Literary Structure of Acts 15

This section explores how Acts 15: 1-35 fits into the overall structure of the book of Acts. In the book of Acts there are stages of development in the early period of the church. The first chapters of the book of Acts were carefully crafted by Luke to prepare his readers to look at the important decision of the council. This resonates with Conzelmann's (1987:115) observation when referring to the Jerusalem Council that "it is the greatest turning point, the transition from the primitive church to the Jesus movement." During the development of the church, there were geographical and cultural expansions that resulted in debates and conflicts.

4.1.1 Acts 1-5: The Earliest Stage of the Primitive Church

The resurrection of Jesus and the Pentecost were events which showed that the final dispensation was over. It meant that God had become active and present in the lives of the followers of Jesus. The actual disciples or the people of the way and other converts were Hebrews/Jews who were still present in Jerusalem. The followers of Jesus or “the people of the way” were still under the tenets and practices of Judaism. The Judeans had recognized and regarded the complexity within Jewish social and religious identities of an emerging movement. DaSilva (2004:359) noted that the Jews had seen a new religious identity (faith) but thought that it was a continuation of God’s salvific plans through the history of Israel. Scott (1997:209) argued that Jews thought that Jesus was the Messiah who brought the “age of fulfilment”. In such a scenario, the Jewish Christians followed the values and norms of the Jewish people which implied that there was inclusion in the new social identity (faith).

4.1.2 Acts 6-7 The Jewish Christian Hellenists

In this section, there is the first conflict which is witnessed in a homogenous community. In Acts 6:1-6, two social groups emerged from the major cultural division of Second Temple Judaism. These social groups were Jewish Christians and Hellenistic Christians. The Jewish Christians were particularistic and exclusive while the Hellenistic Christians were more inclusive in their outlook. Scott (1994:209) argued that the cultural difference caused the Hebraic Jewish Christians to identify the dangers and implications of the new social category (faith) which was emerging. In addition to the point raised by Scott, it can be argued that the Hebraic and Hellenistic Christians were meeting separately because of the differences in the languages of the two social groups. To make matters worse, Stephen’s speech caused further conflict when he attacked the fundamental social boundary markers of Judaism (the sacredness of the temple and the city of Jerusalem) and introduced a “theology” of the Jewish Hellenistic Christians (DeSilver, 2004:361; Acts 7:48-50). This resulted in the execution of

Stephen. His execution marked the beginning and expansion of missionary work beyond the boundaries of Jerusalem (Acts 1:8) leaving the Jerusalem Church in isolation.

4.1.3 Acts 8-9, Samaria and Periphery Circle

At this stage of the development of the Church, the Hebraic Jews as a social group became stricter against fellow Jews who even believed what they believed. Samaritans as a social category had nothing to do with the Jews and had hostile relations towards them for centuries. According to Scott (1997:210), Samaritans were better than the Gentiles because they were racially closer to the Jews as they were circumcised and observed the Mosaic Law. DeSilver (2004:364) noted that God had a plan to restore the house of David and the Samaritans responded positively to the preaching of the apostles. According to Luke, Philip spearheaded the evangelisation of the Samaritans. In response, the Jerusalem Church had to task Peter and John, the most influential members of the twelve disciples, to supervise Philip's work. Peter and John were convinced that what Philip was doing was a good work of God as evidenced by the Holy Spirit which the Samaritans had received.

According to DeSilva (2004:264), the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch was significant in Luke's theme of rebuilding the house of David because it was prophesied by Isaiah (Isaiah 56:3-5). The Ethiopians were not as close to the Jews as the Samaritans racially but they were in some way connected. Both Jews and Ethiopians are connected because of the relationship between Queen of Sheba and Solomon (1Kings 10:1-13). Jews and Ethiopians accepted that the Queen of Sheba bore a son for Solomon. The presence of the eunuch in Jerusalem suggested that he could have been a God-Fearer or a proselyte. DeSilva (2004:364) acknowledges that the acceptance of the Samaritans and an Ethiopian by the Jerusalem community shows how the new movement was going beyond the ethnic and cultural

boundaries of the historic Israel. The missionary expansion of the gospel also went to the Jews in the coastal plain of the land of Israel which was highly polluted by constant contact with the Gentiles. Scott (2004:212) has pointed out that the Jewish social group that had been polluted were removed from Hebrew worship and the temple. Other Jews actually doubted their purity and no longer wanted to associate with them. The conversion of Saul on his way to Damascus to persecute Christians was significant in the geographical and cultural expansion of the gospel. When he returned to Jerusalem after conversion, he was not accepted by the Jerusalem Church. Paul, who had acquired a new social identity as a Christian, had to relocate to Antioch where he started a new ministry with a new emphasis. Paul acquired a new theme that was justification by faith in Jesus and not by the works of the Law.

4.1.4 Acts 10-12, The conversion of Gentiles into the Church

The conversion of Cornelius was a significant episode in the development of the early church. As a Roman centurion, Cornelius could have been a “God-Fearer”. Both Cornelius and Peter experienced visions which pointed to Cornelius’ conversion. When Cornelius was in prayer, an angel told him that God will send Peter to him. He was told the actual place where he would meet him (Acts 10:3-6, 10-16). Peter had a vision which was full of the dictates of the *kosher* laws and Jewish traditions. The primary focus of the vision was on which animals were clean and unclean for him to kill and eat. Peter went to Cornelius’ house and he managed to convert them. Peter explained in Acts 10:28 his desire to break his social and religious boundaries in order to reach the Gentiles because of God’s directive. DeSilva (2004:366) rightly argued that Luke had a significant point to make based on the Cornelius event and it was that God did not discriminate between Jews or Gentiles. This episode made it possible for Gentile Christians to co-exist and continue to fellowship with the people of

Israel. There was inclusion of Gentiles in Antioch. This attracted the attention of the Church in Jerusalem and Barnabas had to be sent to go and supervise Paul's mission to the Gentiles. Barnabas became so captivated with what he found there that he stayed longer than anticipated. It's not clear whether Barnabas gave a report to the Jerusalem Church which had sent him. It is probable that a famine relief to Jerusalem was organised by the Antiochean Church. One may argue that it is likely that Barnabas could have returned to Jerusalem during this visit. The people of Jerusalem (believers) were experiencing famine and persecution which was orchestrated by King Herod Agrippa 1 (Acts 12:1-3). James was executed during the persecution and Peter was arrested but he escaped.

4.1.5 Acts 13-14, Paul's First Missionary Journey

The missionary journey undertaken by Paul and Barnabas was a first step towards a massive cultural, geographical and racial expansion of the spread of the gospel. These two apostles were sent out on this missionary to work with a racially mixed church (Acts 13:1). On their missionary journey, they preached to the Jews first but the majority of their converts were Gentiles. DeSilva (2004:366) suggests that Luke in Acts emphasises that the missionary activities were initiated by the Holy Spirit to spread the gospel to the Gentile world. Many of the converts, mainly Gentiles, were accepted in the Christian community not on the basis of the requirements of Judaism but on the basis of justification by faith in Jesus. Paul and Barnabas made a report on their return to Antioch highlighting the nature of their message and who their converts were. Luke in Acts wanted to show that Christianity developed within Judaism (DeSilva, 2004:367). Therefore, Christianity according to Luke, was a continuation of the Jewish faith but this time with Gentiles being included in God's plan. The issues discussed above are events which led to the convening of the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15.

4.2 Reconstructing Events of Acts 15 from Social Identity Complexity (SIC)

This section explores Acts 15:1-35 from a social identity complexity perspective. Major sections to be considered are 1-5, 6-21, and 22-35. First to be considered are verses 1-5. This section presents the problem that led to the council with verses 1-2 focusing on the situation in Antioch whereas verses 4-5 deal with the arrival of delegates in Jerusalem. Section 6-18 focuses on the discussion and the resolution that was made by the delegates at the council. The last section to be investigated is 22-35 and this comprises the writing (22-29) and sending of the letter to different congregations with representatives (30-35).

4.2.1 Compartmentalised Identities: Acts 15: 1-5

This group probably comprised Judaisers who were strict observers of the Mosaic Law. The Judaisers believed in the centrality of other specific laws like circumcision, observing the Sabbath and the Passover. Peter is a very important character to consider when examining the compartmentalisation identities in Acts 15. Peter in Acts and Galatians is presented as a leader of the early Church. He was a Jew who belonged to a major ethnic Judean section of the Christ-following movement (Kok, 2014). As a leader, Peter was very particular about the values and norms of the group he belonged to. Peter knew very well the dietary laws of the Jews; that Judeans could not share the same table with non-Jews (Freeman, 2011:17). This social phenomenon was regulated by the Jewish Law (Mosaic Law Acts 15). For the Jews, there were just two worlds; that is the world of the Jews and that of the non-Jews. At the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15 which took place in 48/49 A.D. (Keener, 2012; Story, 2010). Paul and the Jerusalem apostles made an agreement that it would not be necessary for Gentile converts to be circumcised and observe the Mosaic Law before they were accepted into the Jewish Christianity (Hansen, 2010:69). If this agreement had not been done, there could have been two different Christian communities, one led by Peter, James and John (Jerusalem Church) and a Gentile Church (Antiochene Church) headed by Paul. In these two

communities the Gentile Christians were a minority. The Jerusalem community comprised mainly of the Jewish-Christ followers or people of the way.

Peter is a character that activated multiple identities and conveyed those identities contextually. Peter could have interacted with the Gentile believers according to the needs of the context thus showing some evidence of social identity complexity and inclusivity that went outside the Jewish exclusive social identity boundaries. But when pressure mounted from the Jerusalem church, Peter had no choice but to revert to another exclusive social position. In this case, Peter appears to have compartmentalised his social identity according to the requirements of a specific situation. Kok (2014:7) rightly asserts that “[o]ne moment he could act as the inclusive ‘Antiochean Peter’ and the next he acted as the exclusive ethnocentric ‘Jerusalem Peter’ which seems to have been the dominant identity at that point in time”. When the pressure escalated from his exclusive ethnic social group, Peter showed the *‘implicit hierarchy in his own social identity’* (Kok, 2014:7). It was a great opportunity for Peter to correct the representatives from Judea, but he did not. Instead, Peter chose his social identity as a Jew to take precedence and excluded those he had socialised with in the recent past and he erected social boundaries between him and them. These were events which were brewing the conflict at Antioch between Paul and the Jewish Christians that necessitated the convening of the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15 (Witherington, 1998; Schnabel, 2005). The major reason for convening the conference in Jerusalem was to try and resolve the conflict between these two social groups. The said conflict was based on the requirements that the Gentiles had to observe... before they could be accepted into the Jewish Christian community.

The Judean social group had some overlaps with the Hellenistic Jews especially on observing the Mosaic Law, circumcision, and dietary laws. The Judaisers and Hellenistic Jews could also worship in synagogues. However, Hellenistic Jews were not as strict as Judaisers in observing the Mosaic Law. In addition, the God-Fearers were another social and religious category which had some overlap with Judaisers. God-Fearers were different from Gentile Christians. God-Fearers worshipped with Judaisers in synagogues but they were not fully converted into Judaism as they avoided circumcision. In this case, the Judaisers became the major social category within these mentioned groups. While the Jewish Christians, Gentiles Christians and God-Fearers remained primary groups in other contexts. Jews activated a number of identities and demonstrated those identities contextually among Hellenistic Jews, Gentile Christians and God-Fearers.

At the Jerusalem Council, the major conflict was caused by the crossing of social identity markers which were the requirements for Gentile admission into salvation. The other element that precipitated conflict was the social boundary marker of the observance of the Law of Moses (15:5). The Pharisees at the Jerusalem Council did not only demand the Gentiles to adhere to circumcision but also to cross their social boundaries to follow the stipulations of the Torah. This caused conflict between the Gentile and Jewish Christians because it was very difficult for Gentiles to break their social boundary markers in order to follow the Jewish Law. The problem hinged on circumcision as a necessary prerequisite for Gentile Christians to be accepted into Jewish Christianity as a social group. According to Story (2011:39), this conflict started in Antioch where certain men from Judea advocated the upholding of the norms and values of Jewish identity and these taught that circumcision was the gateway to salvation for Gentile Christians. In Acts 15:1, the phrase "... some men coming down from Judea..." could mean those who came to Antioch from the James party

(Gal 2:12). These men could have been Judaisers who might have come to Antioch to enforce their values and norms as a social group. They also wanted to maintain their social and religious boundaries against the Gentiles. The other possibility could be that there could have been “false brothers secretly brought” in Galatians 2:4 probably to spy on Paul’s mission to the Gentiles (Keener, 2014:2211; Pervo, 2009:370; Bock, 2007:545; Bruce, 1998:268; Witherington, 1998:450; Haenchen, 1971:443; Metzger, 1975:426). In verses 1-5, Metzger (1971:426) posits that the Western text introduced a variety of changes to these verses; for example, in verse 1, (ἀπό της αἰρέσεως τῶν Φαρισαίων, Ψ 614 1799 2412 syr^{hmg}). In addition, “the practice of Moses” (τῷ ἔθει Μωϋσέως) has exegetical problems. According to Pervo (2009:371); Bock (2007:494); Witherington (1998:450), this phrase is in a dative case of cause and effect or rule which means “because of the custom of Moses” or “according to the custom of Moses.” The phrase may refer to Jewish tradition, but this is not certain because the command to be circumcised was coming directly from the Law given in relation to the Patriarch of Abraham (Gen. 17:10-14). The Law of Moses and circumcision were the social identity markers which were meant to keep the Gentiles excluded from the Christian community. The exclusiveness of the Jews against the Gentiles shows their compartmentalisation. Keener (2014:2221); Story (2011:38); Bruce (1998:286) argue that this phrase has been widely used by Luke in verses like Luke 1:9; 2:42; 22:39; Acts 6:14; 15:1; 16:21; 21:21; 25:16; 26:3 and 28:17 in light of “the whole of the cultic law attributed to Moses.” Pervo (2009:372); Segal (2001:64); Witherington (1998:450); Haenchen (1971:443) also pointed out that there are a variety of views within Judaism and Jewish Pharisaism concerning the place of Gentiles in God’s plan. It can be pointed out that Luke may have wanted to be inclusive in both his Gospel and Acts. Luke could have wanted to put the Gentiles in God’s universal salvific plan. However, there is no agreement on either policy or status of the Gentiles in salvation history.

There was tension and debate (στάσεως και ζητήσεως) because Paul and Barnabas did not agree with the Judeans on their approach to the Gentile mission (Keener, 2014:2222; Bock, 2007:495; Story, 2010:42). According to social identity complexity, the tension here could have been caused by two social groups which had different social norms and values which each group wanted to uphold. The use of the verbs which promote dissension is echoed by Danker and Gingrich (1983:185) who suggested a number of words with a similar meaning which include uprising, riot, revolt, rebellion, strife, discord, and dispute. A critical analysis of these words reveals that there was conflict and strife at Antioch. According to Keener (2014:2223); Bock (2007:495); Witherington (1998:443), because of the intensity of the conflict, they then decided to go to Jerusalem for a conference over the issue. The solution to the problem could not come from Paul and Barnabas and those who opposed them but from the apostles and elders (ἀποστόλους και πρεσβυτέρους) who would adjudicate on the crucial question of the Jew-Gentile relationship.

There are debates on the texts concerning the movement of Barnabas and Paul from Antioch to Jerusalem. The Western text is different from the B-text. According to the B-text, certain unknown people “arranged” (έταξαν) for Barnabas and Paul to go to Jerusalem (Metzger 1971:427). That the B-text seems to support Paul may imply that it originated in Antioch. That means the B-text could have been in the same social category of inclusivity and pluralism. In the D-text, the envoys from Jerusalem “ordered” (παρήγγειλαν) Barnabas and Paul to go to Jerusalem and present their case to the apostles and elders. The D-text could represent the Jerusalem church probably because of its exclusiveness. Therefore, it is not clear whether or not the envoy from Jerusalem had the mandate to do so. There is a probability that the B-text could be reflecting Paul’s views whereas the D-text reflects the position of the Jerusalem church (Metzger 1971:437). The implication of this disparity

between the two texts is that there probably were different values and norms between each respective social group.

Paul and Barnabas were journeying (διήρχονο) (which is in the imperfect tense showing incomplete action) to Jerusalem, passing through Phoenicia and Samaria, reporting (ἐκδιηγέομαι) their mission to the Gentiles. The term “report” (ἐκδιηγέομαι) sets the tone for the Jerusalem Council which was to follow. Bock (2007:495); Pervo (2009:372) call this journey a “campaign trip” for the upcoming council. They (Paul and Barnabas) were probably campaigning because they wanted the outcome of the Jerusalem Council to favour the Gentile mission.

Paul and Barnabas arrived in Jerusalem and were received well received (παρεδέχθησαν) by the church, apostles, and elders. It is probable that Paul and Barnabas had a good reception in Jerusalem because both had a Jewish background. They were welcomed back home. So they belonged to the same social category. The use of (ἀπό) shows the agent (B C 36a 94 307 326 431 1175): which implies that reception was by means of the church (Keener, 2014:2223; Pervo, 2009:374; Bock, 2007:496; Witherington, 1998:453; Fitzmyer, 1998:545). Paul and Barnabas made a report (ἀνήγγειλαν) on “all that God had done through them.” The use of (ἀνήγγειλαν) in the aorist tense indicates they had completed their evangelisation. The good reception was from the rest of the church but others had to rise up (ἐξάνεστησαν) in protest against Paul and Barnabas. According to Bock (2007:496), the party which complained was probably the Jewish believers who had a Pharisaic background. The term “party” (αἵρέσεως) could refer to a smaller group with a different social category and religious beliefs (Keener, 2014:2224; Bock, 2007:496). This social group made two demands:

First, those Gentiles should be circumcised and second, that they should keep the law as indicated in verse 1. Luke uses the term (δεῖ) which means it is necessary for Gentiles to keep the law thus implying that such compliance is a divine necessity (Bock, 2007:496). The Pharisees thought that Gentiles should be Jewish proselytes. The Pharisees were a social group which was stricter than other Judaisers in observing the Mosaic Law. The Pharisees' utterances show that they were not prepared to see their social boundary markers being destroyed by accepting the other the Gentile social group. The Pharisees probably did not want the Gentiles to be in their social category. However, the deliberations of the council ushered in a new dispensation by approving Gentile mission without circumcision and observance of the law.

Acts 15:5 reiterates the problem which was introduced in verse 1 but with some more detail similar to Gal. 5:2-3 where Paul asserts that circumcision should be observed as part of the law (Keener, 2014:2224; Bock, 2007:495). Therefore, all the laws had to be observed for one to be saved. The views of the Pharisees could be rooted in the claims made in Gen. 17:10-14 and Deut. 5:28-33 which emphasise the importance of observing the law (Fitzmyer, 1998:546). The other element that precipitated conflict is the social boundary marker of the observance of the Law of Moses (15:5). The Pharisees at the Jerusalem Council did not only demand the Gentiles to adhere to circumcision but also to cross their social boundaries and follow the stipulations of the Torah. This shows the exclusiveness of the Pharisees towards the Gentile Christians.

In this section, it was observed that from the Maccabean period (Macc.1:10-15), Jews remained focused on their social boundary markers by keeping the law. Nevertheless, the

question to be asked is whether the Gentiles could have faith in Jesus and still continue to observe the Torah for them to get salvation. The question is not whether Gentiles should be accepted in the Christian community, but the precise requirements for their inclusion. Would the Gentiles assume a new social identity if they were accepted in the Jewish Christian community? This section emphasised compartmentalisation by Judaisers against other social groupings. The next sections (6-21) examine the deliberations of the resolution of the conflict from a merger perspective.

4.2.2 Merger Identities: Acts 15:6-21

This section comprises three social groups who presented what brought them to the conference in Jerusalem. What is also evident is that all the three social groups in this section have a Jewish background, but now represent different social categories. Peter, a Jew by birth, and was a leader of the twelve disciples of Jesus. At some point he was the leader of the Church during its inception (Acts 2). However, it's not clear how James took over the leadership of the Church in Jerusalem. Both Paul and Barnabas had Jewish background. Paul was actually a teacher of the law which implied that he was a more conservative Judean. As the Christian movement developed, especially when Paul appeared on the scene, more and more Gentiles were converted. Paul's voice of inclusivity was insignificant since the movement was in its infancy (Kok, 2014). Paul's personal development and his social identity were typified by plurality and social identity complexity. Though Paul's historicity is not very clear, there is however general agreement in Acts that he grew up in Tarsus as a Diaspora Jew (Acts 22:3). At a later stage, he went to Jerusalem where he was educated under Gamaliel, a well known teacher of oral law (Neyrey, 1995). A few years after the death of Jesus Christ, he had an experience on the way to Damascus which radically changed his life (Kok, 2014). He experienced some form of revelation which changed his social identity

and a sense of inclusiveness (Acts 9; Karyakina, 2014:106-114). It can be argued that Paul's social identity may have been complex precisely because of the diverse environments which influenced his life. Paul himself argued that he once embodied an exclusive Judean identity as shown by what he said in Philippians 3:4-6. After his conversion, he could see the boundary lines between insiders and outsiders. While in Antioch, Paul assumed a new social identity different from Judaism. Paul's approach in his gospel changed from being (Torah observant) exclusive to (Law-free gospel) which is inclusive. The change in Paul's approach in his gospel created conflict between the Antiochean and the Jerusalem Church. The conflict led to the Jerusalem Council being convened in order to resolve the problem.

James was a representative of Judaism as a social group. James belonged to a social group which was exclusive of non-Jews. He was the leader of the Jewish Church in Jerusalem. These three social groups, represented by Peter, Paul and Barnabas and James, overlapped in that they all debated, deliberated and agreed on how to accept the Gentiles into the Christian community. It can be noted that the three groups were recognized at the same time at the Jerusalem Council and they were inclusive in their approach to the problem.

The section of Acts 15:6-21 summarises the debate which was characterised by a series of key speakers namely Peter (15:7b-11), Barnabas and Paul (15:12), and James who resolved the matter (15:13-21). The debate resulted in the formulation of the apostolic decree. This section shows the plurality and social identity complexity among Peter, Paul and Barnabas on the one hand and James on the other. Barrett (1998:709) correctly notes that the wide-ranging spread of the gospel to the Gentile world was a result of the Council's decision. It is also Luke's

major concern to restore the house of Israel in both the gospel and Acts. God had a salvific plan to include both Jews and Gentiles.

In Acts 15:6, after (πρεσβύτεροι) 614 1799 2412, syr^h Ephraem added the words (σὺν τῷ πλήθει) meaning with the congregation. The gloss could have been necessitated by verses 12 and 22 where there is reference made to “assembly” and “the whole church” (Metzger, 1971:428). The elders and apostles met to deliberate over the question of how the Gentiles could be accepted into the Christian community. The issue at stake was to be inclusive and plural rather than drawing social boundaries between elders and apostles on one side and Gentiles on the other. The text literally talks of “looking at the matter” (ἰδεῖν περί τοῦ λόγου τοῦτου) (Keener, 2014:2230; Bock, 2007:499). The entire community engagement in solving the problem is reminiscent of Acts 6:1-2.

Peter made his presentation to the council by giving his purview of the Cornelius incident. The Cornelius event shows that Peter had already crossed his Judean social and religious boundaries in order to minister to him (Cornelius). According to Bock (2007:499), this was the third time that Luke made reference to the event thus showing its significance (Acts 10; 11:1-18). Peter stood up to make his speech after much debate (ζητήσεως). The repetition of the Cornelius event signifies that it was important for the Church to accept Gentiles in the Christian community. This debate probably denotes a real conflict and an exchange of words which was characterised by dissension and strife. The debate reflects an opportunity for compromise where the social groups could give and take views on their social and identity boundaries. Metzger (1971:428) argues that in order to give Peter’s speech more credibility different Western witnesses added before or after Πέτρος, “in the (Holy) Spirit” (ἐν πνεύματι,

D; + ἀγίω 614 1799 2412 syr^{hmg} Tertullian Ephraem). The Western witnesses supported Peter's inclusive approach to the Gentile Christians which was started by the Cornelius incident. In his speech, Peter goes to the "days of the beginning" (ἀφ' ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων) which may imply the start of the earliest events regarding Gentiles. It is possible that Peter was referring to the original plan of God. Luke embraces an inclusive universal salvation of both Jews and Gentiles. In this scenario, Peter makes it clear that God welcomes both Jews and Gentiles in his Kingdom. This removes the man-made social and religious boundary markers which existed between Jews and Gentiles. Peter's presentation laid a foundation for inclusivity and plurality at the Jerusalem Council.

Peter also indicated that the idea of bringing Gentiles into the Christian community was divinely initiated. There is a change to first person pronoun (ἐν ὑμῖν ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός, D Ψ 326 614 629 2412 it⁶⁷ vg^{ww}) which appears to indicate that it was more in agreement with the church's politeness for Peter to define God's choice as from "us [the prophets]" than from "you [the whole church]" (Metzger, 1971:428). From a social identity complexity viewpoint, for Peter to appeal to the idea of the Holy Spirit as the initiator of the removal of the social and religious boundaries between Judeans and Gentiles was a way of pushing for the acceptance of the Gentiles into the Christian community. It is also probable that Peter, being a Jewish Christian, did not want to be seen as someone initiating the acceptance of the Gentiles into their movement. The Textus Receptus rearranged the words in a normal way following E H L P 049: ὁ θεός ἐν ὑμῖν ἐξελέξατο (Metzger, 1971:428). The use of 'God chose' (ἐξελέξατο) Peter to minister to the Gentiles, occurs few times in Acts (1:24; 13:17; Keener, 2014:2233); Bock, 2007:500). Peter was an apostle who brought Gentiles to faith without being circumcised and they were filled with the Spirit. The implication is that if the Gentiles were not accepted the Spirit could not have descended and dwelt in them. It is the

Spirit which destroyed the boundaries which existed between the Jews and Gentiles. The noun (εὐαγγέλιον) is used for the first time in Acts and is used for the second time in Acts 20:24 (Bock, 2007:500). The noun was used by Peter to show how Gentiles responded to the Gospel as faith. Peter concluded that God equally accepted both Jews and Gentiles which was similar to what he had said to Cornelius in Acts 10:34-35. Peter also made it clear that there was no distinction between Jews and Gentile in as far as salvation was concerned.

Peter in verse 9 begins by posing a rhetorical question; “[w]hy do you test God?” (Τί πειράζετε τόν θεόν). The expression “to challenge” was used in Mt 4:7 and Lk 4:12. Using the term ‘challenge’ could imply a situation in which the Jews were testing or contesting God in not accepting the Gentiles into the Christian community. In addition, the narrators, through James’ speech, understand that the prohibitive hassle is a practice of “harassment” (παρενοχλεί). Johnson (1992:226) translated this word harassment as “cause trouble, difficulty, and annoy.” The words ‘testing’, ‘challenging’, harassing God were used by Peter to argue that Judeans should not test God by forcing Gentiles to observe the Mosaic Law. It was God’s plan to include the Gentiles in the Christian community without observing the Law. Peter cautioned the Jews (Pharisees’ party) not to test God through this rhetoric question because God had cleansed their hearts without circumcision. According to Peter, circumcision should not be a prerequisite for Gentiles to be accepted into the Christian community. Bock (2007:501); Barrett (1998:717); Fitzmyer (1998:547; Exod. 17:2; Num. 14:22; Acts 5:9), the question of testing God was a stern warning to the Pharisees’ party because those who grumbled could not continue to follow and trust God.

The demand which was expressed by Jewish traditionalist can be viewed as a “yoke (ζυγός) that neither we nor our fathers have been able to obey” (15:10). The same complaint is also found in v. 28 as a “burden” (βάρος) (Keener, 2014:2235; Bock, 2007:501; De Villiers, 2013:146; Barrett, 2002:719; Haenchen, 1987:429). According to De Villiers (2013:146), the Jerusalem church did not want to “burden” the Gentiles with the requirements of Jewish Christianity for them to be accepted into the Christian community. The burden and yoke were the Jewish social and religious boundary markers which were imposed on Gentiles to observe against their will. These expressions may probably reflect the time and environment in which Acts was written. It can also be argued that the harsh sense of “yoke” and “burden” are used in a similar way as in Mt 11:28-30; 23:4. However, scholars such as Keener (2014:2236); Le Cornu and Shulam (2003:823); Gaventa (2003:216); Jervell (1998:292) view the idea of the yoke (ζυγός) positively. These above- mentioned scholars believe that Peter did not denigrate the law but meant that the law be yoked together as one and kept. The implication is that both Jews and Gentiles were equally to benefit from the grace of God (Keener, 2014:2237; Bock, 2007:501). Scholars such as Witherington (1998:454); Barrett (1998:719) and Bruce (1998:290) do not agree that the yoke should be understood positively but argue that it should be viewed figuratively. The idea of the yoke should indeed not be viewed as positive for the Gentiles because of the preceding context where the Pharisee’s party was challenging God by demanding that the Gentiles observe their social and religious boundaries of the law and circumcision. Such a sentiment sounds or reflects Pauline in its outlook.

Peter concludes his presentation by recognizing that the salvation of the Jews was based on the grace in Christ. So there was no need to create social and religious boundaries for the Gentiles. The implication was that salvation was not as a result of the works of the law as the Pharisee party insisted. The grace of the Lord Jesus meant that He opened a new social identity for both Jews and Gentiles to experience God’s blessings. Therefore, the law as a

social and religious boundary had no place in salvation. Peter advocated unity, inclusivity and plurality of all social groups who were at the conference. The Gentiles had a new social identity of having faith in Jesus. In this case, Peter wanted to transcend social boundaries that went beyond the ethnic borders. The implication was that both Jews and Gentiles should equally benefit from the grace of God (Keener, 2014:2237; Bock, 2007:501). Peter was the first delegate at the conference of Jerusalem to break the Jewish social boundaries and approve the inclusion of the Gentile Christians into the Jewish community. This could have been precisely because of the vision which he had received from God in Acts 10:1ff where he was ordered to kill and eat animals that were on a white sheet. This may be interpreted as God ordering Peter to also preach to the Gentiles as he was an apostle for the Jews. According to Keener (2014:2234); Bock (2007:502); Bruce (1998:291), Peter disappears from the scene from this point in the book of Acts thus paving the way for Paul's missionary work.

In order to boost the prestige of Peter, some Western witness (D syr^h with * Ephraem) added words at the beginning of the verse *συνκατατεθειμένων δέ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πέτρου εἰρημένους* (“And when the elders assented to what had been spoken by Peter”) (Metzger, 1971:429). The use of an ingressive aorist (*ἔσίγησεν*) shows the silence of the assembly after Peter's presentation (Bock, 2007:502). It is possible that the delegates were surprised by the way Peter articulated issues in his presentation for the inclusion of the Gentiles in the Jewish community. In this case, Peter had pushed a motion of plurality and inclusivity with the Gentiles. Peter's speech created fertile ground for Paul and Barnabas' presentations to the council.

This is where Barnabas and Paul made their presentations and contributions to the council. Paul and Barnabas's social identities overlapped while they were in the Gentile communities where they were ministering. They reported how God used them to perform signs Acts 2:22, 43) among the Gentiles. According to Barrett (1998:721), the fact that miracles were performed among the Gentiles shows the divine approval for their (Gentiles) inclusion into the Christian community. Barnabas and Paul's social identity was complex because they mingled with a variety of social group memberships. Bock (2007:501) argues that it is this incident and Acts 15:25 where Barnabas is named first.

In Acts 15:13 James, who upheld the values and norms of Jewish Christianity in Jerusalem, had the chance to address the conference and support Peter in removing Jewish social identity boundaries for the Gentiles to be part and parcel of the Christian community. According to Keener (2014:2244); Bock (2007:502); Barrett (1998:722); Fitzmyer (1998:552), James' use of (μετά) and the infinitive shows the timing of his presentation after Peter. James made reference to Peter by his Jewish name, Simeon. The reference may imply that they were in the same social category as Jews. Fitzmyer (1998:553) is of the idea that in the original source this could have been Simeon Niger of Acts 13:1. However, this connection may not be tenable because there is no evidence to corroborate this claim. James supported Peter's speech by using the verb narrate (ἐξηγήομαι) in the same way the noun narrative (διήγησις) is used in Luke 1:1. James stressed that God had received the Gentiles (λαβεῖν ἐξ ἐθνῶν) in His kingdom and that they would be evangelising to the whole world. In the presentations of Peter, Paul and Barnabas and then James, there seems to be overlaps and agreement in as far as the inclusion of the Gentiles is concerned. The acceptance of the Gentiles into the Christian community was divinely initiated. It was God who was removing the social boundary markers that were there between Jewish and Gentile Christians.

James' use of the term "people" (λαός) is significant because it is often used to refer to the people of God (Acts 7:34; 13:17) as in this context. The term people could connote both Jews and Gentiles as the people of God. However, in the Old Testament it was used to refer to Israel (Deut., 26:18-19; 32:8-9; Ps. 134:12; Keener, 2014:2244; Bock, 2007:504; Bruce, 1988:291). In this context, the term people may also mean a restoration of the people of Israel with Gentiles included. According to Barrett (1998:742), it could have been used to refer to Gentiles in the same way it was used to refer to Israel. The phrase "people for my name" is not in the LXX, but is used many times in the Palestinian Targum and this could suggest traces of an idiom which was commonly used in Jewish contexts even if its reference to Gentiles is surprising. Another significant term is ἐπισκέπτομαι (visit) which refers to the messianic visitation which God directed (Luke 1:68, 78; 7:16; 19:44; Bock, 2007:503). This passage argues that 'the people of God' could be a new social identity which God had created, the church. According to Keener (2014:2244); Bock (2007:503); Jervell (1998:394), the passage is not completely about Israel, but it shows the rebuilding of the Davidic house and the establishment of the new kingdom which Jesus started. It may be pointed out that it is difficult to move away from Israel opting for the rebuilding of the House of David because it is difficult to separate the two. Luke appears to be focusing his gospel on everybody in the world and this is inclusive of the Gentiles.

James argues that the teaching of the prophets agrees or matches with the inclusion of the Gentiles into the Christian community. The verb (συμφωνουσιν) literally means "share the same sound" (Bock, 2007:503; Fitzmyer, 1998:554). This should be understood in the context of the fulfilment of the prophets. This is in agreement with what Peter said in his presentation to the delegates at the conference (Keener, 2014:2246; Story, 2010:53; Bock, 2007:503; Jervell, 1998:395; Witherington, 1998:458). This term was also used in Luke with

reference to Ananias and Sapphira's agreement to deceive the church (Acts 5:9). James's quotation matches Amos 9:11-12 with verse 12 of the Masoretic Text (MT thereafter) which refers to Edom and its judgement as well as its inclusion during the restoration of David's rule (Story, 2010:53; Pervo, 2009:374; Bock, 2007:503). As Fitzmyer (1998:555) notes: "Yahweh promises the prophet that the Davidic line will be restored, and God's people will inherit what is left of Edom and other nations will be called God's people." In the Septuagint (LXX thereafter) all the people looked forward to the rebuilding of the kingdom after the restoration of the Davidic house. In this sense, Edom may refer to all humanity (Keener, 2014:2247, 2254; Pervo, 2009:375; Bock, 2007:504; Witherington, 1998:459; Haenchen, 1985:448). The major difference is that in the MT a social group of people is conquered and unified but in the LXX all people are pursuing inclusivity, integration, plurality and incorporation which are in tandem with merger model.

It appears there is wordplay between these two sets of words; possess and seek, and Edom and Adam because of their similarity in sounds. Keener (2014:2254); Story (2010:53); Pervo (2009:375); Bock (2007:504); Witherington (1998:459); Haenchen (1985:448), note that the changes in Hebrew words made a shift from the LXX which misread the verb "possess" (*yaras*) for the verb "seek" (*daras*) and *Edom* to *Adam*. It is probable that the similarities in these words may have caused confusion with translation of the Hebrew. According to Le Cornu and Shulam (2003:833), this wordplay is called "*al tikri*." Story (2010:53) and Bock (2007:504) argue that the LXX is nearer to the original Hebrew whereas the MT could have been corrupted. However, Witherington (1998:459) views this as a possibility but one that is unlikely. Witherington (1998:457) calls this form "deliberative rhetoric." James could have used the shortest version of the LXX and adhered to the Jewish practise of avoiding citing the MT by using alternative texts. From a textual critical approach, it can be argued that the

shorter the text the closer it is from the original. Story (2010:54) and Pervo (2006:376) agree to accept the LXX contrary to Haenchen (1985:448) who claims that the Jewish Christians would not use such a text.

James considerably cited the LXX in his debate knowing that the Gentiles would identify with it. According to James, the restoration of the house of David and Jesus' messianic arrival led to the inclusion of the Gentiles into the Christian community. The Gentiles were now benefiting from being categorized together with Jewish Christians. The Gentiles had assumed a new social identity in the Christian community. According to Bock (2007:505); Parsons and Pervo (2005:214); Bauckham (2005:138), the reference to "nations" is in agreement with verse 14 where the Jewish link-word technique *gezerah Shewa* resurfaces again in the Amos text. The phrase, "called by my name" meant that the Gentiles were also part of the Christian community and God was actively involved in their life by calling them to faith (Keener, 2014:2252; Pervo, 2009:376; Witherington, 1998:459). The new way of accepting the Gentiles in the Christian community was revealed from the old promise in the Old Testament. The use of the phrase "known from old" (γνωστα ἀπ' αἰώνος) recalls Isaiah 45:21 which implied that the Old Testament texts also talked about Gentile inclusion as God's plan.

The debate at the council, led by James, centred on a compromise decision so that there would be inclusivity that would remove the social boundary markers between Jewish and Gentile Christians. This would enable Jewish and Gentile Christians to fellowship together. In his presentation, James begins by (διό ἐγώ κρίνω) which means "I therefore judge". This interpretation is disputed by Keener (2014:2259); Story (2010:55); Pervo (2009:376). The

suggested meanings range from “I therefore conclude...,” “I therefore decree” to “I judge”. The weaker suggestion would be, James “makes a recommendation;” in a stronger way, “he pronounces a decision” (Pervo, 2009:376). What works in the favour of the weaker suggestion is the use of the verb in other situations in Acts such as Acts 13:46; 16:15; 28:8 (Fitzmyer, 1998:556; Haenchen, 1985:449). From a social identity complexity dimension, whichever translation is rendered here is not a big question. The issue is that James’ proclamation or conclusion ushered a new dispensation of social identities which was characterised by inclusivity that transcended boundaries. It also brought overlap of identities among different ethnic and social groups and led to the adoption of the Apostolic decree by the conference. The most probable translation would be in agreement with the context that the pronoun “we” should be appropriate for the recommendation and the subject “write” is missing. Other translations usually such as NIV, NRSV, NAB, and NJB usually add “we.” Therefore, the decision was made by the council with the authority of James as a leader. James argued that the Gentiles who turn to God should not be burdened with Judean social boundary markers of the Mosaic Law. The verb (παρενοχλέω) means “unnecessary trouble or difficulty” (Bock, 2007:505). In this context, James was in agreement with what Peter said in verse 10. It is quite interesting to note that Peter and James were at the forefront of the integration of the Gentiles and Jewish Christians when they used to be exclusive as Judeans.

The council through James requested the Gentiles to be sensitive to the four most offensive things to the Jews namely, pollution, immorality, strangled things, and blood matters. The things which were itemized as requirements were not prerequisites for salvation but conditions that facilitated fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians. Adhering to the prohibitions would reduce cultural and ethnic conflicts which existed for a long time between Jews and Gentiles. The use of the verb (ἀπέχω) means “avoid contact” with something

(Keener, 2014:2260; Story, 2010:55; Instone-Brewer, 2009:304; Bock, 2007:505). The four prohibitions are known as the “Apostolic Decree” (Instone-Brewer, 2009:304). The list of the prohibitions mentioned above shows the exegetical problems and there are also variations in Acts 15:20, 15:29, and 21:25. Acts 15:29 has minor variations from Acts 15:20, but Acts 21:25 has other variations.

Acts 15:20 ἀλισγημάτων τῶν εἰδώλων πορνείας πνικτού αἵματος

Acts 15:29 εἰδωλόθυτων αἵματος πνικτῶν πορνείας

Acts 21:25 εἰδωλόθυτον αἷμα πνικτον πορνείαν

According to Park (2010:279), some manuscripts tried to synchronize these three lists. For instance, minuscule (945, 1739, 1891) adjusted the order of ‘blood’ in 15:20 from the fourth to the second. The number of ‘strangled things’ in 15:29 changes from plural to singular to become “the second, the third, the fourth items the same in the three lists” (Instone-Brewer, 2009:304). Savelle (2004:450) and Metzger (1994:382) have asserted that the number of ‘things strangled’ can be found in a variety of manuscripts such as P⁷⁴, A^c, 8^c, E H L P Ψ 049 056 1 33 88 and many others. However, scholars such as Keener (2012:2276); Park (2010:279); Bock (2007:506); Metzger (1994:382) would prefer to view the variants approved in NA²⁷ and UBS⁴ as closer to the original as they are shorter than the rest.

The decision at the Jerusalem Council was a way of opening doors for fellowship between the two social groups, the Jewish and gentile Christians. That is why some scholars such as Haenchen (1985:442) and Story (2011:50) describe the decision at the Jerusalem Council as a “watershed” and a “turning point” respectively because it sought to resolve a long standing

conflict between Jews and non-Jews. The decision destroyed the social and boundary markers that existed for decades between Jewish and Gentile Christians. There was therefore a development of an attitude of inclusivity that “transcended boundaries instead of drawing boundaries” (Kok, 2014:7). This is evidenced by what Paul said in Galatians 3:28 where he underscored that: “There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is no longer slave or master, there is no longer male or female, for all of you are one in Christ Jesus”. In this context, Luke was concerned about the issue of social cohesion and inclusivity that went beyond the social and other boundaries that became a possibility through Christ. In this community, Luke was suggesting that the community was now a brand new created entity where man-made boundaries had been removed. The new community was characterised by faith. The removal of the old social boundary lines which were between Jews and Greeks, slaves and master brought a new integrated social order (represented by a merger model) which took cognisance of God’s mega plan for a new creation (Galatians, 6:15). There was social identity complexity because of the removal of the social boundary markers. For the first time ever, table fellowship was possible between the Jewish and Gentile Christians.

This section, Acts 15:22-29, is where the Jerusalem Council resorted to writing a letter to Antioch, Syria and Cilicia announcing its resolution pertaining to the inclusion of the Gentiles into the Jewish community. There was a new vision that symbolised the heart of a new community where boundaries had been transcended for the benefit of all the people. The letter was written by the Jerusalem Council to different assemblies announcing a new structure of unity that rejected social and cultural barriers from the past that divided people from each other. The use of *ἀδελφοί adelphoi*, (brethren) and *adelphois* (brothers) in the letter is significant. This is the first time that this title is used to address the Gentiles in the book of Acts (Jervell, 1998:400). The implication is that there was a new social and religious order in

the community of Luke where Gentiles were taken as having a new social identity and were being included in the Christian community. The Jerusalem Council paved the way for the inclusion of Gentiles in the Jewish community. The decision at the Council was reached after careful debate, respect for others, listening with an open mind, willingness to compromise, giving up one's interest, and willingness to allow others into one's safe haven. There is a repeatedly used expression "it seemed good" (*edoxe*) in verses 22, 25 and 28 in the letter in reference to the judgement that was made by the Council. The decision was based on both human and divine testimony which was in tandem with the doctrine of the Old Testament. What was now important was the implementation of the decision. The initial step which the Council took was to document their decision and to select men who would accompany Paul and Barnabas with the letter as witnesses of what transpired at the Council. The apostles and elders agreed with the solution (*homothymadon*, that may mean of one accord) which was reached (Bock, 2007:512). They were also agreed on the people who were selected to accompany the "beloved" (*agapetois*) to relay the information to the Gentile Churches. The two men, Barnabas and Paul, did some magnificent work and risked their lives for the church. The verb (*paradidomi*) which means "give over" points to the fact that Barnabas and Paul were willing to lose their lives for the Lord Jesus Christ (Barrett, 1998:472). The letter was addressed to churches in Antioch, Syria and Cilicia. The letter articulated what the Gentile Christians were required to do. Two men, Judas and Silas, were selected by the council to accompany Paul and Barnabas. The letter emphasised that Gentiles had been accepted into the Jewish community and could fellowship together as long as the Gentiles observed the prohibition of the Apostolic decree. Gentiles were not compelled to observe the Mosaic Law and be circumcised.

Hansen (2010:71) has argued that; “the truth of the gospel was brought about by a new eschatological reality and a new creation, which inevitably implied unrestricted social intercourse and the visible expression of that reality in practice”. This actually meant that all people from different social groups, backgrounds and cultures would be viewed as a single social group, that is, the church. Therefore, this fits well with the *merger model* which symbolizes a high level of social identity complexity.

4.2.3 Intersectionality Identities

The focus of this section is to explore how Jewish Christians, Judeans, Hellenistic Jews and Gentile Christians intersect. At the Jerusalem Council is where Jewish Christians were demanding that the Gentile Christians should become Jews first before they could be accepted into the Jewish community. The Jewish Christians who did not share the common category would still maintain their original social identity of being exclusive against other social identities such as Gentile Christians. That is why Jewish hardliners insisted that Gentiles should be circumcised and observe the Mosaic Law (Acts, 15:1). This resulted in serious tension and debate (στάσεως και ζητήσεως) because Paul and Barnabas did not agree with the Judeans on their approach to the Gentile mission (Acts, 15:2; Keener, 2014:2222; Bock, 2007:495). The Judaisers demanded that the other part of the out-group (Gentile Christian) should observe the Law of Moses (15:5). The Pharisees at the Jerusalem Council did not only demand the Gentiles to adhere to circumcision but also to cross their social boundaries and follow the stipulations of the Torah. This caused conflict between the Gentile and Jewish Christians because it was very difficult for Gentiles to break their social boundary markers in order to follow the Jewish Law. Even the Jews themselves found it difficult to follow the Torah.

4.2.3.1 Hellenistic Jews and Gentile Christians Intersection

A Hellenistic Jew can have two simultaneous social identities and at the same time have one in-group representation. This is to define an in-group as an intersection of a number of group memberships. In this case, Hellenistic Jews and gentile Christians intersect on the multi-ethnic nature of the church. On the cultural front, the two social groups, that is the Hellenistic Jews and the Gentile Christians would share the common identities. For example, a Gentile Christian might define his/her main social identity as being Gentile and be staying in an affluent suburb of Antioch. Such a person creates a compound identity which is shared merely with those people who stay in the affluent residential area in Antioch. It can be observed that this compound identity may be exceptional and exclusive to other people who are also Gentile by nationality that might be living in other parts of Antioch. Those Gentile Christians who do not share such identity markers are viewed as out-group members. This approach of demonstrating social identity is said to follow a social exclusion model as an outcome of the exclusive nature of the constructed construct in-group categories (Roccas and Brewer, 2002:90).

In this case where the Hellenistic Jews and the Gentile Christians intersect they become the in-group members. The Hellenistic Jews and Gentile Christians who belong to the larger categories of the group but who do not intersect are seen as out-group members. This way of reconstructing the social identity of the two groups may not be complex. Those social groups who are found in the intersection are less likely to be inclusive in their outlook. The social groups that are not intersecting are also likely to be exclusive and less likely to transcend social categories.

4.2.3.2 Judaisers and Gentile Christians Intersection

Jewish and Gentile Christians in the community of Luke intersected on the basis of religion, that is, Judaism and Christianity. These two social groups shared the identity markers at the intersection. Also, Gentiles who did not share the common identity were inclusive in their approach and outlook. In this scenario, the social identity complexity of the Judaisers who did not belong to the shared identity was simple because of its exclusivity. The identity complexity of Gentile Christians, who did not belong to the shared identity, was complex because of their group's plurality, integration and inclusivity. These above mentioned groups maintained a single in-group membership which defined the in-group as the intersection of multiple group memberships. There is evidence of overlap of the major social groups in the Intersectionality identities.

The missionary reports by Peter, Paul and Barnabas and James can be interpreted from an intersection perspective. For instance, Jewish apostles such as Peter and James could describe their main social identity in relation to multiple combinations of both nationalities and religious affiliation, an identity shared only with other apostles for the Gentiles such as Paul and Barnabas. This is evident in Acts 15:6-21 where Peter, Paul and Barnabas and James were at the intersection between Jewish and Gentile Christians because all agreed on the integration and inclusion of the Gentiles in the Jewish community without observing the Mosaic Law and circumcision. This perspective helps in understanding that though James was now the leader of the Jerusalem Church, he maintained his identity as a Jew despite advocating the inclusion of the Gentiles. So, James had multiple identities although he maintained a single in-group representation. In light of the above, the social identity complexity theory therefore becomes useful in interpreting the Jerusalem Council in the context of conflict-resolution. In the Jerusalem Council, those who fitted into wide categories

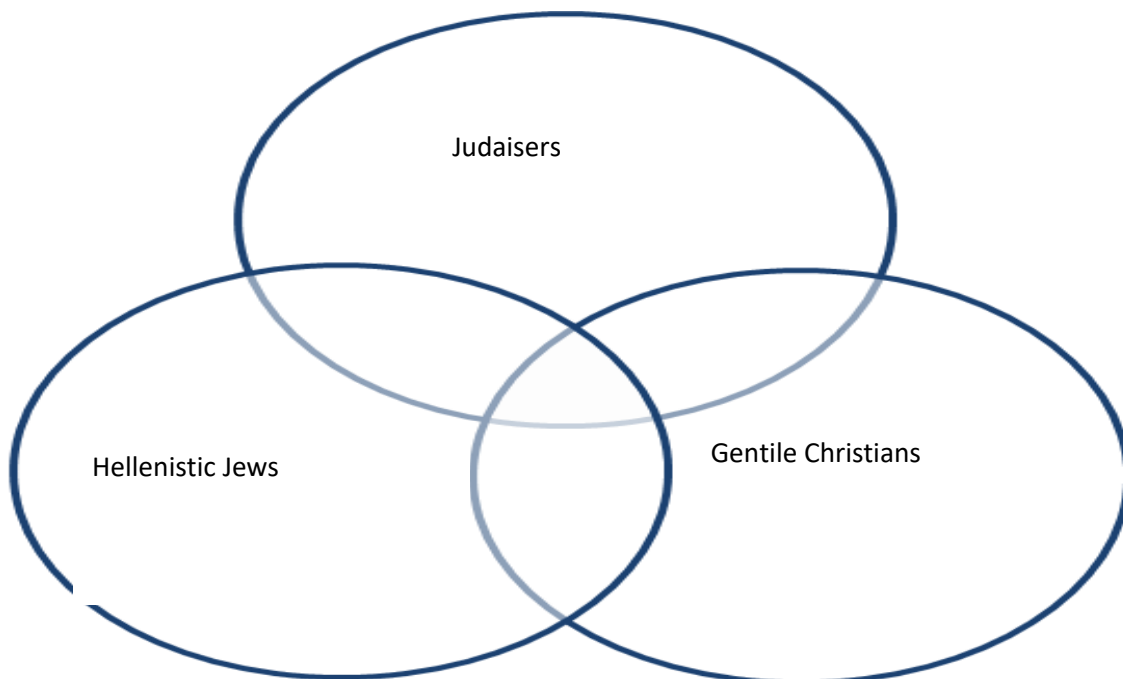
of the group while not sharing that particular intersection crossroads are called out-group members and these possibly were the Gentile Christians. Constructing social identities this way makes it simple to discern that the Gentile Christians that followed this type of social identity construction are likely to be inclusive in nature. Such individuals may be likely to be inclusive and tend to go beyond social boundaries. It is evident that the speeches by Peter and James, though they had an exclusive approach to the Gentile Christians, were the ones instrumental in breaking their social boundary markers to pave way for the inclusion of Gentiles. Gentiles were now assuming a new identity formation of sharing the shared identities with the Jews.

Acts 15:19-21 should be understood in the context of what Gentiles were expected to do if they were saved and were accepted into the Jewish community through their faith in Jesus Christ. The major aspect of Acts 15:19-21 is to institute a *halakhah* (a Hebrew word which means “a way of walking” or rule of faith) concerning the acceptance of the Gentiles in the Christian community (Keener, 2014:2260). The key terms in this passage are *epistrephousin* “turning,” verse 19, *gar* “for Moses,” verse 21 and *ἀνάγισκομενος* *anaginoskomenos* “being read,” verse 21 *ἐπιστεφουσιν* *epistrephousin* is in Present Active Participle Masculine Plural in the Dative form. It means “to turn about,” or “to turn around,” and “to revert” (Keener, 2014:2260). One may ask if the significance of this passage is in its Present Tense, Active, and Participle form. The Present Tense is describes an action which is actually taking place. James was precisely saying those Gentiles who were turning to God should not be given a difficult time but should be accepted into the Jewish community. In this case, James’ judgement showed traits of the shared identity with the Gentiles. The verb *anaginoskomenos* in the Present Passive Participle Masculine Singular Nominative form which can be translated “being read.” Verse 21 shows that the Law of Moses was being read in different

places and cities since its inception through Moses. The noun Moses can also mean the Torah. Probably the word specifically signifies public reading of the Torah in synagogues. James was saying there was need for the Gentiles to be accepted and be part of the Jewish community. The phrase “For Moses” in verse 21 is a connective which joins the four prohibitions in verse 20. The other aspect of this verb is its Participle form. It is in the Attributive Participle transforming the pronoun, *tois*, “those”. Therefore, the translation of this verse might read, “Wherefore I judge not to trouble those while they are turning from the Gentiles back to God” (Keener, 2014:2261). The key terms in this passage show the role that was played by James in the new identity formation of inclusivity and plurality in the shared identities between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians. In this case, James maintains another social identity which is not usually characteristic of Jewish Christianity.

4.2.3.3 Judaisers, Hellenistic Jews and Gentile Christians

The three social groups namely, Judaisers, Hellenistic Jews and Gentile Christians intersect on cultural and religious basis. **Figure. 3** below shows the overlap of group membership.



Author's own work

Figure 4.1: Diagram showing intersectionality of group membership

The diagram above shows multiple group membership with different degrees of complexity and overlap. The area of complexity in the diagram is where all groups converge and this becomes the intersection of the three social groups. All the three social groups intersect on the basis of religion, but their social categories differ considerably with overlaps between those social groups of which they are at the same time a member. The overlaps between groups that are found in the community of Luke vary from being extensively overlapped to partial overlap. For instance, where the in-group and the out-group are measured with the same categorisation, such as Gentiles and residents of Antioch, their identification is perceived as simple. In cases where the overlap might be partial then the social identification could be more complex. Social and cultural context may form circumstances where people's social identities in relation to multiple social identities are understood in a different way (Meyer, 2014; Roccas and Brewer, 2002). In this context Paul, was an apostle for the Gentiles who was also a tent maker, might have his professional identity as a tent maker emphasised in certain social contexts than in others. In addition, his cultural identity as a Jew could have been emphasised in other cultural situations as opposed to his being an apostle to the Gentiles. In other circumstances, his apostle in-group membership might be understood as an out-group membership while his race might be emphasised. The multiple overlaps in different groups in some instances may cause conflict among different social groups. In the community of Luke, there was conflict between the Jewish Christians and Hellenistic Christians because of different ideologies, teachings, values and norms that they upheld as for instance, a case where Gentiles were forced to be circumcised and observe the Mosaic Law. The Gentile Christians believed in the Law-free gospel orchestrated by Paul but conflict also manifested itself between the rich and the poor and when different social groups were sharing

meals. It is therefore, the intention of this study to investigate how the conflict was resolved in the community of Luke.

4.2.4 Dominant Identities

This social group is mainly characterised by competing social identities which are Jewish and Gentile Christians. In the community of Acts, the Jewish Christians becomes the dominant identity while Gentile Christians, Hellenistic Jewish Christians, God-Fearers among others became subordinate to the dominant social category. In this perspective, the Jewish Christians (in-group) were defined by those who shared membership with the dominant in-group category. Other category membership such as Gentile Christians, Hellenistic Jewish Christian, God-Fearers and others were not considered important.

Two social identities competed for supremacy in the community of Luke and these were Jewish and Gentile Christians. These two competing social identities in the community of Luke created conflict on how to accept Gentile Christians into the Jewish community. This took place when men from Judea came to Antioch where Paul and Barnabas were ministering to the Gentile community. The men from Judea demanded that Gentiles should be accepted into the Jewish community if they observed the Mosaic Law and got circumcised. These were the events that led to the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15. In Antioch, the dominant social category was the Gentile Christians, whereas the Jewish Christians were in a subordinate relationship with the dominant social category. This model is important to this study because it helps in interrogating the situation which was prevalent during the time of Luke when leaders of the Jerusalem and Antiochean Churches were competing for supremacy.

At the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15:1-2, some men came down from Judea demanding that unless Gentile Christians were circumcised and observed the Mosaic Law, they could not be included into the Jewish community. The Judeans perceived themselves as a dominant social category and controlled the levers of power. The Judeans categorised themselves as the insiders and Gentile Christians as outsiders. The demands made by the Judeans created tension, dispute and conflict (στάσεως και ζητήσεως) between the two social categories.

In verse 3, the journeying (διήρχονο) (which is in the imperfect tense showing incomplete action) of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem. They moved through Phoenicia and Samaria reporting (έκδιηγέομαι) their successful mission to the Gentiles. The imperfect tense of journeying shows that Paul and Barnabas were still on their way to the Jerusalem Council. The term “report” (έκδιηγρέομαι) sets the tone for the Jerusalem Council which was to follow. They (Paul and Barnabas) were coming to the Council as a dominant social category to represent the Antiochean community in a crucial meeting of competing identities between them and the Jewish Christians.

Acts 15:5 repeats the problem which was introduced in verse 1 but with some information which is similar to Gal. 5:2-3 where Paul says that circumcision should be observed as part of the Mosaic Law (Keener, 2014:2224; Bock, 2007:495). This shows that the dominant attitude of the Jewish Christians was to force the Gentile Christians to observe the Law. Therefore, it declared as compulsory for all the Law to be observed by the Gentiles if they were to be saved. Although circumcision was part of the Law, it was not complete for the Pharisees. The view held by the Pharisees could have been rooted in the claims made in Gen. 17:10-14 and Deut. 5:28-33 (Fitzmyer, 1998:546). The Pharisees at the Jerusalem Council did not only

demand the Gentiles to adhere to circumcision, but also to cross their social boundaries and follow the stipulations of the Torah. This caused conflict between the Gentile and Jewish Christians because it was very difficult for Gentiles to break their social boundary markers in order to follow the Jewish Law. This shows the dominance of the Pharisees over the Gentile Christians.

In verses 7-11, Luke leaves the discussion of “sharp dispute” and advances towards resolution of the conflict. In his presentation to the delegates, Luke reminded them of what had happened to Cornelius and that it was God who had initiated that the Gentiles should hear and believe in the gospel. Paul was perhaps the target of criticism by Jewish Christians in Jerusalem and probably Luke’s readers. It was God who chose to do it. It was God’s salvific plan to reveal to the Jewish Christians the true basis of their own salvation. This appears as a complete rebuttal to the Pharisees’ injunction, “if you are not circumcised, you cannot be saved” (15:1). The problem of circumcision had already been resolved in that Gentile Christians were no longer required to observe the Mosaic Law and to be circumcised.

In verse 12, the whole assembly was silent perhaps because they agreed with what Paul and Barnabas were describing about their mission work which was characterised by “miraculous signs and wonders” that happened in full view of the Gentiles (Acts, 15:12). From verses 13-20, there is James who is speaking as a strict observer of the Law. Luke tells us that James was a leader of the Jerusalem Church (Acts 15:17). He articulated issues at the Council with authority (Acts 15:19). He was one of the characters in Acts whose authority was not questioned by many. He also told the elders and Paul what they had to do (Acts 21:18).

Peter, Paul and Barnabas and James were competing social identities that were dominant in their areas of jurisdiction. Peter was dominant as an apostle for Jewish Christians. Paul and Barnabas were apostles for Gentile Christians and James was the leader of the Jerusalem Church. At the Jerusalem Council, it emerged that even with different competing social identities, James became the dominant social identity and the rest of the identities became subordinate. James saw his professional identity as the leader of the Jerusalem Church as his major social identity and he perceived all other leaders of other Churches as in-group members. This can also be related to Paul and Barnabas whose major social identities was their self-identification as leaders of the Antiochean Church. The two social identities in this community competed for supremacy. The idea that James was the Lord Jesus' brother, which is his dominant social category, is another characteristic of a type of a leader of a Jerusalem.

James' dominant social category led him to proclaim that, (διό ἐγώ κρίνω) which means "I therefore judge" (Acts, 15:19). James made a declaration or a judgement that Gentiles should not be burdened with observing the Law. This judgement was made on the basis of what Peter had said in his presentation at the Council that Gentiles such as Cornelius had received Jesus Christ. In verse 21, the verb *epistrephousin* is in the Present Active Participle Masculine Plural in the Dative form. The verb means "to turn about," or "to turn around," and "to revert" (Keener, 2014:2260). The Present Tense describes an action which is currently taking place. James was precisely saying those Gentiles who were being turning to God should not be harassed and be burdened, but they should be accepted into the Jewish community. In this case, James' judgement showed his dominance and authority over other subordinate social categories. James' dominant social identity is revealed in this context in that nobody questions his judgement. Furthermore, because of James' dominant social identity, he went on to declare an apostolic decree for Gentile Christians to follow (Acts,

15:20). The Council, headed and dominated by James, decided to give Gentiles four restrictions to abstain from. Some scholars such as Dunn (1990:150) and Johnson (1992:273) argue that the four restrictions were easy to follow and that probably the Gentiles in Antioch were already observing the restrictions.

From verse 22-29, the council (elders and apostles) is drafting a letter to different assemblies in Antioch, Syria and Cilicia. The conference delegates also chose men who were going to accompany Paul and Barnabas as witnesses of the letter. The drafting of the letter headed by James may imply the dominancy of the Jerusalem Church against other competing social categories which are Antioch, Syria and Cilicia. Social identities such as Antioch, Syria and Cilicia become subordinate social categories. It was the Jerusalem Church which was dictating the four prohibitions to the Gentiles. The subordinate social categories just accepted everything as it was coming from a dominant social identity. It can be pointed that the subordinate social identities were also dominant in their communities.

4.3 Luke's historiography and search for alternative Social Identity

The question which this section wants to answer is; did Luke manage to create a universal theology which was inclusive? It is possible that Luke tried to familiarise his community with the view that salvation was a universal reality that went beyond race, ethnicity, or religious affiliation (Acts 2:21; 3:11-12; 4:11-12). Luke wanted to create a community of inclusiveness against Jewish exclusive tendencies of other ethnic identities. This is against the background that Luke wanted to create prohibitive conflict stories to underscore universal salvation for all (Acts, 10:1-11:18; 15:1-35). This leads to one of Luke's major themes in his books and that is, the 'Church as universal.'

It is important at this juncture to discuss a crucial aspect and that is ‘the people of the way.’ This forms the basis of Luke’s universal salvation and the Church. The people of the way are the first followers of Jesus. ‘The Way’ is a word with overtones of Jewish *halakhah*, which means ‘way of life’ which is found in the Torah. The disciples in the New Testament believed that Jesus was ‘the way’ to the Father. The community in Jerusalem was made up of the original disciples of Jesus and pilgrims who took a trip to Jerusalem to celebrate their festive days. They were united and motivated by the belief that the resurrection of Jesus ushered in a new dawn that signalled covenant renewal and the restoration of Israel.

The fundamental element of Luke’s work is his prominence on God’s faithfulness to Israel. Luke stressed the continuity which was there with the biblical Israel showing that Gentile Christians were grafted to the chosen nation (if i can borrow a Pauline metaphor). The Gentiles were seeing themselves as “replacing” Israel. According to DeSilva (2004:316), Luke viewed the salvation history as not changed because many of the people of God rejected Jesus and his message. This was similar in the way the people rejected prophets such as Moses whom God had raised. Acts 15:16-18 gave a practical statement that Jesus came to Israel as part of the fulfilment of God’s people. DeSilva (2004:316) demonstrated that the house of David could be restored as the church spreads its wings throughout Jerusalem, Judea, Galilee and Samaria. The gospel would be preached to the Jews who were in different nations and lastly that lastly, the Gentiles would be included into God’s people through hearing the word. Keener (2012:474) argues that Luke linked the birth of the two important families of Israel which are Jesus and John in Luke 1-2. These two families were given promises by God. John was of an Aaronic descent (Luke 1:5), while Jesus was Davidic by

descent because of Joseph a Torah-observant. Luke emphasises that the consolidation of Israel was through Jesus the one whose coming was the salvation of God.

Keener (2012:475); DeSilva (2004:318); Witherington (1998:70) agree that Luke structured Luke-Acts in such a way that it demonstrated that Gentiles were in God's salvific plan. With what is said in Acts 15:16-18, it becomes highly probable that Luke was interested in plurality, inclusivity, integration and the universal scope of the Gospel. Luke, by referring to Acts 15:16-18, is trying to emphasise that from the beginning God had plan and purpose for all nations. God gave his son for everyone in the world and not only for the Jews. This has roots in the birth stories like Simeon's that referred to Jesus' role as "a light for the revelation to the Gentiles" (Luke 2:32). The position of Luke could be rooted in what Isaiah 49:6 predicted as, "a light to the nations that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth". The birth stories in Luke emphasise the fact that the Gentiles were in God's redemptive plan. According to DeSilva (2004:319), Luke traces the genealogy of Jesus to Adam. This shows that Luke went beyond Abraham, the father of the Jewish nation' to emphasise the view that everyone in the world has the same ancestry and identity.

God's love for the outsiders and the non-Jews' expression of faith and love are demonstrated in Jesus' dealings with outsiders as good examples of insiders (Keener, 2012:475). For instance, the Roman centurion in Luke 7:1-10 remains a good example of trust in Jesus. Another example is the Samaritan who became a hero in the parable of a Good Samaritan on how to fulfil the requirements of the Law. In the parable, the Samaritan became an example of good neighbourliness which was characterised by compassion and love even if someone is of a different ethnic and social category (Luke, 10:30-37). The examples cited above

demonstrate Jesus' commandment to his followers to proclaim "forgiveness of sins ... in his name to all nations, beginning from Jerusalem" (Luke, 24:47 NRVs). DeSilva (2004:367) argues that Luke created an appropriate Christian representation for insiders and outsiders. Luke did this by presenting Christianity as a fulfilment of Judaism. He (Luke) created a situation where Judaism stood as a form of continuity with an early expression of faith perceived in that the Law and prophets gave hope to Christians. Paul in his missionary work made it clear that his faith was based on Israel's faith. Paul expressed in his defence that: "[b]rothers, I am a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees" (Acts, 23:6 NRSV). Paul in his defence further stated that the continuity that is there between the ancient hope of Israel is "laid down in the law and prophets" (DeSilva, 2004:367).

Luke managed to form a theology in his community that went beyond the ethnic, social and religious boundaries of Judaism. In the community of Luke, Judaism was perceived as continuity with the law and prophets that provided hope to Gentile converts.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the events that led to the convening of the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15 and how the passage fits into the whole book of Acts. The reconstruction of events of Acts 15 from a social identity complexity was done by identifying the social categories of each model and how they overlapped with other social identity groups. From each model used there was evidence that there are multiple identities in the community of Luke. Some results of the utilisation of the social identity complexity on Acts 15 have demonstrated that there are plural social identities while others are exclusive. It has been also shown that Luke was struggling to make his theology go beyond the ethnic and social boundaries of Israel. The

following chapter discusses the social identity complexity and the political situation in Zimbabwe.

Chapter 5 Social Identity Complexity and the Political Situation in Zimbabwe

5.0 Introduction

The previous chapter demonstrated the use of the social identity complexity theory by exploring conflict as exemplified by Acts 15 at the Jerusalem Council. Four models suggested by Roccas and Brewer (2002) were used to interpret Acts 15. The focus of this chapter is to:

- i. highlight complexity of identities in Zimbabwean politics;
- ii. To attempt to draw out an inclusive identity label that goes beyond ethnicity by using Luke's model.

In Zimbabwe, there was a political impasse which resulted in deep - rooted conflict among the main political parties namely, the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (hereafter ZANU PF), headed by Robert Mugabe, the Movement for Democratic Change headed by Morgan Tsvangirai (here after MDC –T), and Movement for Democratic Change headed by Arthur Mutambara (hereafter MDC-M).

5.1 Background of Political Identities in Zimbabwe

Conflict-resolution in Zimbabwe should be understood in terms of the signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) among the main political parties. The GPA was a political agreement signed among three main political parties which are: the (MDC-T) headed by Morgan Tsvangirai, the (MDC-M) led by Arthur Mutambara, and (ZANU PF) headed by Robert Mugabe. This agreement was reached after a deep- rooted political conflict which had brought Zimbabwe to its knees, politically and economically. The GPA was reached through the mediation of the former President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, in September 2009 (Mutambara, 2018:259). The birth of the GPA was a result of the escalation of conflict in the Zimbabwean political landscape. This conflict was exacerbated by the differences in

identities of individuals in their political affiliations. In context of the post-2008 election period in Zimbabwe, if an individual belonged to a different social group or political party, one automatically became an enemy of a different social group or the other. In this case, the norms, values and principles of each political party became the boundary markers of each social group of the GPA.

The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) was formed in 1960 after it parted ways with the Zimbabwe African National People's Union (ZAPU) which was led by Joshua Nkomo. The late Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole was the first president of ZANU and was replaced Robert Mugabe in 1975 (Chung, 2007:115). The two MDC formations were the offshoot of the original MDC which was formed in September 1999 as a brain child of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (hereafter ZCTU) and the civic movements with the aim of dislodging ZANU PF's monopoly to rule Zimbabwe (Meredith, 2002:70). The MDC split because they did not agree in principle on participating in the 2005 Senatorial elections. Nevertheless, some critics such as Kriger (2012:11); Raftopoulos (2010:705) claim that the issue of senatorial elections was a symptom of a deeper problem as there was power struggle among the leaders of the MDC party . After the split, Tsvangirai was left with a bigger party whilst Gibson Sibanda, who deputised Tsvangirai, was to lead a smaller party for a short time. Following the passing on of Gibson Sibanda, the smaller MDC formation requested Arthur Mutambara who used to be working overseas to come and lead the party. It is possible to argue that the party which was led by Gibson Sibanda could not be headed by a Ndebele as a leader because they feared to be labelled tribalistic. That is why they had to call Arthur Mutambara to lead the party. The two MDC formations had to put the initials of their party leaders' names to their parties' names in order that voters would not be confused; hence the names, MDC – T and MDC – M (Tatira and Marevesa, 2011:187). It is the purpose of this

chapter to analyse and interrogate the political situation in the context of the principles of social identity complexity theory and conflict-resolution in the Zimbabwean political landscape.

The background of the problems of Zimbabwe which resulted in the “Zimbabwe Crisis” dates back to 1980. Zimbabwe’s post-colonial period was characterized by an economic boom and reconciliation in the early 1980s (Raftopoulos, 2007:79). However, there was a political problem of Gukurahundi which resulted in political instability in the Matabeleland and Midlands regions from 1983 to 1987. The economic boom experienced immediately after independence was short lived. The economy of Zimbabwe had varied experiences of fortunes all the way through the 1980s as it suffered the devastating effects of drought, high interest rates, fluctuating oil prices and weakening terms of trade (Bond, 2003: 163). These issues negatively affected the capacity of the Government to sponsor its programmes. Muzondidya (2009:40) has argued that the World Bank and International Monetary Fund mounted pressure on the Government of Zimbabwe to leave several of its public policies between 1982 and 1985. These policies were a fulfillment of the pre-independence promises to the electorate but were detrimental to the economic development of the country. There was free education and health for all. There were several factors which resulted in the crisis in Zimbabwe from 1980 to 2008 chief among them being the land question, the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (hereafter ESAP), revolt of war veterans, food riots, post-independence wars, election violence, sanctions, rejection of the adoption of the ‘yes’ on the Referendum of 2000, among others.

5.2 Ethnic Identities in Zimbabwe

The different ethnic identities in Zimbabwean societies have caused a lot of political, social and religious conflicts. This has created a society which is highly polarised in both political and religious spheres in country. The ethnic conflict can be traced back to the pre-colonial period in Zimbabwe.

5.2.1 Ethnic Identities before the Colonial Era in Zimbabwe

At the centre of ethnic polarisation before the colonial era was the search for fertile land for crops and pastures, for domination over other groups and the need for augmenting the clans through incorporation of other ethnic groups. This inevitably resulted in raids and counter-raids as ethnic groups sought to weaken other groups while consolidating their own (Beach, 1992:268). It is this fight for land and other resources that defined the encounter between the Shona and the Ndebele. Given the military aggression of the Ndebele which was a product of the violence of *Mfecane* in Zululand, the Shona ethnic social groups tended to be on the receiving end of Ndebele raids though this was not always unidirectional (Beach, 1995:56). In view of the adversarial and conflictual nature of their existence, stereotypes, prejudices and essentialized identity constructions of each ethnic group developed. This politics of the Other located itself in language where negative descriptions were coined to orchestrate the binaries of inferior/superior; the dangerous and the harmless that were opportunistically taken advantage of by the Whites in order to divide and rule. The *mudzviti /musvina* discourse is language used to justify hatred of and raids on the Other (Beach, 1992:269). In situations of war, the antagonists often create stereotypes that make it easy to see the opponent as less human or bloodthirsty in order to validate a particular worldview and immanent power relations. The escalation of differences even extends to geographic space and identity, language, values and norms.

During this period, the Ndebele speaking people were stereotyped by their Shona counterparts not only as a superior ethnic group, but also as a bloodthirsty and ruthless neighbouring state. One way through which this image is portrayed through the eyes of the Shona were the Ndebele raids on the Shona people which resulted in the loss of livestock, grain and women as booty, whilst men were exterminated. According to Hall (1997:183), it is not clear whether Ndebele people negotiated with the Shona people for a peaceful co-settlement in Mashonaland. It is most likely that the Shona people refused to share the inheritance (land) which they viewed as heritage from their forefathers. Probably the refusal of the Shona to co-settle with the Ndebele may be viewed as protecting their territorial integrity not in terms of selfishness. The two ethnic groups perceived themselves as different social categories and drew social and geographical boundaries between themselves. The identity of being Ndebele or Shona, in this scenario, should be understood in terms of geographical space, language, norms and values. It could be that this action by the Ndebele people unleashed unprecedented conflict between the two ethnic social groups. The conflict was mainly centred on resources (land, women, livestock, grain) and power.

5.2.2 Ethnic Identities in the Colonial Zimbabwe

The acrimonious relationship between the Ndebele and Shona ethnic groups continued in the colonial Zimbabwe, but changed because of the arrival of the colonial settlers who annexed the land and its resources. These resources included land, minerals, trade, security, among other things. Of importance was a situation where Lobengula was duped by Charles Rudd to sign the Rudd Concession in 1888 without proper understanding of the meaning and implication of the concession (Gusha, 2017:55; Beach, 1974:635). The concession gave the British South African Company (BSAC) a mandate to carry out exclusive mining activities and other business ventures. The Shona people stereotypically constructed Lobengula as a

traitor who had sold out the country to the Whites although historical realities at the time point to something different. The implication of this accusation, which was a product of ethnic animosity and adversarial co-existence, was to give a picture that Ndebele people were irresponsible, perfidious and treacherous. According to Beach (1974:637), the colonial settlers occupied prime land and the indigenous people were squashed in infertile and arid land which they called the “Tribal Trust Lands” or “Reserves.” The racial compartmentalization of land economically disempowered the black people because it meant crop production became poorer and the rearing of cattle was negatively affected. Colonial land policy also resulted in the alienation of black people from their spiritual attachment to the land which was their source of historical identity and connection with their forebears. Ultimately, land dispossession rendered the Blacks vulnerable to exploitation as labourers by Whites because the source of their livelihood had been destroyed. This feeling of uprootment, deracination and alienation from their heritage was a source of great anger and dissatisfaction. The pauperisation, exploitation and ‘enslavement’ of the black people after land expropriation and the sense of injustice that ensued, subsequently resulted in the eruption of the First *Chimurenga* or *umvukela* (Dawson, 2011:144). United by a common grievance against a common enemy, and energised by mutual suffering under the yoke of the white man, there was overlap of identities between the Shona and the Ndebele as they put their differences aside for a while and confronted the oppressor through war. So, this constituted a reconfiguration of the Shona-Ndebele relations at this particular historical juncture, though this was necessitated by the exigencies of race and oppression. But, one should be alive to the fact that the confrontation with a common enemy only papered up deep-seated fissures and fault lines that were always volcanic within these ethnic groups.

The Ndebele and Shona ethnic cohesion appeared to subsist as manifested in ghettos where there were different ethnic groups in suburbs such as Makokoba, Mutapa, Mbare and Highfields. These ethnic groups would clash at football platforms. The Ndebele people formed Matebeleland Highlanders Football Club while the Shona people formed Mashonaland United as their sources of identity and difference. Whenever these teams met, violent clashes erupted and, in some cases, violence would take place days before the match. The ethnic conflict in Zimbabwe was also seen in the split that occurred in 1963 when ZANU was formed as a majority Shona - dominated party and ZAPU's composition was largely Ndebele-dominated. Even the geographic areas of military operation reflected ethnic-regional realities. ZAPU operated from Zambia and their areas of entry into Zimbabwe were largely Ndebele- affiliated and dominated, whereas ZANU was operating from Mozambique and Tanzania, making it inevitable that the civilian population they encountered on their way to Zimbabwe was predominantly Shona. This magnified the ethnic divide and the filliatory tendencies between the two liberation movements which were supposedly fighting for a common cause and against the same enemy. This reflected that there was no unity between the two ethnic groups though they were fighting for the same cause. In fact, there were instances when these two nationalist movements clashed when they came into contact with each other. For instance, this took place in Zambia where Shona people were massacred by the Ndebele liberation fighters. On the same note, there is also the famed *Mgagao* incident where ZIPRA cadres were attacked and killed by the Shona freedom fighters in Tanzania. The animosity was a carry-over from the days of the split when they were engaged in a war of mutual destruction in areas like Highfieds, Gweru and Bulawayo. Even during the time they were at the Assembly Points, there were reported cases of violent clashes between ZIPRA and ZANLA forces; for example, the Entumbane episode in Bulawayo. This shows a regular pattern of conflict between the two ethnic social identities in Zimbabwe. This

powder-keg like situation even rooted itself the day Zimbabwe got its independence in 1980 and has continued to manifest itself in various forms up to the present day. There is political bickering in Zimbabwe today due to this ethnic conflict over the Gukurahundi issue which happened in Matebeleland and Midlands provinces. The search for justice, truth and closure is hampered by ethnic accusations and counter-accusations predicated on history. Even the split of the MDC party which was led by the late Morgan Tsvangirai, though occasioned by whether to take part in the senatorial elections or not, eventually took on ethnic overtones. It was assumed that high-ranking MDC officials like the late Gibson Sibanda (vice- President) and Welshman Ncube (Secretary-General) broke away, not much because of the violation of the constitution, but largely because they were Ndebeles who could not countenance being led by a Shona. What this shows is that in any natural misunderstanding between members of the two ethnic groups, there is a tendency to intone the ethnic litany that inevitably whips up divisive emotions.

5.3 Compartmentalisation in Zimbabwean Politics

In the Zimbabwean political landscape, there are members who have more than one group identity and this is important for one to have a social group that forms a person's social identity. Several identities were stimulated by a process which Roccas and Brewer (2002:90) refer to as "differentiation and isolation". A political party or an individual will have different social groups which could be significant to a political party or person and, simultaneously, forms and defines a political party's social identity. According to this model, social identities are context specific. In certain situations, ZANU PF membership developed the main basis of social identity whilst MDC-T and MDC-M identities became major in other situations. There were known strongholds of each political party; for instance, Uzumba-Maramba-Pfungwa was a famed ZANU PF stronghold whilst all urban areas were MDC-T strongholds.

Subsequently, the environment defined which individuality would be a major foundation for social identity of a particular political party. This is also similar to a Zimbabwean young Shona family which predominantly stays in town and may assume two group identities: the one they had in town and the other one in rural areas where their parents live which Kok (2014:3) refers to as ‘taking off a western hat’ and ‘putting on his African hat’. This clearly demonstrates the issue of compartmentalisation. The context defines which social identity will be more noticeable.

Compartmentalisation as a model can also enlightens the role played by former president Mugabe in Zimbabwean politics. Mugabe was the leader of the ZANU PF party which was the dominant party in the country. He was Shona and belonged to a major ethnic Zezuru social identity. The Zezuru ethnic social group perceived themselves as a superior group in ZANU PF because they bragged at a political rally that they were unconquerable. The colonialists viewed them as a special group; hence, initially standard Shona had to be Zezuru. This also explains the elevation of Nehanda in Zimbabwean history as a deliberate ploy to legitimate Zezuru hegemony. This literally implied that no members from the Karanga ethnic social group could rule Zimbabwe. Most of the cabinet ministers were from the Zezuru ethnic group. As a leader, the former president was very particular about the norms and values of the social group he belonged to. Mugabe knew very well the ethos of ZANU PF to such an extent that they could not share the same table with MDC-T and MDC-M members. This social identity phenomenon was regulated by ideals of *Chimurenga* which as orchestrated by Mbuya Nehanda and sekuru Kaguvi, among others. These personalities (Nehanda, Kaguvi and others) gave an inspiration to the leaders of ZANU PF since the liberation struggle to date. At the ZANU PF conferences which are held annually in December, that is where they review their party policies and vote for or endorse their leadership. Mugabe and his followers

often make it categorically clear that their members can never become sell-outs to other political parties. If any member was ever seen dining or having anything to do with the opposition members, that member would face disciplinary action. This clearly demonstrates compartmentalisation by former president Mugabe and the members of his political party. As a political party, they drew boundary markers against other political parties which their members could not cross. The move brewed conflict and their social identity complexity as a party was very discriminating. That is why the presidential and parliamentary elections since 2000 have been characterised by politically motivated violence. This was largely because of lack of tolerance among the political parties in Zimbabwe. By then, the opposition political parties were a minority on the Zimbabwean political landscape.

According to Raftopoulos (2014), when the internal conflict reached unprecedented levels in Zimbabwe, there were in dire need of a political solution. The situation in Zimbabwe was getting worse politically, economically and socially to an extent that there was no party which was benefiting from it (Sachikonye, 2006). There was hyperinflation, massive brain drain to other countries, company closures, and shortage of basic commodities in the supermarkets, among others. Raftopoulos (2009: 222) posits that another major effect of the economic meltdown was the dizzying speed of hyperinflation, which resulted in the ‘dollarization’ of economic transactions. This also culminated in the massive brain drain to neighbouring countries like South Africa, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia. Some also left for overseas destinations. Under these conditions of rapid economic deterioration, both opposition and civic society movements faced real challenges in confronting the ruling party. The crisis was a clear demonstration of Mugabe’s compartmentalisation tendencies because he did not want to cross his party’s boundary markers. This demonstrated a situation of exclusiveness and controlling social identity which was characteristic of ZANU PF at the

time. From a social identity complexity point of view, ZANU PF could not have anything to do with other political parties because this could have threatened their norms and values. It is probable that the GPA opened doors for other political parties to work together as a government, but it appears there were still outstanding issues to be resolved. The outstanding issues were the appointment of diplomatic posts, permanent secretaries and the Reserve Bank Governor of Zimbabwe. These outstanding issues resulted in conflict among the prominent social groups (political parties); that is, the ZANU PF and the MDC formations.

Another element which shows ZANU PF's negative compartmentalisation were the sanction imposed on ZANU PF party and some of its members. Sanctions are "mechanisms employed by countries and international organizations to persuade a particular government or group of governments to change their policy by restricting trade, investment or other commercial activities" (Gono, 2008: 91). In the case of Zimbabwe, sanctions were widened to include other elements such as diplomatic, cultural, and sporting isolation. Gono (2008: 91) claims that "the sanctions which were imposed on Zimbabwe were illegal" because they were not sanctioned by the United Nations Security Council but by Britain and her allies while Mashakada (2016: 2), a Member of Parliament for MDC-T, argues that these sanctions could be referred to as "restrictive measures." The opposition did not see sanctions as a reality but as targeting individuals in government who did not uphold the rule of law and human rights. According to MDC-T, the UN could not impose sanctions on Zimbabwe because they were blocked by China and Russia. The sanctions were imposed upon the ruling ZANU PF party because it emphasised exclusive and dominating social identities.

The sanctions forced Zimbabwe to resort to the “Look East” policy for economic co-operation with China against the West (Kobayashi, 2010: 6). The sanctions which were imposed on Zimbabwe affected financial relations, trade and financial flows. The United States and other Western countries imposed restrictive measures on Zimbabwe’s government in 2002 because of the reports of election rigging and gross human rights abuses (Duzor and Zulu, 2015: 1). In addition, the land redistribution programme angered the West who punished the country due to human rights abuses in Zimbabwe (Maruta, 2013: 6). What can be confirmed by a number of scholars such as Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013: 144); Raftopoulos (2013: 16); Nyakudya (2013: 174) is that from 2000 to 2008 there was much politically motivated violence which may have forced the US and the West to impose sanctions on Zimbabwe. The politically motivated violence which rocked the whole country was because of ZANU PF’s selfish ambition of upholding its political culture and values as the best. . There is an element of truth in this claim because it is from 2000 that Zimbabwe witnessed a sharp decline in net capital flows, grant flows, external loan flows, and foreign direct investment inflows. According to Gono, (2008: 111),“Some individual Western countries had already frozen the assets of the former president Mugabe and other top ZANU PF leaders.” As part of the sanctions package, the West had banned these leaders from entering their territories.

The issue of sanctions caused a lot of conflict between the two social groups; that is, ZANU PF and MDC formations because ZANU PF accused the MDC of cajoling the West to bring the sanctions on Zimbabwe, while the MDC would say that such measures were just targeted on individuals and companies, and the economic decline was brought about by mismanagement and corruption on the part of ZANU PF. This mudslinging and finger pointing between the ZANU PF and MDC formations brewed conflict between these parties

over the sanctions. One tends to agree with Kobayashi (2010: 7) “that it is impossible to punish targeted people (ZANU PF leaders) without punishing the generality of Zimbabweans.” One can argue that it is important, may be, for world bodies to think of other options of persuading governments to change their policies without hurting innocent people. What is interesting is that ZANU PF leaders did not accept responsibility for not upholding the rule of law and human rights and this is precisely because of compartmentalisation of identities.

The majority of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) got their funding from Western governments (Gono, 2008: 101). As a result, some of these NGOs had to withdraw their developmental assistance and only concentrated on humanitarian aid for such problems as HIV/AIDS. In some cases, aid could be diverted to other developing countries, and this was confirmed by the National Association of Non-Governmental Organizations (NANGO) (Gono, 2008: 103). From 2000, after Zimbabwe’s land reform programme, there was international isolation, particularly from the multilateral institutions such as the IMF, WB, and AfDB who cancelled all credit lines to Zimbabwe (Gono, 2008: 104). This meant that there was no medication, children could not go to school, no transport, no fuel, and the country experienced blackouts because of electricity outages. It is evident that the sanctions had adverse effects across all Zimbabweans, and this is what led to the birth of the GPA.

Mugabe’ negative compartmentalization also resulted in churches being divided during this period of the “Zimbabwe Crisis.” Some churches supported Mugabe’s exhausted nationalism, while others aligned themselves to the critical civic movements (Sachikonye, 2011:75). For instance, some church leaders in the Anglican Church such as Bishop Norbert

Kunonga expressed support for former president Mugabe and his ZANU (PF) party. There followed a split in the Anglican Church, probably because of Bishop Kunonga's endorsement of the regime. Following Bishop Kunonga's excommunication from the Anglican Church of Province of Central Africa (CPCA), he refused to return the assets of the Church (Sachikonye, 2011:78). This resistance brewed conflict between Bishop Kunonga and Bishop Gandiya. State authorities and the police supported Kunonga for political reasons. However, the same state later abandoned Kunonga probably because he had failed to play his political cards well. The conflict resulted in drawing boundaries between churches led by Bishop Kunonga and the other one headed by Bishop Gandiya.

The African independent churches were accused of being partisan. According to Mhandara, Manyeruke, and Hofisi (2013:110), the two denominations led, respectively, by Johanne Masowe and Johanne Marange, caused conflict because they publicly supported ZANU PF. Most of the ZANU PF leadership was seen fellowshipping with them probably because they wanted to lure them into ZANU PF. Even the opposition leader, Morgan Tsvangirai, was also seen being part of the Johanne Marange church fellowshipping with them (Mhandara, Manyeruke, and Hofisi, 2013:110). However, other African indigenous churches such as Paul Mwazha criticised sanctions in the same way other leaders of the church such as Makandiwa and Kunonga. Meanwhile, the Pentecostal churches taught their congregants to “make the best of rapid social change” (Maxwell, 1998:351). Really, the church did not play its prophetic role in the crisis because she feared being victimized. In March 2007, the police brutally disrupted a prayer meeting of the Christian Alliance Church in Highfield, Harare (Raftopoulos, 2009:227). The publicity of this event globally resulted in international condemnation and pressure on former president Mugabe's regime, thus putting more pressure on the Southern African Development Community (SADC) to mediate in the crisis in

Zimbabwe. Pressure also mounted on SADC from the United Nations (UN), the European Union (EU), the African Union (AU), and the entire international community to broker peace in the deep-rooted conflict between the two MDC formations and the ZANU (PF) party. After a series of ‘talks’ and summits, the GPA was born on 15 September 2009 and came as a panacea to Zimbabwe’s problems. The signing of the GPA came as a relief to all Zimbabweans because they saw it as a harbinger of the end of the conflict which had brought a lot of suffering to the majority.

When pressure mounted from the international community, Mugabe had no choice but to suddenly assume another inclusive social position. In this case, Mugabe appears to have compartmentalised his social personality which was in accordance to the requirements of a specific situation. Kok (2014:7) rightly asserts that “[o]ne moment he could act as the inclusive ‘GPA-Mugabe’ and the next he acted as the exclusive ‘ZANU PF-Mugabe’ which seems to have been the dominant identity at that point in time”. When the pressure escalated from his exclusive political social group, Mugabe showed the “implicit hierarchy in his own social identity” (Kok, 2014:7). It was a great opportunity for Mugabe to work with the opposition political parties productively, but he squandered it. Instead, Mugabe chose to return to his social identity as a ZANU PF leader and, unexpectedly, became exclusive to those he interacted with in the GPA as he drew social boundaries between himself and them. The major reason for the existence of the inclusive government was to try to resolve the conflict which existed between the two social groups and the GPA was supposed to pave way for free, fair and credible elections within a given time frame. In addition, the inclusive government was mandated to improve and stabilise the economy of Zimbabwe. However, this was not fully realised because the elections which followed the expiry of the GPA were reported by the majority of observers as not free, fair and credible. After the GPA, the

ZANU PF government reverted to its exclusive social identity where opposition political parties were not part of the government.

Mugabe frustrated other leaders of the opposition political parties who were having problems with the way Mugabe contextually compartmentalised himself and showed dominating and exclusive tendencies. Mugabe was supposed to be inclusive and to close social boundaries, but he (Mugabe) reverted to the old exclusive and distinguishing boundaries between in-groups and out-groups. The MDC formations observed that Mugabe's actions were contradictory and equally exclusive. By withdrawing from the dictates of the GPA, Mugabe demonstrated the incompatibility of the two self-positions with regards to social boundaries and safeguarding those boundaries. It is possible that the MDC formations felt that this form of compartmentalisation was not good but was counterproductive to the development of the country. Mugabe's actions resulted in drawing boundaries between MDC formations and ZANU PF and it promoted conflict between the two social groups.

The politics within ZANU PF as a social group under the leadership of Mugabe witnessed factionalism. There was a faction loyal to former Vice President Emerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa. The other faction was led by the former president Mugabe. There were two distinct social identity categories within the same party with different social identity markers. The conflict between the two factions escalated in 2017 when the party was heading towards their annual congress. The then vice president was fired by the former president at the instigation of former first lady, Grace Mugabe. This resulted in an operation which was termed "Operation Restore Legacy" by the military. Mugabe was forced to resign from power. Within a short space of time the former Vice President, Mnangagwa, came back as the

President of Zimbabwe, replacing the ousted Mugabe. The smart coup which was carried out by the military came as a result of Mugabe's compartmentalisation strategies. In addition, Mugabe's compartmentalisation was also wrong in that it was against the requirements of GPA. This has also helped to interrogate the political environment in Zimbabwe with the lenses of social identity complexity, particularly compartmentalisation as a model. This leads us to the intersectionality between ZANU PF and MDC.

5.4 ZANU PF and MDC Intersectionality

Even though there was political polarisation between ZANU PF and the MDC formations, there is evidence that they intersected. This model can be used to describe ZANU PF party (in-group) and MDC party (out-group) as the intersection of a variety of group membership. Through intersection, a person can, at the same time, have an acknowledgement of multiple identities, but "in the process maintain a single in-group representation by defining the in-group as the intersection of the multiple in-groups" (Kok, 2014:2). In this context, any party member who does not share the shared identity becomes the MDC-T (out-group). For example, a female ZANU PF lawyer can describe her main social identity with regards to the multiple combinations of both gender and political affiliation, an identity shared only with other female MDC-T lawyers. This perspective helps in understanding that the former president, Robert Mugabe, was the leader of ZANU PF party, but also maintained his identity as a president of Zimbabwe. In this case, former president Robert Mugabe had multiple identities but he maintained a single in-group representation. It is against this background that the social identity complexity theory could be useful in this research by analysing the political situation in Zimbabwe in the context of conflict-resolution. In the GPA, those who fitted into the wide categories of the group while they did not share that particular intersection are called out-group members. These out-group members are possibly the MDC-

T members. Constructing social identities this way, makes it very simple recognize that the MDC-T who follows this type of social identity construction is unlikely to be inclusive in nature. Such individuals may be exclusive and would tend to go less beyond social boundaries (Kok, 2014:3; Tucker and Baker, 2014:43).

The application of the intersection model in the Zimbabwean political situation revealed that there were variations or multiplicity results in a lower social identity complexity. This is so because in the intersection model, diversity is not complex in outlook. Meyer (2014) rightly argues that intersection suppressed the variations by dropping the complexity to a simple and exclusive social in-group identity formation. Each political party had formulated boundary markers which were exclusive to the other political parties and this escalated conflict among the political parties. However, the conflict was watered down by the dictates of the GPA.

A member of a political party can be indecisive with regards to different social identities in accordance with the demands of the social context. For example, there were members of political parties who could belong to two political parties either because of fear of being victimised by the dominant political parties or who may want to benefit from the eats which may be brought by those who campaigning to win the hearts of the electorate. They kept their identities secretly to those political parties which they purported to be belong. In this case, those members of either ZANU PF or MDC who kept their political identities secretly share the shared part of the intersection.

5.5 Identities in the New Dispensation in Zimbabwe

After the smart coup in November 2017, there were high hopes and expectations by Zimbabweans after years of suffering under the leadership of Robert Mugabe. The incoming President Mnangagwa was seen as symbolising a new dispensation. This new dispensation was understood to represent a progressive change in Zimbabwe under President Mnangagwa's leadership (Mahomed, 2018:1). The new President seemed to bring in an inclusive approach rather than the exclusive way hitherto pursued by President Mnangagwa's predecessor. The new President brought in a new mantra which was oriented towards economic and political reforms. This new mantra ('Zimbabwe is Open for Business') promised to bring everybody on board regardless of differences in political or gender, or ethnic/racial and religious affiliation. He came in as an inclusive leader bent on destroying the exclusive social boundary markers which were put in place in the Zimbabwean politics by former president, Mugabe. Robert Mugabe had compartmentalised ZANU PF as a social category. The new dispensation brought in social identity complexity in the political landscape in Zimbabwe. In this period, there were overlaps because people could interact freely with any member of any political party without problems.

The removal of former president Mugabe in November 2017, with the aid of the military, paved way for elections which were set for 30 July 2018. President Mnangagwa was working on removing exclusive social boundary markers which were instituted by his predecessor. He reviewed Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPA), Indigenisation policy, Media policy, Public Order and Security Act (POSA), among others. This inclusivity was viewed as a welcome development by the international community which had isolated Zimbabwe because of so many reasons; among them abuse of human rights. During this period, Mnangagwa's social identity was typified by plurality and social

identity complexity. One can argue that Mnangagwa's social identity may have been complicated precisely due to various environments that influenced his life. Mnangagwa himself argued that he formerly personified as an all-exclusive ZANU PF identity. After he was fired from ZANU PF by the former president Robert Mugabe, he could identify the boundary lines that were between in-groups and out-group members. He, therefore, developed an attitude of inclusivity that "transcended boundaries instead of drawing boundaries" (Kok, 2014:7). This is evidenced by the inclusion of black, coloured, Indian and white cabinet ministers in his government. In this context, Mnangagwa was concerned with the issue of social cohesion and inclusivity that went beyond the social, political and some r boundaries which become an option in ZANU PF. In the new dispensation, Mnangagwa suggested that Zimbabwe had evolved a brand new social identity and status where man-made boundaries were removed. The removal of the previous social boundary lines which were between ZANU PF and MDC formations brought a new integrated social order, represented by a merger model which takes cognisance of the mega plans for the creation of a new Zimbabwe.

Mnangagwa's engagement and reengagement drive with international community was proving to be fruitful because he was invited to serious international investment seminars such as the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting held on 23-26 January 2018 in Davos, Switzerland. Different countries and investors were engaged and they, in turn, pledged to come and invest in Zimbabwe after the harmonised elections. Mnangagwa's reengagement desire was aimed at the lifting of restriction under the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA). He also wanted international validation which his predecessor was denied for a long time. He also sought to give the donor community influence to forge partnerships with Zimbabwe.

The election was a very important period for the Mnangagwa government because all the bilateral relations and investors were waiting to see the proceedings and results of the poll. Mnangagwa was aware of this and he made some important concessions towards the elections. He did this by allowing the opposition parties to campaign freely in the whole country. For the first time in decades, Mnangagwa invited election observers from the Western countries. However, it was noted that the playing field was not even by observers and the opposition. In addition, observers noted that the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) was partisan and supported ZANU PF, and that there was evidence of voters roll's manipulation. These were some of the issues raised by both the opposition and observers. It can be argued that for the first time after a long time under the former president Mugabe, there was peaceful campaign until the day of elections.

The problem emerged before ZEC announced the results; the MDC Alliance declared that they had won resoundingly, citing their internal party tally. The MDC Alliance, as a social group, prematurely celebrated that they had won at their party Headquarters. Hell broke loose on the 1st of August 2018 when opposition supporters staged a demonstration which subsequently resulted in the shooting of six protestors by military personnel. The shooting was prompted by massive demonstrations by the opposition. The military was deployed because the police failed to contain the situation; hence, they called for reinforcement from the Zimbabwe National Army. The deployment of the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) was meant to quash the protests. . The military personnel opened fire on unarmed civilians. This sparked international condemnation and all the promises made by different investors were deferred. The international community constructed the narrative that Mnangagwa was, in fact, the same as former president, Mugabe. On the 2nd of August ZEC declared Mnangagwa the winner of the presidential election. Mnangagwa garnered 50.8 % while Chamisa captured

44.3 %. Mnangagwa was just above the 50% plus one vote so that meant he had won outrightly and avoided a run-off (Noyes, 2018:2). The opposition MDC Alliance contested the results in the Constitutional Court; unfortunately, they (MDC A) lost the case because they lacked hard evidence. However, other opposition political leaders complained that the Zimbabwean courts have a long history of being biased towards the ruling party. They alleged that it was very rare for the judges to make a ruling which was favourable to the opposition.

The social identity of ZANU PF has so far changed from the new identities it had assumed at its inception after Mugabe. The situation drastically changed after the shooting of the 1st August 2018. The engagement and reengagement by the identities of the new government did not bring the desired results. The (USDs) disappeared on the market. This disappearance of the USDs led to the skyrocketing of prices of fundamental commodities on the market. The price increases of essential commodities resulted in the sharp rise of inflation. This sparked conflict between the main social categories (political parties) which are MDC Alliance and ZANU PF over the state of the economy in Zimbabwe. The international community had been putting pressure on all political parties to engage each other in dialogue. The major hurdle to dialogue between ZANU PF and MDC Alliance is that the two have been drawing social boundaries which are detrimental to meaningful progress in the development of the country. Each social group (ZANU PF and MDC Alliance) has compartmentalised itself and, thus, drawing social boundary markers which do not allow some overlap. To this end, the political conflict is far from over because there are no indications to show that resolution is in sight. For conflict-resolution to take place there is need for a neutral mediator, for compromise and the will to see Zimbabwe to develop politically, socially and economically.

5.6 Emerging Inclusive Identities that go beyond Ethnic and Political boundaries: The birth of GPA

The birth of the GPA was the beginning of emerging inclusive identities of the main political parties in Zimbabwe. These identities were initiatives that went beyond ethnic and political boundaries that were drawn. The starting point in the emerging inclusive identities after the crisis in Zimbabwe was mediation. Mediation can be understood as “the process through which agreements are reached with the aid of a neutral third party or helper” Pienaar (1996:3). Chipaike (2013:21); Gunduza and Namusi, 2004:67) share the same sentiment as Pienaar (1996) on the definition of mediation. Often, conflict between two social groups of people or two people may not work towards resolution and might require mediation. The primary objective of negotiation in the process of conflict-resolution is to engage in a dialogue where a solution to a conflict is reached. Mediation is normally taken done where social groups involved in conflict make an attempt to negotiate, but fail to reach a consensus. Forms of mediation exist in a variety of settings which could be interpersonal, inter-state, and intra-state. In the case of Zimbabwe, the conflict was intra-state, where three political parties were in conflict in a struggle to capture and maintain state power.

In Zimbabwe, mediation took place because there was a deep-rooted political conflict based on several grievances against the ruling ZANU PF party by the opposition parties in Zimbabwe. The crisis forced SADC to “appoint South Africa to mediate among the political parties in Zimbabwe between 2007 and 2008” (Chipaike, 2013:22). In a bid to make some economic and political reforms, the ZANU PF government adopted the policies discussed above just like the payment of war veterans’ gratuities. The conflict in Zimbabwe worsened in 2007 when the opposition leaders, which included the late Morgan Tsvangirai and Lovemore Madhuku, were beaten and then detained by the police. In response, the UN, AU, and European Union mounted pressure on SADC to deal with the Zimbabwean conflict.

According to Maisiri (2013:28); Mhandara *et al* (2013:13), the SADC got involved and assigned South Africa to facilitate dialogue among the three political parties in Zimbabwe at an extraordinary summit of the heads of state and government in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, on 27 March, 2009. The former South African President Thabo Mbeki's mandate was to bring the warring parties to the negotiating table by "addressing socio-economic challenges, the creation of conditions for a credible harmonised election in 2008 as well as assisting Zimbabwe's re-engagement with the international community" (Maisiri, 2013:30). Mhandara *et al* (2013:13) rightly contend that "the South African- facilitated negotiations between ZANU PF and the two MDC formations resulted in the relatively credible harmonised elections in March 2008."

Regrettably, the March 2008 harmonised elections did not produce an outright presidential winner; a scenario which plunged back the whole country into another deep political crisis which was again a situation which was akin to the 2000 post-referendum era when the opposition won against ZANU PF. For a candidate to be an outright winner the electoral laws required that candidate to have garnered 50% plus one vote of the total votes cast. In this situation, the fact that there was no outright winner meant that there was the need for a run-off. Just as in the case of the referendum, ZANU PF unleashed a wave of violence against the opposition supporters Maisiri (2013:30) has rightly argued that "[t]he credible electoral environment prevalent in March was seen as threatening to the party's continued hold on power, triggering the political violence and intimidation towards the presidential run-off election of June 2008." In the same vein, the Zimbabwe Electoral Support Network (ZESN) (2008:9) is of the view that the presidential run-off election was marred by intimidation and repression. It is therefore observed that the June 2008 presidential run-off was the bloodiest election in the Zimbabwean history. This led to the withdrawal of the late MDC- T leader

Morgan Tsvangirai from the race, citing intimidation, displacement, murder, and abductions of his supporters.

The situation in Zimbabwe became so bad that the international community had to intervene through SADC (Chipaika, 2013:25; Mhandara *et al*, 2013:14; Maisiri, 2013:30). The former president of South Africa Mbeki was again commissioned to mediate and bring the warring political parties together for the second time at the Egypt Summit in June 2008. However, Mbeki's mandate in the second phase of mediation was different. The focus this time in the second phase was to facilitate the formation of an inclusive government composed of the then three political parties, namely the two MDC formations and ZANU PF. The negotiation period in the second phase stretched beginning April 2008 to February 2009, whilst the Government of National Unit (GNU) was born. The extent of hostility among the three political parties meant that the mediation process had to be extended from February 2009 to July 2013 because the focus now was on the execution of the requirements of the GPA. Two successive South African mediators (former South African presidents Mbeki and Zuma) dealt with the real challenges and complexities of the Zimbabwean crisis throughout the "phases of mediation, from the pre-2008 election to the post 2008 harmonised election and ultimately the implementation of the GPA" (Maisiri, 2013:30). This mediation process was not without its challenges. Firstly, former president Mugabe was viewed as a hero in Africa. In this regard, any negotiation that was aimed at removing him from power could not work (Maisiri, 2013). Mugabe's influence was so strong that any negotiations that were presided over by a SADC member could never be even or fair. Secondly, there was solidarity within the liberation movements within the SADC region. According to Chipaika (2013:25), these liberation movements have a relationship that back-date to the pre-colonial period and ultimately to the formation of the SADC. In light of this, it was unthinkable that there could

be a meaningful political outcome if one of these parties was involved in the mediation. The other challenge was the ideological differences between the three social and political groups namely, the two MDC formations and ZANU PF. ZANU PF as a social group perceived the MDC social category as a puppet political party that was serving the interests of its Western (Britain, USA and the EU) allies and thus that meant re-colonisation and the reversal of the gains of independence Mugabe is on record as saying that “Zimbabwe will never be a colony again,” which means that if the MDC as a social group ruled the country, it would be re-colonised by its Western allies. The MDC, on the other hand, viewed ZANU PF as a perpetrator of human rights abuses. This resulted in political impasse and polarisation among the political parties and it was difficult for the mediator to control the proceedings. Even though there were mediation complexities and challenges in the process of conflict-resolution, there was good progress in bringing the warring political parties together by forming a government of national unity which resulted in the improvement of the country’s economy. The GPA was an emerging inclusive initiative that was meant to resolve the conflict which had bedevilled Zimbabwe for decades. In addition, of importance is the fact that the principle of mediation was successfully implemented during the crisis in Zimbabwe’s political landscape.

5.6.1 Emerging Inclusive Identities: Resolution with Compromise

Compromise was another way of bringing inclusivity and integration in Zimbabwe after years of political polarisation. According to Musingafi *et al* (2011:41), compromise “is an intermediate position on both assertiveness and cooperation often referred to as ‘splitting the difference,’ seeking a quick, middle-ground position.” In the process of compromise, each party that is involved in a conflict should be prepared to meet the other party half way towards conflict resolution. Compromise can be possible if both parties in a conflict realize

that it is better to resolve the conflict than for one person to ‘win.’ If the contending social groups fail to make a decision without succumbing to compromise, the verdict or outcome would obviously be negative. According to Story (2011:54), “[i]ndecision would lead to confusion and divisiveness; there is no compromise, the backlash from the Jewish Christians might be substantial.” If there was an unexpected rejection of the compromise, it would imply that there could be further complication and amplified tension among the social and political groups in the Zimbabwe.

In the case of the Zimbabwean political situation, although there were differences in social boundary markers and political ideology among the political parties, there was no party which enjoyed any benefit out of the situation. That meant that there was a real need to have these principles applied: the willingness to compromise, and the giving up of one’s interest. As a result of the tensions during the first phase of the negotiations, that is, during the pre-2008 harmonised elections, any political party which was not prepared to compromise could have ended up in political oblivion.

The MDC and ZANU PF were philosophically opposed to one another in a number of ways. According to Chipaike (2013:17), “[t]hese ideologies are, however, not unique to Zimbabwe, but provide a microcosmic representation of the international political and economic community.” It was not easy to bring these philosophically diverse political parties together at the negotiating table. This is so because the “[n]ationalisation of the country’s natural economic resources and protectionist economic policies of ZANU PF are as different from what the MDC stands for, liberation and international commercial competition.” (Maisiri, 2013:31). ZANU PF was supported by their funders, that is, Russia and China, and did not

want to move an inch from their position. This was also true with the MDC which was backed by its Western allies. Even though there was this diverse disparity between the main political parties ZANU PF and the MDC formations, they ultimately compromised from their radical positions. The compromise destroyed the ethnic, social and political boundaries which had been drawn among the three main political groups.

Linked to what was discussed above there was the fear of retaliation on the part of the ZANU PF party. ZANU PF feared that the MDC-T might take over power especially given the ‘careless’ political pronouncements by the MDC-T leader Tsvangirai. ZANU PF supporters were not sure of their future political life. There was fear within the ZANU PF camp that they would be arrested and dragged to the international criminal court. Consequently, ZANU PF was not prepared to compromise during the negotiations. For the MDC formations, the negotiations were an opportunity to take over power from ZANU PF. Although there were varying degrees of ideological differences among the three main political parties, they subsequently compromised, formed the government of national unity, and implemented some of the provisions of the GPA. Therefore, the mediation team and the negotiators compromised, and gave up their own interests in the process of mediation and negotiations thus resulting in a relative conflict-resolution.

5.7 Initiatives towards Political Inclusiveness in Zimbabwe.

There were politically inclusive initiatives in the areas of civil society, church, traditional leaders, academics among others in Zimbabwe. These initiatives were instrumental in resolving the conflict in Zimbabwe if they were brought on board. Unfortunately they were not invited to be participants in the process of conflict resolution. The mentioned initiatives were necessitated by the fact that Zimbabwe had been rocked by politically-motivated violence from 2000 to

2008. The political impasse resulted in the Southern African Development Community (SADC), being tasked to broker the conflict in Zimbabwe in order to set a transitional government, which is the Government of National Unity (GNU) with the view of preparing for fresh elections.

5.7.1 The GPA- Organ on National Healing, Reconciliation, and Integration

In the GPA document, article VII there are provisions which promote the ideas of conflict-resolution, unity, national healing, and equality. This is specifically enshrined in section 7.1 where the GNU was directed among other things to:

- c) “...give consideration to the setting up of a mechanism to properly advise on what measures might be necessary and practicable to achieve national healing, cohesion and unity in respect of victims of pre- and post-independence political conflict;
- d)... strive to create an environment of tolerance and respect among Zimbabweans and that all citizens are treated with dignity and decency irrespective of age, gender, race, and ethnicity, place of origin or political affiliation” (Global Political Agreement, 2009;...).

It is on the basis of section 7 (c) of the GPA document, that a National Healing Committee was put in place to lead national healing programmes. The purpose of this section is to critically argue that the GNU could have done better in the quest for transitional justice, healing, and reconciliation if the ONHRI could have incorporated people with expertise in dealing with conflict-resolution rather than depending on politicians. Section 7 (c) of the GPA shows that it (GPA) approached the national healing, transitional justice, and reconciliation in a casual way. The clause appears to be a mere promise to ‘give consideration’ to what would look like *an advisory mechanism* in the context of the past violence (Eppel, 2013). It can be that this casual

approach by the GPA resulted in the poor performance of the ONHRI during the period of the GNU.

As an organ of the GPA government, the ONHRI had the mandate of advising the government on channels to be followed to promote healing, unity and cohesion. The organ demonstrated minimum expertise in being able to advice the GPA government and the communities in creating conditions that promoted peace (Chipaike, 2013). It can be observed that the major problem in the failure of the ONHRI to achieve its mandate was lack of conflict transformation expertise. The political parties made a mistake in presuming that politicians would be able to lead a programme of reconciliation and national healing. Therefore, it can be argued that conflict transformation in Zimbabwe could have been more effective if both the elite and those in the grassroots level, with the blessing of the state, could have implemented national healing and reconciliation processes.

5.7.2 Civil Society Organisations

The civil society organisations could have played a pivotal role in bringing about conflict transformation programmes in Zimbabwe if they were roped in with their expertise. These civil society organisations include Zimbabwe Community Conflict Resolution Agenda, Zimbabwe Human Rights, Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe among others. The inclusion of these civil society organisations could have made a huge difference in bringing peace, healing and reconciliation. This could have also built a firm foundation for elections without violence in the future. According to Chipaike (2013), these civil society organisations could not be roped in because (ZANU PF) thought that they were ambassadors of the West who had a government change agenda. However, if these civil society organisations were included in national healing

and conflict transformation, it was going to be instrumental in ushering a new dispensation of peace, healing, and reconciliation.

5.7.3 The Church

The church could have been a good agent for inclusive identities in conflict transformation in the GNU. After high levels of violence and political polarisation in Zimbabwe, the church could have been very useful in bringing national healing and peace. The church as a body of Christ believes in tolerance, reconciliation and peace. As an organisation, the church's teachings are based on the premise that Jesus Christ came to redeem humanity and so the Cross becomes an apex of liberation. Chiwara, Shoko and Chitando (2013:46) assert that

“in the Bible, justice, love and peace have to do with slaves being set free from bondage, with care of widows and orphans, with kindness to strangers and sojourners, with compassion for the sick and disabled, but also with fair wages to workers, economic security, the inclusion of the marginalized, liberation from oppression, ecological justice and the end of the war.”

It is against this background that the church could have been an instrumental platform for bringing about national healing and conflict transformation had it been included to participate in bringing about peace in the GNU. There are church organisations like the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference (ZCBC), Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ), and Catholic Commission of Justice and Peace (CCJP). These church organisations were the voice of the voiceless to the people of Zimbabwe before, during and after the GPA.

According to Chiwara, Shoko and Chitando (2013), the ZCBC acted as the voice of the voiceless in 1983 when they wrote a communique entitled *Reconciliation is Still Possible* showing that they (ZCBC) vehemently denounced and condemned the atrocities of the Gukurahundi and encouraged the government to respect and maintain law and order in

Matebeleland and Midlands provinces. In addition, the CCJP members played a pivotal role in the negotiations between both ZAPU and ZANU PF in order to bring unity in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, the leaders of Christian denominations approached the then President, Banda, who was the Minister of Religion to intervene and mediate on the political conflict which was there between ZANU PF and ZAPU. This resulted in the signing of an agreement between ZANU PF and ZAPU on 22 December 1987 bringing peace in the Matebeleland and Midlands provinces (Chiwara, Shoko and Chitando, 2013). This is also reminiscent of what Muzondidya (2011) proposed when he said that the agreement's major purpose was to eradicate the political violence that had rocked Matebeleland and Midlands provinces, and the agreement was known as the Unity Accord. This is evidence that the church can actually mediate in situations of conflicts just like the one which was in the GPA. It was the church which played the leading role in ushering reconciliation and peace in the Gukurahundi era. Chitando's view that the churches remained marginalised by the ONHRI, partly because of its internal squabbles, is pertinent in this regard (Chitando, 2011:267). Chiwara, Shoko and Chitando (2013) correctly note that "national healing and reconciliation are embedded in moral obligations; the church-based individual organisations can claim moral authority and legitimacy to lead the National Healing and Reconciliation Process, as politicians are viewed as not having the moral integrity to remain neutral and/ or separate national issues from party politics agendas". It can be observed that politicians are not experts in conflict transformation and healing. Chitando (2011) further contends that the churches did not position themselves to be visible and to show that they were potential players in the inclusive government in resolving conflict. Therefore, if the church was given space in the inclusive government, it could have played a major role in bringing national healing and conflict transformation in Zimbabwe.

5.7.4 The Traditional Leadership

Another important initiative that could have been very important in bringing about conflict transformation, national healing and peace was the involvement of the traditional leadership as represented by the chiefs (*ishe/mambo*). In the Shona religion and customs, the chief is an embodiment of tradition and culture (Chiwara, Shoko and Chitando, 2013:41). He is the leader of all the people in his community and is the custodian of the land where people get life. According to Nkomo (1998:14), chiefs are a combination of executive, ritual and judicial power and, always, enjoy the support of their subordinates and the people under their jurisdiction. The role of the chiefs, therefore, could stabilize societies for development. The major role of chiefs is to resolve conflicts and disputes through his traditional court (*dare*). Chiwara, Shoko and Chitando (2013:42) note that the chief is the last court of appeal for the village headmen refer difficult cases to him for settlement. In presiding over his traditional court, the chief is helped by his advisors (*machinda*) who advise him and make it a point that there is peace, harmony and unity within kingdom the area under his/her purview. Bourdillon (1976) argues that the chiefs' court deals with a variety of cases which include, divorce, quarrels, compensation, breaking taboos, theft of cattle, among others. The chief is both a "religious and political ruler" (Bourdillon, 1976:137). Among other roles of the chief is to mediate between his subjects and the spirit guardians in his area of jurisdiction (Shoko, 2007:10). The chief has the role of spearheading and overseeing the organisation of rituals such as *mukwerere* (rain making ceremony) to make sure that there is enough rain and fertility on the land. Given the importance of the traditional leaders to indigenous societies, the GNU could have utilised the involvement of traditional leadership in national healing, conflict transformation and reconciliation. What usually happens is that chiefs are only used by some politicians to make sure that they remain in power.

5.7.5 The Shona Religion and Customs

The Shona religion and customs are rich in principles of conflict transformation and reconciliation among which are the role and respect of the spirits, cultural values and customs. For the purposes of this chapter, the role and respect of the spirits will be discussed particularly focusing on the avenging spirits (*ngozi*). According to Sibanda (2016) and Chiwara, Shoko and Chitando (2013), the avenging spirits are the spirits of the dead people who died in anger, such as victims of murder, who may want to seek revenge. The family of the person who murdered someone would consult the *n'anga* who would help to settle the problem between the angry spirit and the family. Sibanda (2016:353) argues that the Shona say: “*Mushonga wengozi kuiripa.*” (The solution to *ngozi* is restitution or compensation). When not appeased, the *ngozi* can cause mayhem in a family to an extent of wiping the whole family. The avenging spirits */ngozi* can only be compensated through the payment of the blood money, a herd of cattle or a girl child (Sibanda, 2016). The element of the avenging spirits could have been handy if it was utilised by the GNU. The traditional chiefs could have been used to spearhead reconciliation and national healing in Zimbabwe, because the spirits of the victims of politically motivated violence may have rested in peace provided the persons who killed them were brought to book and traditionally this could have been done by paying compensation. Chiwara, Shoko and Chitando (2013) rightly point that the inclusive government could have initiated the traditional ceremonies that were meant to silence the spirits of the victims of politically motivated violence. If the cleansing ceremonies were undertaken during the GNU and spearheaded by the ONHRI, there could have been reconciliation and conflict transformation between the families of those who were involved in political violence from 2000 to 2008. The concept of *ngozi* is a deterrent measure in society because if other people in a given community witness a person or family being tormented by the avenging spirits, few people would commit the same offence of killing. Therefore, the fear of *ngozi* may instil discipline in the entire society and this can only

be realised when the traditional leaders emphasise the importance of not killing each other in different communities.

5.7.6 Academics

The academics could have been versatile in reconciliation, national healing and in conflict transformation throughout the GNU in Zimbabwe. These academics could have been experts in conflict resolution. Chipaika (2013) rightly notes that at times, governments and organisations have a propensity of addressing the symptoms of a conflict without looking at the root causes of the conflict. The ONHRI and JOMIC could have embraced the academics during the GNU to ensure that there was a successful conflict transformation drive that could have resulted in peace and national healing. The fact that the academics were not embraced meant that politically motivated violence is continually witnessed even today.

5.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, it must be emphasised that reconciliation and conflict-resolution are a set of complicated issues which need to be approached through various sectoral strategies. The discussion made in this chapter shows the ‘thick description’ of the inclusive government’s political identity formation and philosophy with the aid of social identity complexity and models. This has been evidenced by the analysis that has been done in the GPA using the social identity complexity theory that resolving a conflict needs concerted efforts and strategies. Reading the conflict-resolution in the GPA with the lens of social identity revealed that the compartmentalisation and intersectionality models were instrumental in analysing the conflict-resolution in the signing of the GPA. Events that led to the signing of the GPA were characterised by exclusivity, segregation and drawing of boundary makers that escalated conflict among the three social identity groups (political parties). It has been established that there were

emerging inclusive identities that went beyond ethnic and political boundaries in Zimbabwe. It also emerged in this chapter that there are several ways in which people's identity can be structured. The analysis made in this chapter established that the former president Mugabe's compartmentalisation brought segregation and exclusive tendencies rather than reconciliation to the MDC formations. Alternatively, the late Morgan Tsvangirai appeared to have a high level of social identity complexity that enabled him to surpass social boundaries and bring in higher degree of inclusiveness in Zimbabwe. Conflict was brought in by the tendencies of intolerance and among the political parties in Zimbabwe. The conflict was partially resolved by the signing of the GPA by the three political parties but conflict continued to cause havoc in the inclusive government over the outstanding issues such as the appointment of Reserve Bank governor, permanent secretaries, Roy Bennet, among others. However, they were notable positive inclusive initiatives which were brought in Zimbabwe by the signing of the GPA such as, companies were re-opening, jobs were created, there was food on the shelves, there was a marked growth in the economy, among others. If the organs on national healing, reconciliation and integration and the joint monitoring and implementation committee of the GPA had performed well to expectation in bringing in competent and all relevant stakeholders there was going to be peace and reconciliation in Zimbabwe. The next chapter will reflect on Transcending Boundaries in both Luke and Zimbabwe.

Chapter 6 Conclusion: Transcending Boundaries

6.0 Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted the complexity of identities in the context of the Zimbabwean geo-political landscape and attempted to draw out an inclusive identity formation that goes beyond the ethnic and political boundaries using Luke's lenses. This chapter concludes the main argument tendered in the whole thesis by reflecting on what Luke meant by transcending boundaries towards an alternative inclusive categories, using this as a point of reference for alternative inclusive political discourses for Zimbabwe. In doing this, insights from Assmann (2008:111) are used to shed more light on the nexus between the quest for social cohesion and universal inclusive categories in both Luke and in the geo-political milieu of Zimbabwe.

6.1 A Critical Reflection of Luke and Zimbabwe's experiences

This section seeks to make a comparative analysis of the parallel discourse which has been discussed in the preceding chapters between Luke and Zimbabwe. Why is it that in Acts 15, Luke is trying to denigrate the Law of Moses as creating exclusivity in favour of Paul's approach to his ministry? Paul becomes a 'figure of memory' that represents the identity complexity, multi-ethnic and diverse character, which reflects a Hellenistic environment. In a similar way, Peter becomes a 'figure of memory' which characterises an exclusive and compartmentalised context. This study utilises the insights of Jan Assmann (2008:110) to reflect on the comparison between Luke and the Zimbabwean political situation. The issue of memory, which was developed by Jan Assmann (2008), is critical in this study because it helps to keep alive memories from the past. These memories can be preserved in various ways such as songs, stories, folklore and, in some cases, by painting of images on rocks (Assmann, 2008:111; Dube, 2015:2). It is important, therefore, to explore Assmann's theory for it informs this study on why Luke decided to choose Paul's justification by faith over the

Judaic doctrine of justification by the works of the Law. Further, why is it that the majority of Zimbabweans had to vote for the late Morgan Tsvangirai, the then leader of the MDC-T, instead of the late Robert Mugabe, during the watershed 2008 harmonised elections in Zimbabwe? It is important at this stage to discuss Assmann's theory of memory and symbols of inclusivity and its use in this study.

6.2 Jan Assmann's theory on memory and symbols of inclusivity

According to Assmann (2008:111), memory is a product of a person's socialisation that may result in a shared story which he referred to as 'collective memory'. This method has also been adopted by Dube (2015:1); Kirk (2005:1) who go further arguing that there are important forms such as 'social frameworks' which may act as memory markers. These create pillars which show how memory is preserved and demonstrate that history permanently characterises an individual's identity. According to Dube (2015:2), there are experiences which are arranged according to their importance, implying that there are memories which are remembered more than others. One may ask, why one may remember other experiences not some. Schwartz (2005:43) proposes that remembering is actually a process of identity construction in an individual. In light of this, there might be a conflicting process between the present and the past. Remembering is a process of interpretation, "placing a part of the past at the service of the present needs, in which the past is variously and subjectively retold for identity formation" (Dube, 2015:2). Kirk (2005:2) further posits that by remembering, there is framing of the present in light of the past. The present is provided by a feeling of meaning, "continuity and stability" (Dube, 2015:2).

Assmann (2008:112) proffers good insights that inform this research. He gives the difference between Halbwach's 'social memory' and 'cultural memory'. This cultural memory can be

seen in objects, symbols and, in some cases, feasts (Assmann, 2008:112). With reference to cultural memory, Assmann (2008) points out two significant issues: first, cultural memory has ‘figures of memory’ implying that human beings and objects determine how history is recounted. In most cases, these are done in order to balance between identity and historiography; for instance, in Zimbabwe, names such as Mbuya Nehanda, Sekuru Kaguvi, Mugabe, Tsvangirai, among others, have historical nuances, significance and unique identities. Second, Assmann (2008:112) argues that the significance of the above mentioned figures in history gives ‘mnemonic energy’; a concept that was developed by Aby Warburg (cf. Assmann 2008:112), who studied iconoclasts and relics, and established that they give social energy.

In the Zimbabwean context, Assmann’s (2008:112) cultural memory helps this study to understand the significance of ‘figures of memory’ and the historical sentiments and identities they invoke. For instance, Emmerson Mnangagwa’s personality is caricatured with a name ‘Garwe’ (in Shona) or ‘Crocodile’ (in English), to characterise him as a member of a Crocodile Gang which fought against white minority regime (colonialists). This gang used the tactics of a crocodile in dealing with an enemy or prey. A crocodile never leaves water when looking for food, but waits patiently until it accurately strikes its prey. Mnangagwa, therefore, becomes a symbol of a liberator of Zimbabwe from colonialists. Nevertheless, there are other voices which view Emmerson negatively as a ruthless, strategist and schemer of dirty games which were meant to eliminate either colleagues or enemies. There are other people who would reject that the late and former president Robert Mugabe can be viewed as an icon and ‘figure of memory’ which every Zimbabwean can emulate. Significantly, some sections of society refuse to accept the notion that Mugabe could be an image which could

motivate collective identity. The implication of this is that people select specific ‘figures of memory’ not to be remembered because they upset the formation of other social identities.

There are other political personalities which society can emulate, such as the late Joshua Nkomo, Simon Muzenda, Morgan Tsvangirai, Josiah Magamba Tongogara, Herbert Chitepo, among others. The afore-mentioned political identities may qualify to be called ‘figures of memory’ or ‘symbols’ because of the contribution they made towards the development of Zimbabwe through different facets such as political, social, economic freedom, promotion of peace, among other good things they did. Some may be perceived as identities which bring inclusivity, while others are identities which advocate for exclusiveness in Zimbabwe.

6.3 What is it to be inclusive and what symbols build inclusivity in the community of Luke and that of Zimbabwe?

This section seeks to understand what it means to be inclusive and the symbols that constitute universal inclusivity. Superficially, to be inclusive means that a dominant group interacts with or is open to everyone in society. The definition of inclusivity is “creating an environment of involvement, respect, and connection where the richness of ideas, backgrounds and perspectives are harnessed to create business values” (Jordan, 2018:5). What are those initiatives that may bring inclusivity in both Luke and the Zimbabwean political landscape? From a social identity complexity, Paul has been perceived as a symbol of inclusiveness. His ministry, in the Hellenistic environment, was characterised by interacting with most of the social and ethnic groups in his community. Paul’s social interaction can be viewed as a symbol of reconciliation and unity. As a leader of his ministry in the Hellenistic world, he sets an example of being open to everyone and demonstrated to his followers what it meant to be inclusive.

6.4 Luke and Zimbabwe searching for alternative social identities

The major contribution of this segment is to draw parallels on the discourse specifically, the rejection by both Luke and Paul to accept exclusive images and identities from Judaism and the choice of the late and former leader of the MDC-T party, Morgan Tsvangirai, instead of the late and former president of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe. Paul's ministry in Antioch received a lot of support from the Gentiles. Even though Paul's identity was Jewish, his doctrine of justification by faith became very popular with the Gentiles. Kamudzandu (2010:87) is apt in his argument that the Hellenists bragged about their belief in their forefathers that they had to choose Abram as their founding father, owing to Abram's inclusive disposition, contrasted with the Mosaic strict observance of Law. This automatically became their public identity marker. The Greek culture was a multi-ethnic community characterised by a mixture of various cultures and Abram assumed an identity which represented the cosmopolitan character of the community and they were 'less bound to particular symbols of Jewish life than Moses' (Kamudzandu, 2010:88). Although they were in the diaspora, the Hellenistic Jews did not denigrate their identity from their founding fathers. It is most probable that the majority of Jews maintained their social and religious boundaries in place; that is, they excluded non-Jews. To the Jews in Antioch, the Law remained a social boundary marker which gave them a unique religious and social identity.

In Antioch, Paul selected Abram as a public image for the Hellenistic community's collective image. This may suggest that Abram becomes the contestation of the 'figures of memory' (Dube, 2015:6). It might be absurd for Paul, as a Jew, to select Abram as a symbol of public image, instead of Moses, for the people of Antioch. In this context, one may argue that the symbol of Moses represented a specific social group which is the Jews. According to Dube (2015:6), in Paul's history, the selection of Abram as a 'figure of memory' and rejecting

Moses and the Law, could be perceived in light of a context of finding universal inclusive social identity symbols. The inclusivity which Paul advocated for was necessitated by the rapid growth of the mission to the Gentiles in the first century which “reinforces our initial insight that public images or ‘figures of memory’ function towards ‘mnemonic energy’” (Dube, 2015:6).

Similarly, in Acts, Luke tried to denigrate the Mosaic Law and circumcision as social boundary markers which were manmade. Nevertheless, Luke wanted to move away from the exclusiveness of the Jewish Mosaic Law. He (Luke) wanted to create a universal theology which was inclusive and which goes beyond the Jewish social boundary markers. Luke wanted to create a community of inclusiveness against Jewish exclusive tendencies of other ethnic identities. In this case, the Mosaic Law and circumcision were symbols and images of exclusive social identities. According to Luke, there is a crucial aspect of ‘the people of the way’ which leads to one of the major themes of the universal Church. This forms the basis of Luke’s universal salvation and that of the Church. According to DeSilva (2004:316), Luke wanted to go beyond Jewish exclusivity on the basis of the Law and to show that the Gentiles were part of God’s salvific plan of humanity; hence, his (Luke’s) theme of universalism. Luke had the aim of restoring Israel, with Gentiles being part of that plan.

Peter was a ‘figure of memory’ who represented the Jewish exclusive social identity, while Paul was a symbol of inclusivity. In a similar way, using Assmann’s (2008:112) insights, the late and former president Mugabe is a symbol of exclusivity among the Zimbabweans. The late MDC leader, Tsvangirai, was a symbol and beacon of hope, unity and reconciliation among the Zimbabweans. According to insights from Assmann (2008:112), Mugabe could be

a ‘figure of memory’ that showed specific ‘mnemonic energy’, with results which are predictable. Mugabe’s image was prescriptive; it demanded members from other social groups to fulfil certain obligations before they were accepted in his social group. The memory of Peter by the people could have made the Gentiles felt inadequate and worthless, asking questions like why they were born Gentiles. It was precisely their identity as Gentiles that had excluded them from having equal table fellowship and worship with other identities such as Jewish. For the Jews as a social group, the Mosaic Law, as a social boundary marker, helped them to keep the Gentiles excluded from their community (Dube, 2015:6). However, Paul, instead, had to make strides in destroying man made social boundary markers and, in their place, creating an inclusive community by adopting the image and symbol of Abram as the ancestor of the uncircumcised Gentiles. Luke and Paul were trying to proffer a similar dispensation of inclusivity. He (Luke) wanted the image of the Mosaic Law removed, thus, suggesting new social identities which go beyond the Law. Similarly, Paul, in Antioch, started a new theology of justification by faith in Jesus, against justification by the works of the Law. Paul’s new teaching and ideology had nothing to do with physical circumcision as a rite, but with circumcision of the heart. Abram, as a symbol and a ‘figure of memory’ for the Gentiles, was not circumcised, which implies that after the Jerusalem Council’s resolution in Acts 15, the Gentiles were following the footsteps of (Abram) their founding father.

In the same vein, the GPA in Zimbabwe was a symbol which brought inclusivity in Zimbabwe after years of political conflict among the antagonistic main political parties. Apart from the compartmentalisation of social identities which were orchestrated by the former president, Mugabe. The GPA brought merger identities which were represented by the late MDC leader, Morgan Tsvangirai. The GPA destroyed the social boundary markers which were established by the late and former president, Mugabe, and his party and instituted

inclusivity of identities in the political dialectics in Zimbabwe. As ‘mnemonic energy’, the GPA advocated for inclusivity and tolerance in the Zimbabwean geopolitical landscape.

This research has established that there are parallels between the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15 and the GPA in Zimbabwe. The two contexts of Peter and the late and former president, Mugabe, were exclusive discourses. The exclusive discourses were challenged by the desire to have inclusive identities. In the Zimbabwean context, exclusivity was brought in by social boundary markers which were put in place by compartmentalisation of the ZANU PF party. In the community of Luke, it was discovered that there was compartmentalisation by Peter who had closed the door to shut out the Gentiles. This was challenged by Paul and Luke who promoted inclusiveness within the community through dismantling symbols and the ‘figure of memory’ of the Mosaic Law and circumcision. Luke and Paul advocated for alternative social identities which were inclusive such as the Jerusalem Council that ushered a new paradigm shift of accepting Gentiles in their community without observing the Law and being circumcised. This was brought in by the merger model suggested by Roccas and Brewer (2002). Zimbabwe equally requires symbols and images that dispel the myths of exclusivity through the ‘figures of memory’ such as the late Morgan Tsvangirai who invokes inclusivity. The images such as that of the late Tsvangirai are symbols that bring the much needed unity and collectivism in Zimbabwe, whilst the images of the likes of Mugabe and Peter perpetuate the discourses of exclusiveness. In connection with Paul, he chose Abram over Moses because he wanted to promote inclusiveness in public images. Comparing the two images, Abram and Moses, the image of Moses (Mosaic Law and circumcision) evokes cultural and social exclusiveness, whilst Abram, as the founding father of the Gentiles, represents cultural diversity and inclusivity.

7.0 References

Achtemeier, P. J., 1987, *The Quest for Unity in the New Testament Church: A Study in Paul and Acts*, Fortress Press, Philadelphia.

Alexander, L., 1986, "Luke's Preface in the context of Greek Preface-Writing" *NovT*, 28 (3) pages, 67-89.

Arrington, F., 2000, "Hermeneutics" in S. Burgess and G. McGee, eds., *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, Zondervan. Grand Rapids.

Assmann, J. 2000. 'Introduction,' in J. Assmann and A. Baumgarten (eds.), *Representation in religion: Studies in honor of Moshe Barasch*, pp, i-ix, Brill, Boston, MA.

Assmann, J. 2008. 'Communicative and cultural memory', in A. Erll and A. Nunning (eds.), *Cultural memory studies. An international and interdisciplinary handbook*, pp, 109-118, de Gruyter Berlin.

Baker, A. C., 2011. 'Early Christian Identity Formation: From Ethnicity and Theology to Socio-Narrative Criticism' in *Currents in Biblical Research*, 9 (2), Sage publication, pages, 228-237.

Bart, K. J. B., 1989. *Five Studies on Interpretation of Scripture in Luke-Acts*, Leuven University Press, Leuven.

Bauer, W., 1977. *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, Fortress, Philadelphia.

Beach, D. N., 1992. 'The Zimbabwean Plateau and its People', In *History of Central Africa, Volume One* (Eds.) D. Birmingham and P. M. Martin, Longman Group Limited, New York.

Beach, D. N., 1995. *Zimbabwe Before 1900*, Mambo Press, Gweru.

Berger, P. & Luckmann, T., 1966. *The Social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*, Anchor Books, New York, NY.

Beavis, M. A., 1994. "Expecting Nothing in Return" Luke's Picture of the Marginalised, In *Interpretation*, pages 357-368.

Betz, H., 1987. *Galatians: A commentary on Paul's letter to the Churches in Galatia*, Fortress, Augsburg.

Bock, D. 2007. *Acts: Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament*. Baker Publishing Group, Michigan.

Bond, P., and Masimba, Manyanya. 2002. *Zimbabwe's Plunge: Exhausted Nationalism, Neoliberalism and the Search for Social Justice*, Second edition, University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg.

Brewer, M. B., and Pierce, K. P. 2005. Social identity complexity and out-group tolerance. *Personal and Social Psychology Compass*, 1. 84-100. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0146167204271710>.

Brewer, M. B., Gonsalkorale, K., and van Dommelen, A. 2013. Social identity complexity: Comparing majority and minority ethnic group members in a multicultural society, *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 16, 529-544. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1368430212468622>.

Brewer, M.B., Ho, H. K., Lee, J. Y., Miller, N. 1987. Social Identity and Social Distance Among Hong Kong Schoolchildren. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 13 (2), 156-165. doi: 10: 1177/0146167287132002.

Bruce F.F. (1990). *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary*, (Third revised and enlarged edn). Apollos, Leicester.

Chipaike, R. 2013. 'The Zimbabwe Government of National Unity as a Conflict Transformation Mechanism: A Critical Review', in *Southern Peace Review Journal*, Vol. 2. No. 1, 17-34. (Special issue with OSSREA Zimbabwe Chapter).

Chung, F. 2007. *Re-living the Second Chimurenga: Memories from the Liberation Struggle in Zimbabwe*. Weaver, Harare.

Crisp, R. J., Turner, R. N., and Hewstone, M. 2010. Common in-groups and complexity identities: Routes to reducing bias in multiple category contexts. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice*, 14, pages 32-46. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a00117303>.

Cromhout, M. 2009. 'Identity Formation in the New Testament', *HTS Theological Studies/Theological Studies* 65 (1), AOSIS, Art, #276, 12, pages 586-596.

De Villiers. P.G.R. 2013. Communal discernment in the Early Church, in *Acta Theological Supplementum*, No 17 (2013) DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4314/actat.v32i2S.8> pages, 132-155.

Derkse, W. 2008. 'Discernment and humility. Lessons from St Ignatius and St Benedict'. In: Blommestijn et al (eds.), *Seeing the seeker. Explorations in the discipline of Spirituality*: Peeters, Leuven. Pages, 46-68.

Dibelius, M. 2006. *The book of Acts: Form, Style, and Theology*. ed. K.C. Hanson, Fortress Press, Minneapolis.

Dibelius, M., 2004. *The Book of Acts: Form, Style, and Theology*, Fortress Press, Minneapolis.

Dillon, R. J. 2002. 'Acts of the Apostles' in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*, R.E. Brown (ed.) Bloomsburg Publishers, New York.

Dube, Z., 2015. 'Contesting history and identity formation in Paul and in South Africa', *HTS Theologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 71 (1), Art. #3011, pages 1-6.

Dube, Z. 2009. 'Contesting history and Identity Formation in Paul and in South Africa', *HTS Theological Studies/ Theological Studies*, 71 (1), AOSIS. Art, #3011, pages 1-6.es 586-596.

Dunn, J. D. G., 1996. *The Acts of the Apostles*, Trinity Press International, Valley Forge, PA:

Dunn, J. D. G., 2005. *The new perspective on Paul*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck.

Dunn, J. D. G., 2006. *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry into the Character of Earliest Christianity*, SCM Press, London.

Ehrman, B.D. 2009. *A Brief Introduction to the New Testament*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Elmer, I. J., 2006. Between Jerusalem and Antioch: The Advent of the Gentile Mission, in *Australian eJournal of Theology*, <http://bible1.crosswalk.com/otherResources/BSTFonts>. 6 February. Pages 1-12

Engels, D., 1990. *Roman Corinth: An Alternative Model for the Classical City*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Eppel, S. and Raftopoulos, B. 2008. *Developing a Transformation Agenda: Political Crisis, Mediation and the Prospects for Transitional Justice in Zimbabwe*, www.statesintransition.org

Eppel, S. 2013. "Repairing a Fractured Nation: Challenges and Opportunities in the Post GPA Zimbabwe," in Brain Raftopoulos (ed.), *The Hard Road to Reform: The Politics of Zimbabwe's Global Political Agreement*. Weaver Press, Harare.

Esler, P. F., 1987. *Community and gospel in Luke-Acts: The social and political motivations of Lukan theology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Esler, P. F., 1998. *Galatians*, Routledge, London.

Esler, P. F., 1994. *The First Christians in their Social Worlds: Social-scientific approaches to New Testament Interpretation*, Routledge, London.

Esmer, Y., 2010. Diversity and Tolerance. In M. Janssen, *The Sustainability of Cultural Diversity: Nations and Organisations* (pp. 131-155). Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham.

Ferrar, J. W., 1976. The Dimensions of Tolerance. *The Pacific Sociological Review*, 19 (1), 63-81, doi: 10.2307/1388742.

Fitzmyer, J. A. 1998. *To Advance the Gospel: New Testament Studies*, Eerdmans Publishers, Michigan.

Fitzmyer, J.A., 1998. *The Acts of the Apostles*, Doubleday, New York.

Freeman, C., 2011. *A New History of Early Christianity*, Yale University Press, New Haven.

Gono, G. 2008. *Zimbabwe's Casino Economy: Extraordinary Measures for Extraordinary Challenges*, ZPH Publishers, Harare.

Gowler, D. B., 1991. *Host, Guest, Enemy, and Friend: Portraits of the Pharisees in Luke and Acts*, Peter Lang Publishers, New York.

Green, J. and Turner, M. 2000. *Between Two Horizons: Spanning New Testament Studies and Systematic Theology*, Eerdmans, Grant Rapids.

Grimshaw, J. P., 1999. Luke's Market Exchange District: Decentering Luke's Rich Urban Centre, *Semeia*, 86.pp67-85

Gruen, E. S., 1998. *Heritage and Hellenism: The reinvention of Jewish tradition*, University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.

Gunduz, M.L. and Namusi, C.W. 2004. *Negotiation in Conflict Management Module LIR 303*, Zimbabwe Open University, Harare.

- Haenchen, E. 1985. *Acts of the Apostles*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.
- Haenchen, E., 1971. *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary*. Trans. R.M. Wilson; Westminster Press, Philadelphia.
- Halbwachs, M., 1980. *The collective memory*, Harper & Row, New York, NY.
- Harris, S. L., 1985. *Understanding the Bible*, Palo Alto, Mayfield.
- Hasselgrave, D. and Rommen, E. 2003. *Contextualization: Meaning, Methods and Models*, William Carey, Pasaderia.
- Hebdige, D. 2000. *Cut 'N' Mix, Culture, Identity, and Caribbean Music*, Routledge, New York.
- Hofisi, S. Manyeruke, C. and Mhandara, L. 2013. The Church and Political Transition in Zimbabwe: The Inclusive Government Context, in *Journal of Political Administration and Governance*, Vol. 3 No 1, pages 103-114.
- Hogg, M. A., and Reid, S. A., 2006. Social Identity, Self-Categorization, and the Communication of Group Norms. *Communication Theory*, 16 (1), 7-30. doi: 10. 1111/j, 1468-2885.2006. 00003. X
- Jervell, J. 1998. *The Theology of Acts*, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids.
- Jervell, J., 1991. "Retrospect and Prospect in Luke-Acts Interpretation", *SBLSP*, 30. pages 72-89
- Jervell, J., 1996. "The Future of the Past: Luke's Vision of Salvation History and Its Bearing on His Writings of History," in *History, Literature and Society in the Book of Acts* (ed. B. Witherington 111: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. Pages, 170- 98

Jorg, F. 2012. *Temple and Identity in Early Christianity and the Johannine Community: Reflections on the “parting of the ways”*, Brill, Leiden: Boston.

Kamudzandu, I., 2010. *Abraham as spiritual ancestor: A postcolonial Zimbabwean reading of Romans 4*, Brill, Boston, MA <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004181649.i-265>.

Kanyeze, G., (2004) “The Zimbabwe Economy 1980-2003: a ZCTU Perspective” in D Harold –Barry, *Zimbabwe: The Past and the Future*, Weaver Press, Harare. Pages, 88-95.

Karyakina, M., 2014. ‘Social values of the heavenly society: The concept of honor and identity in Paul’s letter to the Philippians’, *unpublished PhD thesis*, Department of New Testament Studies, University of Pretoria.

Keener C.S. 2012. *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary Vol. I: Introduction and 1:1-2: 47*. Baker Publishing Group, Michigan.

Keener, C. S. 2014. *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary, Volume 11, 3: 1-14: 28*. Michigan: Baker Publishing Group.

Kim, S., 2002. *Paul and the New Perspective: Second Thoughts on the Origin of Paul’s Gospel*, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids.

Kirk, A., 2005. ‘The works of memory’, in A. Kirk & T. Thatcher (eds.), *Memory, tradition and text: Uses of the past in early Christianity*, pages, 1-24, Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, GA.

Knifsend, C., and Juvonen, J., 2013. The Role of Social Identity Complexity in Intergroup Attitudes Among Young Adolescents. *Social Development*, 22 (3), 623-640. doi: 10. 1111/j. 1467-9507. 2012. 00672. X

Kobayashi, B.D. 2010. ‘Peril at the Polls: Lessons from Zimbabwe’s 2008 Elections’, in *Sanford Journal of Public Policy*, Volume 1, Issue 1, Bookmark the permalink, pages 1-12.

Koester, H., 1995. *Introduction to the New Testament: History, Culture, and Religion of the Hellenistic Age*, Volume One, Walter de Gruyter & Co, Berlin.

Kok, K. 2014. Social Identity Complexity Theory as heuristic tool in the New Testament Studies, *HTS Theological Studies/ Theological Studies* 70 (1), Art. # 2708.9, <http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/hts.v70i1.2708>.

Kok, K. and Van Eck, E. 2012. (eds.), *Unlocking the world of Jesus*, Biblaridion, Pretoria.

Kruger, N., 2012. ZANU PF politics under Zimbabwe's 'Power Sharing' Government, in *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Vol. 30 No.1, Routledge, London.

Leonardelli and R. W. Livingston (eds.), *Social Cognition, Social Identity, and intergroup relations: A Festschrift in honor of Marilyn B. Brewer*, pages, 77-102, Psychology Press, New York.

Mahan, M. 2013. A Narrative analysis of the Jerusalem Council Discourses: Table Fellowship and the implicit Theology of Salvation, in *Journal of Biblical Perspectives in Leadership*, 5, no 1, pages, 39-62.

Maisiri, T. 2013. *Zim's Elusive Reconstruction Agenda*. *The Zimbabwe Independent*. Available online at: <http://www.theindependent.co.zw/2016/04/26/zims-elusive-reconstruction-agenda>. 26 April 2016.

Malina, J.B. 1982. "The Social sciences and Biblical Interpretation", *Interpretation*, XXXVI: 3, pages, 229-242.

Marguerat, D. 2002. 'Saul's Conversion (Acts 9; 22; 26)' in the *First Christian Historian: Writing the 'Acts of the Apostles'*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Marshall, H.I. 2004. *The Acts of the Apostles, Tyndale New Testament Commentaries*, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids.

Masunungure, V.D. 2009. Voting for Change: The 29 March Harmonised Elections, in Masunungure, E. V. (ed.) *Defying the winds of change*, Weaver Press, Harare.

Matsikidze, R. 2013. *Alternative Dispute Resolution in Zimbabwe: A practical approach to arbitration, mediation, and negotiations*, Molhurst Printers and Publishers, Harare.

Maxwell, D. 2000. *African Gifts of the Spirit: Pentecostalism and the Rise of Zimbabwean Transnational Religious Movement*, Weaver Press, Harare.

Media, Monitoring Project Zimbabwe 2009. *A report on media coverage of political violence and human rights abuses in Zimbabwe's 2008 election campaigns*, Harare.

Meredith, M. 2008. *Our Votes, our Guns: Robert Mugabe and the Tragedy of Zimbabwe*, Public Affairs, New York.

Metzger B.M. 1971. *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament, A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies. Greek New Testament*, (Third edition). United Bible Societies, London.

Metzger, B.M. 1994. *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament, A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies. Greek New Testament*, (Fourth Revised Edition). Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, Stuttgart.

Meyer, D., 2014. *Social Identity Complexity and Sports Fans*, Master of Business Administration Dissertation, University of Pretoria, Pretoria.

Mhanda, W. 2011. *Dzino: Memories of a Freedom Fighter*, Weaver Press, Harare.

Miller, K. P., Brewer, M. B., and Arbuckle, N. L. 2009. Social identity complexity: Its correlates and antecedents. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 12, pages, 79-94, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1368430208098778>.

Millis, B., 2010. "The Social and Ethnic Origins of the Colonists in Early Roman Corinth." In *Corinthian Context-Comparative Studies on Religion and Society*, edited by Steven L. Friesen, Daniel N. Schowalter, and James C. Walters, 13-35. Brill, Boston.

Moessner, D., 1989. *Lord of the Banquet: The Literary and Theological Significance of the Lukan Travel Narrative*, Fortress Press, Philadelphia.

Moxnes, H., 1988. *The Economy of the Kingdom. Social Conflict and Economic Relations in Luke's Gospel*. Overtures to Biblical Theology 23. Fortress, Philadelphia.

Muzondidya, J. 2009. From Buoyancy to Crisis, 1980-1997 in B Raftopoulos and A, Mlambo (eds) *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008*, Weaver Press, Harare.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. 2009a. *Do 'Zimbabweans' Exist? Trajectories of nationalism, national identity formation and crisis in a postcolonial state*. Peter Lang, Oxford.

Neyrey, J.H. 1991. *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation*, Hendrickson, Peabody.

Neyrey, J.H., 1995. 'Luke's Social Location of Paul: Cultural Anthropology and the Status of Paul in Acts' In B. Witherington (ed.), *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Nicklas, T. and Schlogel, H., 2014. 'Mission to the Gentiles, Construction of Christian Identity and its relation to the Ethics according to Paul', in *Sensitivity towards outsiders: Exploring the dynamic relationship between mission and ethics in the New Testament and early Christianity*, (ed.), J. Kok, T. Nicklas, D. Roth and C. N. Hays, Tubingen, Mohr Siebeck.

- Nyakudya, M. 2013. "Sanctioning the Government of National Unity: A Review of Zimbabwe's Relations with the West in the Framework of the GPA," in Brain Raftopoulos (ed.), *The Hard Road to Reform: The Politics of Zimbabwe's Global Political Agreement*. Weaver Press, Harare.
- Park, D. H. 2010. Drawing Ethical Principles from the Process of the Jerusalem Council: A New Approach to Acts 15: 4-29. *Tyndale Bulletin*: 61.2, pages, 171-291.
- Pervo, R.I. 2006. *Acts. Commentary*. Minneapolis, Fortress.
- Philips, E. T., 2003. 'Reading Recent Readings of Issues of Wealth and Poverty in Luke and Acts', in *Currents in Biblical Research*, Vol. 1, Issue 2, The Continuum Publishing Group, New York, pages, 231-269.
- Powell, A.M. 2009. *Introducing the New Testament*. Baker Publishing House, New York.
- Raftopoulos, B. & Mlambo, A. S. (eds.), 2009. *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-Colonial Period to 2008*. Harare & Johannesburg: Weaver Press & Jacana Media.
- Raftopoulos, B. 2009. "The Crisis in Zimbabwe 1998 – 2009" in B. Raftopoulos and A. Mlambo (eds) *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008*. Weaver Press, Harare.
- Raisanen, H., 1987. *Paul and the Law*, 2nd edition, Tubingen: J.C.B. Mohr.
- RAU, 2011. *Politically Motivated Violence against Women in Zimbabwe 2000-2010. A review of the public domain literature*, <http://archive.kubatana.net/docs/women/ran-politically-motivated-violence-lit-> Accessed on 11 May 2016.
- Roccas, S., and Brewer, M. B., 2002. 'Social identity complexity,' *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 6 (2), 88-106. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s15327957PSPR0602-01>

Sachikonye, L. 2011. *When a state turns on its Citizens: Institutionalized Violence and Political Culture*. Jacana Media , Auckland Park.

Sachikonye, L. M. 1996. 'The Nation-State Project and Conflict in Zimbabwe.' In A. O. Olukoshi and L. Laakso (eds.), *Challenges to the Nation-State in Africa*. Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala. Pages, 136-153

Schwartz, B., 2005. 'Christian origins: Historical truth and social memory', in A. Kirk & T. Thatcher (eds.), *Memory, tradition and text: Uses of the past in early Christianity*, pages 43-56, Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, GA.

Sadomba, Z. W. 2011. *War Veterans in Zimbabwe's Revolution: Challenging Neo-colonialism Settler and International Capital*, Weaver Press, Harare.

Sanders, E. P., 1977. *Paul and the Palestinian Judaism: A comparison of patterns of Religion*, SPCK, London.

Savelle, C.H. 2004. 'A Re-examination of the Prohibitions in Acts 15.' In *Bsac*: 161, 451.

Savelle, H.C. 2013. *The Jerusalem Council and the Lukan perspective of the law in Acts*. PhD Dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, Texas.

Schnabel, E. J., 2004. *Early Christian Mission: Paul and the Early Church*, Volume Two, Leicester, Apollos.

Schmid, K., and Hewstone, M., 2011. 'Social Identity Complexity: Theoretical implications for the Social Psychology of intergroup relations' in R. M. Kramer, G. J. Leonardelli and R. W. Livingston (eds.), *Social Cognition, Social Identity, and intergroup relations: A Festschrift in honor of Marilyn B. Brewer*, pp. 77-102, Psychology Press, New York.

Schmid, K., Hewstone, M., and Al Ramiah, A. 2013. Neighborhood diversity and social identity complexity: Implications for intergroup relations. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 4, 135-142, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1948560612446972>.

Schmid, K., Hewstone, M., Tausch, N., Cairns, E., and Hughes, J. 2009. Antecedents and consequences of social identity complexity: Intergroup contact, distinctiveness threat and out-group attitudes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 35.1085-1098. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0146167209337037>.

Schnabel, J.E. 2004. *Early Christian Mission: Paul and the Early Church, Volume Two*, InterVarsity Press, New York.

Schneiders, S.M. 2000. Spirituality in the academy. In: K.J. Collins, *Exploring Christian spirituality*, Baker, Grand Rapids.

Schussler-Fiorenza, E. 1999. *Rhetoric and Ethic: The Politics of Biblical Studies*, Fortress Press, Minneapolis.

Schussler-Fiorenza, E. 1985. *Bread not Stone: Introduction to feminist interpretation of scripture*, Beacon Press, Boston.

Scoones, I., Marongwe, N., Mavedzenge, B., Murimbarimba, F., Mahenehene, J., Sukume, C. 2010. *Zimbabwe's land reform: myths and realities*. Weaver Press, Harare.

Smith, P. 1993. *Is It Okay To Call God "Mother": Considering the Feminine Face of God*, Hendrickson, Peabody, MA.

Story, J. L. 2010. The Jerusalem Council: A pivotal and Instructive Paradigm, in *Journal of Biblical Perspective in Leadership* 3, No. 1 (winter), pages 33-60.

Strauss, S.T., 2011. "The Significance of Acts 11:26 for the Church at Antioch and Today" In *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 168 number 671, pages 283-300.

Sufei, X., Ziqiang, X. and Chongde, L. 2015. Effects of trustors' social identity complexity on interpersonal and intergroup trust, in *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 46, pages, 428-440, John Wiley and Sons, Ltd.

Taiye, A. 2013. Jerusalem Council in Acts 15:1-35: Its Relevance for Sustainable Conflict Resolution in Nigeria, in *American Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 1, No.2, pages, 92-96.

Tajfel, H., and Turner, J. C., 1986. The Social Identity Theory of intergroup behaviour. In S. Worchel, and W. G. Austin (eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (2nd ed., pages. 7-24). Nelson Hall, Chicago.

Talbert, C. 1997. *Reading Acts*, Crossroad, New York.

Tannehill, R.C. 1990. *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary interpretation. Volume 2: The Acts of the Apostles*. Fortress Press, Minneapolis.

Tatira, L., and Marevesa, T. 2011. "The Global Political Agreement (GPA) and the Persistent Political Conflict Arising there from: Is this another manifestation of Council of Jerusalem?" in *Journal of African Studies and Development*. Vol. 3 (10), pages, 187-191.

The Government of Zimbabwe 2008. *Global Political Agreement: The Ministry of Constitutional and Parliamentary Affairs*, 15 September.

Theissen, G. 1993. *The Social Reality and the Early Christians: Theology, Ethics and the World of the New Testament*, T & T Clark, Edinburgh.

Theissen, G., 1982. *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity*, Fortress Press, Philadelphia.

Theissen, G., 2003. *The New Testament: History, Literature, Religion*, T&T Clark, London.

Thiselton, A. 1980. *Two Horizons*. Paternoster Press, Exeter.

Thomas, J.C. 2000. "Reading the Bible from within Our Traditions: A Pentecostal Hermeneutic as a Test Case", in J. Green and M. Turner, (eds.), *Between Two Horizons: Spanning New Testament Studies and Systematic Theology*, Eerdmans, Grant Rapids.

Tobin, T. H., 2011. Hellenistic Judaism and the New Testament, in *Method and Meaning: Essays on New Testament Interpretation in Honor of Harold W. Attridge*, (eds.) A. B. McGowan and K. H. Richards, Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta.

Tucker, B. J., and Baker, C. A., 2014. (eds.), *T and T Clark handbook to social identity in the New Testament*, T&T Clark, New York.

Tyson, J. B. 1984. *The New Testament and Early Christianity*, Macmillan Publishing Company, New York.

Tyson, J. B. 1991. *Images of Judaism in Luke-Acts*, University of Carolina Press, Columbia.

Tyson, J.B. 2008. "Themes at the Crossroads: Acts 15 in its Lukan Setting," *Forum (New Series)* 4, vol.1 Spring, pages, 56 -74

Verkuyten, M., and Martinovic, B. 2012. Social identity complexity and immigrants' attitude toward the host nation: The intersection of ethnic and religious group identification. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 38, 1165-1177.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0146167212446164>.

Wall, R.W. 2000. "Reading the Bible from within Our Tradition: The 'Rule of Faith' in J. Green and M. Turner, eds, *Between Two Horizons: Spanning New Testament Studies and Systematic Theology*, Eerdmans, Grant Rapids.

Wiarda, T. 2003. The Jerusalem Council and the Theological Task, in *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, 42/2, pages, 233-48.

Witherington, B. 1998. *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids.

Witherington, B., 1996. *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Witherington, B., 1998. *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids.

Wolter, M., 2006. "Let no one seek his own, but each one the other's" (1Corinthians 10, 24): Pauline ethics according to 1 Corinthians', In J.G. van der Watt (ed.), *Identity ethics and ethos in the New Testament*, pp 199-218, Walter De Gruyter, Berlin.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/9783110893939.199>

World Economic Forum Annual Meeting: Creating a Shared Future with the Fractured World, Davos, Switzerland, 2018, 23-26, January 2018.