# OUT OF THE WIND

## THE AFRICAN INDEPENDENT CHURCHES AND YOUTH

## URBANIZATION IN METROPOLITAN NATAL

A report prepared for the

Co-operative Programme on the Youth

by

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'... informal urbanisation has challenged authority and altered the make-up of the cities - it may yet challenge their whole structure ... Race no longer plays the central role in the formulaton of policy that it once did, and there is probably a greater diversity of approaches to urbanisation now entering public debate than at any time since ... World War II and its aftermath.
'The 1990s seem set to be an epoch of conflict over urbanisation. The critical question which confronts the country is whether that conflict will be conducted through negotiation, debate, election, even land invasion, and other relatively peaceful means, or whether violence - hitherto confined to some parts of the urban environment - will become all-consuming.'
- Alan Mabin (1991: 44)

'The legacy of the 80s continues: the "boycott generation" is still with us ... the learning environment continues to deteriorate and crumble before our eyes; youth, now the victims of "the struggle", remain frustrated, resentful of any authority, and largely beyond the control of student organisations or political leaders...'
- Ken Hartshorne (1992: 84)

## 1.1 YOUTH MIGRATION AND URBAN SETTLEMENT

The context of urbanisation in South Africa today is one of extreme stress and social dislocation. Great demographic movements are taking place against a background of violence, unemployment, rural collapse and frantic official efforts at service delivery. With their extensive rural hinterlands of black settlement in ferment, Natal's urban areas are undergoing very heavy in-migration which threatens to swamp the resources available to receive new arrivals. Without affordable formal housing for the urbanizing poor, this population flow is accumulating in the vast freestanding informal settlements that surround Durban (Urban Foundation: 1989)

In regard to this migration, youth play a strategic role, and may account for the bulk of the mobile population. Current urban government initiatives in the Durban

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Functional Region are urgently attempting to create conditions for settlement which can stabilize a disadvantaged urban population in motion, and so allow an orderly planning process to be established.

In terms of international migration research, residential migration appears to take place predominantly among younger families and among single young people (Urban Foundation 1989; Cross *et al* 1992a, 1992b, 1993a and b, in press). In this country, Mabin's (1987, 1991) seminal discussion of circular migration has drawn attention to the complexity of population flows from rural to urban and back again, while recent research from Rural-Urban Studies Unit (Cross *et al* 1992a, 1992b, 1993a and b, in press) highlights the long and complex migration tracks being followed by urbanising households in Natal as they move inward toward jobs, seek services and escape violence. Only a minority of households appear to complete a move directly from a rural home district into one of the DFR's informal settlements, thereafter remaining in place. Instead, many or most of the actual residential moves involved in the present shifts of population take place subsequent to the household's arrival in the urban area. These moves therefore count as intra-urban, though the adults involved are mostly rural born.

This research suggests that because of the dangerous conditions and rudimentary amenities of the informal settlements, the young households that come into these settlements may be moving on significantly more often than would be the case if the settlement process offered them a more stable and acceptable environment. This possibility directs attention to the conditions for satisfactory settlement for the population of the informal settlements. Research also indicates that informal residents can name few if any formal organisations which offer help to new families arriving in the freestanding settlements.

### 1.1.1 The African independent churches in youth migration

In view of this apparent gap, the present study investigates the role in youth migration and settlement of the African independent churches. It is addressed particularly to their possible contribution to promoting residential stability among young people moving through a disadvantaged urban environment. Research

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attention then focusses on the extent to which the nature of the church community and the close social linkages characteristic of the independent churches are able to mediate the process of transition, as well as to facilitate the absorption of young people into their new areas of residence.

At present, the African independent churches are believed to be the largest single religious grouping serving black people in South Africa (Anderson 1991; and see 3.1). These churches have in recent years surpassed the established mission-derived and other denominations in total active membership. The AICs are also known to be intensely active in the informal settlements where the urbanising poor are concentrated (Cross et al 1992b, 1993a,b). Unlike other assistance structures, the independent churches stand as organisations of the poor, structured and managed by the poor for their own use (see Kiernan 1991b). In this they resemble similar grass-roots church movements in Latin American and the Caribbean, and thoughout the developing world.

It has been hypothesised that the independent churches act as institutional reception mechanisms for rural individuals and families making the transition into the urban environment (Kiernan 1991b and Oosthuizen 1993; see also 3.4. below). By this interpretation, the churches appeal to uneducated and less educated people raised in rural or indigenous religious practice who now want to embrace urban Christianity as a means of entering the developed world. It has also been suggested that these churches carry rural community values into the urban world (Oosthuizen 1993; see 3.4 below). Their loose-woven grassroots structure sustains an ethic laying intense stress on mutual aid and the role of the religious community in giving practical and immediate help to those in need. Operating with universalistic assumptions but maintaining social networks modelled on the rural extended family, the independent African congregations may then offer both a safe haven and socioeconomic support to urbanising families.

Given the apparent lack of institutional support for migrant households noted above, these lines of analysis are clearly of significance in relation to urban youth migration. With qualifications, its logic can be applied to intra-urban as well as rural-to-urban moves.

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## 1.2 SUPPORTING URBANISATION

Young families moving into and through the informal settlements can be broadly said to be in search of safe areas with developed facilities and social back-up resources, which also provide good access to jobs and acceptable local authority structures. In survival terms, the transaction costs of such moves are high in relation to loss of the households's social networks and support structure from the previous locality, whether urban or rural. Each time the household moves, its support network collapses and needs to be rebuilt. Over and above these implied costs are the immediate economic costs of the move in transport and housing, and the social and personal strains of settling into a new area, avoiding violence, and maintaining a viable position in regard to paid employment in the face of intense competition and unpredictable risks.

If consideration is given to survival options as localized packages which include physical accommodation, income sources and social backup networks (cf Spiegel 1990, Bekker *et al* 1993 in press), then independent church membership serves to introduce migrating rural families into a new and unfamiliar cognitive and social environment. In addition, it may assist urban members' transition from one localized set of survival options to a similar but new package located in an informal area fairly similar to the last. This transition involves a phase of increased difficulty and risk between the time when the threads of survival in the previous locality are dropped and the time that options and networks are fully reintegrated in the new area. During this period the role of independent church membership may be highly significant for those able to access its benefits.

The risks involved in the urban settlement process can be divided analytically into

  (i)    reality stresses which center on expenses and
         arrangements involved with the move;
  (ii)   vulnerability to unpredictable risks due to the
         loss of backup networks, and
  (iii)  perceived difficulties arising from vulnerability in
         interpersonal relations, which are often
         concretized as supernatural attack.

Results from the present study indicate that the independent churches have the capacity to give very substantial support in all three respects to congregants who move into or between urban informal settlements. In practice this support appears to take a large number of forms, mediating economic, social and personal needs in ways that go beyond the direct needs of survival.

At the same time, despite the powerful egalitarian ideology of the independent churches, seniority and patriarchy are strong factors in their structure. As a result, such urban settlement assistance is not necessarily available on equal terms to all members of the independent congregations.

Although young people presently receive real assistance in regard to urbanisation and settlement, interviews indicate that it is not common for youth members in general to claim to receive intensive aid in their own right. Rather than young families on their own obtaining maximum help, it would appear to be young people belonging to established female-headed households who may obtain the most benefit from the independent church structures in the settlement process. However, internal changes are now shaking the structures of many independent churches, in perhaps the major categories of churches certain classes of youth membership do seem to receive substantial direct and indirect aid, both in settlement and later, in the integration phase. Change here appears to be accelerating, and it is possible that the channelling of aid to youth congregants is rising in importance.

## 1.3 STRUCTURE OF INQUIRY

Against this background, the present study approaches the role of the independent churches in the stabilisation of youth migration through attempting to test two hypotheses related to youth settlement noted above: first, the Oosthuizen-Kiernan hypothesis relating to the role of the independent churches in receiving urbanising households, and second, a new hypothesis by Oosthuizen relating to the role of the churches in urbanisation more generally. A full statement of these hypotheses together with details of the reasoning surrounding them are given in 3.4 below, and in Chapter 3 generally. The general context of urbanisation in the Durban

Functional Region is discussed in Chapter 2.

Given constraints on available resources, it was decided to use a general survey format of individual interviews conducted at the respondent's residence and based on a quota sample. Sampling was confined to youth respondents belonging to independent churches in the informal areas of Greater Durban (see Appendix 1, Methods). This inquiry aimed essentially at exploring the role of the African independent churches in assisting the urbanisation of youth in the Durban Functional Region, as measured by assistance in urban residential moves and the subsequent consolidation period. The research design focussed particularly on the role of support systems and of networks, but also considered direct church assistance, and the contribution of the healing and curing activities featured by the independent churches in alleviating the stress associated with urbanisation.

Data was therefore collected on the household's history of migration and of church membership in an attempt to fit the two together. Information was sought on the role of youth and of women in the church, and on the respondent's perception of church leadership in the local area. Finally, an effort was made to contextualize the data on migration and support systems in relation to perceptions of well-being in relation to urban moves, and the dangers which accompany living and moving in the informal urban communities today.

### 1.3.1 Defining youth

The interview sample undertaken for the present study has been defined with reference to an inclusive definition of youth. Perhaps the majority of studies have taken the boundaries of the youth category to be the age cohort 16-30. In relation to the dynamics of the independent churches, several possible alternative definitions emerged. Youth in the narrowest sense are people of schoolgoing age, or at least those who have not yet entered formal employment, or married and established a family under the firm moral principles of the independent churches: that is, persons of perhaps the age group 14-25, but more accurately defined in terms of individual behavioral signs as being below the age of taking on any formal adult responsibility.

Alternatively, the churches treat as youth inclusively people who are still below the level of adult maturity broadly seen as appropriate for entering into institutional decision making. This criterion considers people up to the horizon of approximately age 35 as falling into the youth category in social and political terms, though couples who married young and have adolescent children may occasionally be taken into the elder category in their early thirties or even before.

The present study has accordingly defined youth as persons between 16 and 35 years of age: that is, the sub-elder grouping normally excluded from adult-level church decision making.

The quota sample was then collected to focus on urbanising youth under this definition. Quota sample parameters for choice of respondents included youth status in relation to the above definition; a history of at least one urban move during the respondent's (or reference person's) youth years; and independent church membership (see Appendix 1). Interview data was collected by questionnaire, involving both structured and open-ended questions. Some 30 percent of respondents were interviewed in depth. The total youth population of the households interviewed for the present study came to 301. The age distribution for the total household sample is given in Table 1 in Appendix 2.

### 1.3.2 Estimating population parameters

Although the present quota sample does not yield reliable data on the demographic and economic standing of the general population of the African independent churches in the DFR, in 1992 a formal survey of AICs in relation to the established churches and the general non-churchgoing urban African population was conducted by Rural-Urban Studies Unit in partnership with NERMIC (Cross, Oosthuizen, Bekker & Evans 1992). This study found that the population of the independent churches was generally younger than that of the established churches, but rather older than the non-churchgoing urban population.

Literacy levels for younger adults among the main independent church population (Zion, Apostolic, and Ethiopian churches excluding Shembe followers) were

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slightly below those of the non-churchgoing population and significantly below those of the established church members. For the Shembe adherents, who reverence older rural values, literacy was significantly lower. Unemployment rates for the main AIC grouping were marginally above those of the non-church and established church population, but lower than those for the Shembe grouping. Both Shembe followers and other AIC members tended to compensate with an emphasis on informal economic activity.

However, household incomes for the larger AIC grouping averaged only R 686 per month, with a median of R 500. For the Shembe grouping, the average was R 642 and the median R 450. In comparison, the non-churchgoing population averaged R 1355 per month and the established churches R 1213. The HSL for Durban in the year of the survey was R 868 for a household size of 6 persons. In this light, the average income in the main AIC grouping of R 686 for a mean household size of 6.4 demonstrates a general poverty as characteristic of the independent church membership (Cross, Oosthuizen, Bekker & Evans 1992).

### 1.3.3 Quota sample and population

The present quota sample, on which the analysis given in succeeding chapters is conducted, includes 135 persons, of whom 108 were youth as defined above (Table 2), and the rest adults (see Appendix 1). Forty-eight percent of respondents were male and 52 percent female (Table 3). Some 17 percent of households in the quota sample were female-headed (Table 4). This figure is well below the levels (38 percent for the main AIC grouping, 27 percent for the Shembe church) found in the RUSU/NERMIC survey of AICs (Cross, Oosthuizen, Bekker & Evans 1992). However, since the sample concentrated on youth, the incidence of widowed heads of household may be expected to be low.

Interviews focussed on respondents living in informal areas in Greater Durban. The quota sampling procedure yielded 45 respondents in the freestanding informal settlements and 54 in the informal infill areas within the formal townships, but was also structured to include 14 church members in the inner peri-urban sector and

22 informally housed church members in the formal townships[1]. The distribution of respondents in the northern (Greater Inanda), southern (Umlazi environs) and western (peri-urban KwaZulu and Greater Pinetown) areas are given in Table 5. Tables 6 to 9 present the basic sample parameters for respondent gender, age and gender of household head according to the type of residential area in which the household was located.

The income distribution for this formal sample (Table 10) appeared strongly bimodal, with a concentration of recorded household incomes below R 500 per month (45 percent overall) counterweighted by 32 percent of incomes of R 1000 per month or above, and 12 percent at R 1500 or above. At the same time, an overall 7 percent recorded household incomes of less than R 100 per month. For the present quota sample, the female-headed households interviewed were significantly poorer than those with male heads, with 13 percent living on less than R 100 per month and 50 percent on less than R 300 per month. The comparable figure for male headed households was 27 percent on less than R 300 per month.

These figures are derived from a basic estimation of household income which did not include detailed procedures for approximating income from informal activities, and may not closely reflect the real nominal income. However, they show some general agreement with the trend indicated in the 1992 survey data, where a high-income sector exerted a considerable influence on estimated income means while the greater proportion of respondents belonged to the poverty category.

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1    Some 50 respondents .were interviewed in depth, with the remainder responding to the questionnaire only in survey format. The interviewing team consisted of five young men with research experience, most of whom had ties to the independent churches and were sympathetic to their goals. In view of the risk of violence to interviewers, no women interviewers were to be employed on the study: during the course of the study, one male interviewer was held captive by frightened refugees for 24 hours. In the event, one female interviewer did assist with the fieldwork.

A youth reference sample[1] has been tabulated to provide some approximate demographic reference points for the youth population to which the data on migration and church membership refers. The age distribution of this sample is given in Table 11. Marital status of the youth reference sample is given in Table 12, showing that the largest grouping were single (39 percent), followed by 27 percent married, 14 percent living together and 13 percent in process of marriage. Table 13 shows what proportion of the youth sample were the parents of children in the household.

## 1.4 TABULATION AND ANALYSIS

Completed interviews were hand tabulated, and the tabulated results compiled into tables for ease of presentation. In view of the data collection procedures employed, and especially the quota sample procedure, the data given in table form must be treated with due caution as providing important background to an essentially qualitative study.

It must be emphasised that no conclusions can be drawn from the tabulated material concerning actual population values in regard to migration, church structure and stability, or other issues involved. Instead, the tables should be taken as information pertaining to the present quota sample only, and as suggesting possible relationships which may affect the role of the churches in urbanisation. Further study will be needed to substantiate the conclusions offered.

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[1]    Some difficulty arose in connection with youth who were dependent members of households headed by older people, where interviewing the youth member usually proved to yield insufficient information on household income, on the household context of church membership, and particularly on migration decisions and context. Since it was not feasible in terms of available resources to interview both the adult head and the youth members, in the majority of these cases the decision was taken to interview the household head on behalf of the household, taking one youth member of the household as 'youth reference person' to define the youth population for which migration data was being collected. See Appendix 1.

# CHAPTER TWO: THE YOUTH CONTEXT FOR URBANIZATION IN THE DURBAN FUNCTIONAL REGION

'Town life has never brought any good fortune because of economic problems. My family has always known poverty. Apartheid has devastated black urban life. Town life can therefore never be spoken of as something good for the black people.'
- Gloria P, church youth secretary; interview for present study, 1993.

'We moved into the area [Sophiatown informal infill at Umlazi] from Malukazi after being born and bred at Umbumbulu. However, when we moved in our child remained with my in-laws because there was no proper accommodation for all of us. We moved from Malukazi because our house was burnt down in the ongoing violence, as Malukazi was being attacked by hostel dwellers from T Section of Umlazi. Many of our relatives had moved into this area after fleeing the violence at Malukazi. Our church helped us by providing blankets after the house was burnt.'
- Sipho L, church youth organizer, trade unionist and shop steward; interview for present study, 1993.

## 2.1 OVERVIEW

The Urban Foundation (1989) has suggested that for the future of South Africa's cities, natural increase among the existing urban population will be more important demographically than rural-to-urban migration. In saying so they employ the PWV region as a model. Recent research among the informal settlements of the Durban Functional Region indicates that this proposition is not universally valid (Cross *et al* 1992a,b; 1993a,b in press).

In Greater Durban, major streams of in-migration continue to arrive from the vast hinterland of black settlement represented by KwaZulu, overshadowing the contribution to the city's population from urban African families. At present, the rural-born component of the DFR's informal population appears to approximate 70 percent. Following the lifting of influx control in 1986, this process of rural in-

migration is expected to continue into the future, dominating the demography of the region. Under these population conditions, these processes of urbanization are also youth dominated.

Under current economic limits, the implications of such a continuing rural to urban flow are ominous. Rates of unemployment for Region E (Natal and northern Transkei) are believed to be the second highest in the country (Development Bank, 1990). In the huge Inanda informal settlement north of Durban, formal unemployment approximates 52 percent of the economically active population (Cross *et al* 1992b). In informal settlements surveyed to the south, the estimate including structural unemployment is nearly exactly similar (Cross *et al* 1993b, in press). Only in the smaller and older settlements to the west, on the edge of the KwaZulu peri-urban zone, is a marginally more hopeful figure obtained (Cross *et al* 1992a). Scanning the implications of continuing in-migration into metropolitan Regions E and D in relation to the size of the impoverished rural population of the nearby homelands and the capacity of the cities to absorb more people, Roux states

> 'It is likely that the migration bias towards [Durban and the cities of the eastern coast] will lead toward a fair degree of "over-urbanization" compared with the PWV...' (1991: 54).

The implication here is that Natal will be unable to employ or accommodate the continuing human inflow from its own rural regions.

Of the people involved in this massive population transfer, it is likely that the majority will be youth. Results from the urbanization studies indicate that the large majority of rural in-migrants since 1986 tended to be under 40 years of age at the time of survey (1991-2). Similarly, the vast majority of these new urban people are poor.

Given the almost complete drying up of formal housing delivery for non-elite sectors of the African population, it is clear that the bulk of this future youth migration will continue to find its way into the informal areas, which include both

informal infill and freestanding settlements. Youth unemployment in the DFR and its urban vicinity is believed to be significantly higher than that of the older age cohorts, and rising. This unemployment will probably peak in the informal areas, which are already beset with violence.

The political wars for the informal settlements reached their ruinous crest in 1990-91, leaving ANC-aligned formations in control of most informal areas (Louw and Bekker 1993). However, violent outbreaks continue in a number of areas, and many local government-related structures are still struggling to take form (Cross *et al* 1992b, 1993b). Out of the lack of coherent social control located in effective local government, civil society in many informal areas has descended into haphazard social violence. Chaotic conditions on the ground have often held up or halted service delivery initiatives, while attempts at development have often sparked off further violence related to attempts by competing interests to control scarce resources (Zingel 1990). Social, political and criminal violence routinely expose people in the townships and informal areas to risk of death or injury, with the highest risk pertaining to youth.

The social, political and economic issues involved in urbanization are therefore perhaps more critical for metropolitan Natal than for any other region in the country. The PWV, with its larger economic base and proportionately smaller anticipated rural inflow, is expected to be able to absorb its in-migrants and have capacity to spare. The same is not true in Natal, where the South African urban crisis seems likely to bear the hardest.

## 2.2 VIOLENCE

As a factor in urban migration, violence is now so serious that it requires further consideration. Recent interpretations of the violence stress the position of urban youth as victims rather than agents of violence (Møller 1991; Zulu, personal communication, Clark; 1993). One young woman respondent commented,

> 'It's hard to be specific - violence is everyday life. However, politically inspired violence is the most common and the youth have suffered greatly since they are singled out as targets.'

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In contrast, a church youth member living in a different informal area remarked,

> 'Although our area is unstable, there has been no
> violence on a substantial scale. Mostly the violence
> comes from criminal activities since many people do not
> work. The area also seems to be a hideout for wanted
> criminals. The sale of dagga and liquor is very
> prevalent, and my family does not feel safe living here.'

In the 1990s, urban violence has been perhaps the single major cause of residential instability in urban areas. However, it is not a constant factor in all areas. As Zulu emphasises, there is great variation among the informal settlements in regard both to the levels of violence experienced, the levels of youth participation in violent acts and the attitude of local leadership to conflict. Although Umlazi in the south of the DFR has had numerous violent outbursts leading to large-scale residential migration, Umlazi's leadership has exerted pressure against violence and feels that only one or two percent of their youth are involved. In KwaMashu to the north local government is less coherent, violence has been endemic and youth involvement is thought to be higher (Zulu, personal communication to Clark 1993).

In the freestanding informal settlements as a category, present results suggest that violence in the past year has been as much as three times higher than in the formal townships (Table 14). Likewise, for the freestanding settlements violence was the immediate cause of more than half of all residential moves reported by respondents (Table 15).

People living in the informal settlements now tolerate serious levels of interpersonal violence without considering moving away, but serious outbursts of violence lead to mass movements. Research results (Cross et al 1992b, 1993a) indicate that the endemic violence in the massive informal settlement at Inanda in the late 80s and 90s has driven significant on-migration across the whole of the DFR. For the present sample, 27 percent of reported residential moves overall are sourced to violence (Table 16).

## 2.3 SETTLEMENT

The scale of the urban problem in the Natal region puts a grim emphasis on the urban planning quandary in the DFR. At present, urban development continues to sprawl outward, making orderly service delivery increasingly uneconomic, while informal settlement has returned to the city and is penetrating the urban core (Cross *et al* 1993a). At the same time, new areas of urban infill settlement have appeared on open land in all the major townships, and particularly in Umlazi to the south of Durban. These recent infill developments leave a new and relatively disadvantaged informal population occupying beachheads in the older, comparatively educated, settled and well-off townships. Township residents, severely deprived in relation to white urban populations, constitute an aristocracy in relation to the younger, less educated and poorer black informal populations.

By comparison to the rapid spread of free-standing informal settlement, expansion of backyard shacks in the townships as stopgap informal housing has been relatively slow and limited. The DFR here follows a different dynamic from that of the PWV, where backyard structures accommodate the bulk of the informally housed population (Urban Foundation 1991).

These developments have gone along with the widespread overthrow of rent tenancies as ANC-aligned youth movements have taken over *de facto* control of legally private land in Inanda and other areas (Cross *et al* 1992a, 1992b; Cross 1991).

Considerable decompression has also taken place among the DFR's floating urban African population formerly accommodated under pressure as lodgers and tenants with established resident families. With these marginal urban residents freed by the lifting of influx control and the decline of rent tenancy to separate from their landlords and host families to find plots and build for themselves, pressure of a different kind has built up over available sites for building (Cross *et al* 1992b). Many households in this former tenant population belong to rural-origin youth, who have been competing for building sites with more recent rural entrants and also with young families born in the townships but now unable to obtain housing there.

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For the present independent-church youth sample (Table 17), the limited available migration data indicates complex intra-urban mobility. In this sample, 77 percent of respondents can be described as rural born, against 23 percent of urban origin. Some 42 percent of households originated inside the DFR[1], although many came from peri-urban KwaZulu or outlying areas that respondents do not consider to be part of the city (Table 18). Households may enter the urban area from an outside district as units, or individuals living or working in town may meet and form new households. Eight percent originated from the urbanizing fringe beyond the DFR. A further 16 percent originated in southern Natal, and 30 percent from northern Natal, with 3 percent from outside the province.

By far the largest single migration stream - 44 percent of the total sample - was of rural origin, moving from rural KwaZulu into either a freestanding informal settlements or a township infill area. Most of these households have worked their way gradually into the urban core through a series of indirect individual moves. However, a significant minority have entered the urban area in a single move, through a direct pipeline connection established by prior migrants from the same rural home area. Most rural to urban movement, both indirect stepwise movements and direct pipeline moves, ends in informal settlements. Relatively few of the households from rural KwaZulu have gone into either the formal townships or inner peri-urban zone (7 percent). A further 19 percent of the sample originated in the KwaZulu peri-urban region, and is now almost evenly spread across the urban settlement types.

Eight percent of the total sample originated in the freestanding informal settlements, while these areas now accommodate 73 percent of the sample overall. Sixteen percent of the sample originated in the formal townships and

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1    Determination of household origin here is arbitrarily based on origin of household head. Obtaining precision with urban migration studies presents difficulty since individual household members may be born in a number of different localities and the survey procedures needed to obtain complete data are extremely time-consuming, and impractical for use with a quota sample. Prior research in the DFR indicates that the procedure used here is accurate for both partners in some 70-80 percent of cases.

moved within the urban environment, with more than half of this migration stream having gone from the townships into the township infill areas. Four percent of the sample came into the city from white farms, and less than one percent originated in the informal infill areas, which have only existed in their present form for a few years (Table 19).

For the immediate source areas, from which the sample households moved directly into their present communities, the pattern shows a considerable shift but similar complexity (Table 20). Fewer households moved to their present areas direct from a rural or peri-urban area than arrived through indirect, stepwise migration. Within the urban area, 19 percent moved from the freestanding settlements, with nearly a third of these moving between freestanding areas. Some 36 percent of the sample moved from the formal townships, with twice as many going into the infill areas as remained in the townships or entered the freestanding settlements. The large immediate outflow from the townships draws on both the natural increase of township families and rural-born former township lodgers. The infill areas appear to be drawing an increasing share of mobile youth as the older informal areas fill up. Table 21 shows the location of immediate source areas in relation to the Natal/KwaZulu region by the location of the survey area within the DFR.

## 2.4 INFRASTRUCTURE

With these significant changes working through informal settlement in the DFR, the planning process has been desperately attempting to catch up. Efforts by planners to find urban models which will allow the settlement process to be managed and controlled effectively are continually being overtaken by the rapid dissemination of new informal settlements, and by the failure of an incoherent service delivery process to come to grips with the scale of need.

At present, the population of the informal settlements for the most part has very inadequate public services and infrastructure. In some areas informal residents have no schools, sanitation or other services beyond what facilities households or communities can provide for themselves (cf Cross *et al* 1993a). By comparison, the established population of the formal townships has access to a relatively

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complete provision of basic public services, and is now receiving amenities such as metered electricity. Township infill areas are attractive to on-migrating households particularly because they give access to amenities and services.

As observed above, the chances for a planned service delivery process to catch up with the proliferation of settlement in and around the DFR are limited by the large scale of urban residential mobility. The present urban informal population is moving rapidly from place to place within the urban context, and is so unstable that forecasting the future population of a given informal settlement for planning purposes may be in the nature of augury. It is now well established that urban informal residents do not necessarily move to town and settle immovably at the point where they arrive. Rather, rural-origin households in South Africa, as elsewhere in the world, may continue moving back and forth between the urban area and the rural community for an indefinite period of time (Mabin 1987). Results from the Natal research also highlight the long and complex trajectories followed by households migrating from rural origin points into the urban core of the DFR (Cross *et al* 1992b).

Rural to urban migrant households typically work their way slowly inward, with each move an ad hoc adjustment. Alternatively, one or more households from a given rural area may serve as scouts for their home people, establishing a migration pipeline from the rural area to the new urban area, bringing households in directly (see case histories, Appendix 3; and Cross *et al*, 1992b). Colonies of rural-origin people from the same rural area may then form in the urban informal settlements.

Moves in the intra-urban context can be triggered by the desire to improve the household's residential situation - that is, to find a more advantageous location or better developed service provision. Alternatively, moving on can take place in terms of escape or compulsion - quarrels, eviction or refugee processes in relation to violence. It is therefore likely that much of the instability characteristic of informal settlement in the DFR is associated with the inadequate and unpredictable settlement conditions which prevail in the region. To the extent that young urbanizing households, or young urban-born households which have left their

community of origin, are moving on because they are living under unacceptable conditions - or have been forced out - moves are being made which are stressful and unnecessary in terms of the household's needs, and which contribute to the cumulative instability of the urban population.

## 2.5 THE AICS AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

These considerations direct attention to the conditions on the ground that can promote residential stability. It is more than possible that the independent churches play some role here. Results from the present study indicate that in addition to the chances for an area to receive services, the factors of location, freedom from violence and the availability of social connections and social support act as major decision points for youth households involved in on-migration. Of these, services, violence and social support are accessible to inputs from ground level.

The relation of the independent churches to violence and to social support are considered in Chapter 4 below. The question of involvement in promoting local service delivery, central to urbanization and urban settlement, is more difficult to forecast in relation to the AICs.

In view of the established reluctance of the AICs to become involved with authority (Oosthuizen 1993; see also 3.3. below), it might appear improbable that the independent churches would be likely to engage service delivery issues. However, results from the 1992 RUSU/NERMIC inquiry suggest that, contrary to what is usually believed of AICs, the expressed attitudes of AIC members do not rule out this kind of civic action (Cross, Oosthuizen, Bekker and Evans 1992).

Recent work on AIC youth (Mohr 1993) emphasizes the changes taking place in church youth roles around political involvement. Similarly, results from the present study underline the increasing extent to which church youth as individuals are already involved in the real world, and are equipped with the skills and experience needed to make an impact on issues of local policy. Like the young man quoted at the head of this chapter, many church youth organizers are now also trade

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community of origin, are moving on because they are living under unacceptable conditions - or have been forced out - moves are being made which are stressful and unnecessary in terms of the household's needs, and which contribute to the cumulative instability of the urban population.

## 2.5 THE AICS AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

These considerations direct attention to the conditions on the ground that can promote residential stability. It is more than possible that the independent churches play some role here. Results from the present study indicate that in addition to the chances for an area to receive services, the factors of location, freedom from violence and the availability of social connections and social support act as major decision points for youth households involved in on-migration. Of these, services, violence and social support are accessible to inputs from ground level.

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unionists, shop stewards, comrades, activists, or members of residents' associations.

From possession of a reservoir of skills to direct institutional engagement would be a considerable step for the independent churches: however, for some AIC congregations such a step may no longer be entirely out of the question. Again, whether it is possible for the inward-looking independent churches to take up such a role and retain their distinctive attributes and constituency remains an open question. What may be more likely in the near future is that individual church members will become futher involved in community issues of infrastructural provision, as individuals and through their church networks.

The issues at stake in this context draw attention to the origins and essential character of the independent church movement in relation to the issues of youth and change (see Chapter 3 following). Many or most of the urbanization struggles being played out in the townships are essentially struggles of youth. Here there is a different route for AIC influence in civic development, in supplying the values and direction necessary to useful and constructive alternative life paths for youth in relation to social self-development and service. A sustained civic activism that can promote infrastructural development at the local level may emerge from a preceptoral role in relation to values as well as from a leadership role in local government.

'The African Independent Churches are for the poor
people and as such, all sorts of problems of the
members are solved to the maximum ability of the
church.'
- Josephina N, youth organiser.

'There are so many brothers and sisters I feel should
have joined us, but you know how people are these
days - if you try to talk about Christ they just give you
bad answers: Why doesn't he bring peace to people,
why is he allowing so much crime, why does he let us
suffer so much? What they don't see is that the time
has come, as the Bible says.'
- Matthias Z, youth member

## 3.1    INTRODUCTION

The study of religion as a sociological phenomenon has been named by H.W.
Turner 'the most subtle and profound of all areas of intellectual exploration'
(Turner 1968: 1). Religious institutions, even in an increasingly secular world,
remain an important aspect of life for a substantial number of people. These
institutions continue to structure the world-view of their members and the
adherents to their creed, in ways which are often difficult to quantify.

This is particularly true in the case of the African Independent Churches or
AICs[1]. By 1980, a little over one in every five black South Africans was a

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1      The term 'African Independent Church' is used throughout this report to refer to, in
       Turner's words, 'independent churches of African origin' (Turner 1967: 18). Turner
       distinguishes these churches from the churches which were established in Africa as a
       result of 'the missions and ... modern missionary work ... [and] the churches of white
       settlers and administrators' (*ibid*, 10). These churches are referred to throughout this
       report as mainline churches. Turner goes on to add that the AICs are '... recognisably
       Christian in some sense, or to such a degree that they cannot be classified as pagan or
       Hebraist. Although they occur almost entirely in the same areas as the [mainline] churches,
       these two groups have little or nothing to do with each other, and the second [the AIC
       movement] is often called "the separatists" or "the independents" by those within the
       [mainline] churches, or more fully, "the separatist or independent sects"; others attempt to
       extend the term "Prophet movements", or even less justifiably, "messianic movements", to
       cover all the forms found in this broad group.' (*ibid*, 10).

member of an AIC (Cross, Oosthuizen, Bekker & Evans 1992: 5). By some estimates, the present figure may be as high as 40% or more, or two out of five. Anderson (1991) found AIC membership to run to 46% of the population of the Soshanguve informal area outside Pretoria. By comparison, in 1980 the next largest religious affiliation, to the Roman Catholic Church, accounted for a mere 12% of the black South African population, with the Methodist and Anglican churches drawing 7% and 8% respectively. Evidence from the present survey suggests that the AICs are drawing converts from the mainline churches for a number of reasons. One in every three respondents in the present survey has left a mainline church to join an AIC; reasons for joining the present AIC are predominantly concerned with the healing function of AICs (see Tables 22 and 23).

The AIC movement thus comprises a major force in the lives of several million people, and as such might be expected to play an increasingly important part in shaping the future of urban, rural and peri-urban South Africa.

Within this expanding church movement, the role of youth is particularly central and particularly problematic. While the independent churches are structured and run by their older male members on patriarchal lines, they clearly recognise their youth as their future. For the youth, the AICs offer many benefits and seem to play an important role in assisting them in the urban context, but have so far also required respectful subordination. To what extent the independent churches can maintain their present role structure under prevailing urban conditions is now being questioned (see Cross, Oosthuizen, Bekker and Evans 1992; Mohr 1993).

Moreover, the South African AIC movement has been peculiarly shaped by the historical and social forces at work in this country. While independent church movements are found throughout Africa, it is particularly in South Africa and in those of its neighbours whose economies are linked to South Africa's (such as Swaziland) that the AIC movement has flourished. As Oosthuizen notes, the AICs

> '... have grown the way they did in this country to a far
> larger extent than in the rest of Africa.' (Oosthuizen
> n.d.[b]: 16)

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This implies that the AIC movement is a response to the unique social, political and economic circumstances pertaining to South Africa, and consequently of considerable importance to those seeking to understand this country.

For this reason, there has been an increasing interest among social scientists concerned with South African issues in the nature and functioning of the AICs. Much of their research has been ethnological in character, concerned with a description and explanation of the rituals and beliefs of the members of AICs (see, for example, Schlosser, 1958). This approach has been accused of treating the AIC movement as an object for disinterested scrutiny rather than as a living and vital movement (Makhubu, 1988). Equally prevalent are studies of the theology of the AICs written from the often critical viewpoint of the mainline churches (see the papers collected by the Lutheran Theological College in *Our Approach to the Independent Church Movement in South Africa* 1965). Though ethnological studies have continued, however, increasingly since the work of Sundkler - and in particular, since the appearance of *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* in 1948 - the emphasis of studies of the AIC movement has focussed on relating the issues of interest to ethnologists to the wider sociological context within which the AICs operate.

That Sundkler's study appeared in print in the same year as the introduction of apartheid is fortuitous yet ultimately of little consequence. Many of the social and economic characteristics which are associated with apartheid - particularly racial segregation and the unequal distribution of land - were already in place before 1948. Moreover, as Sundkler notes in the foreword to the second edition of the book,

> '... when "apartheid" arrived, the ...[AIC movement]... found itself already *apart*.' (1961: 4)

The introduction of apartheid had two consequences which have impinged on the growth of the AICs. Firstly, apartheid accentuated disempowerment and consequently contributed heavily to poverty and under-development. Secondly, it strengthened the determination of black South Africans to assert power over every aspect of their lives. The AICs, with their strong tendency towards practical social

action, and their asserted status as 'independent' churches not subject to white rule, were able to make gains under the apartheid system. In short, the growth of the AIC movement is a response to the history of racial segregation in South Africa, and to the sense of powerlessness which black South Africans have felt under both colonialism and apartheid.

For this reason, relating the growth and practices of the AIC movement to apartheid, and to the consequent under-development of the black population of South Africa, has been a characteristic of much of the literature on the AICs subsequent to Sundkler. AICs have in particular played significant roles in alleviating poverty and providing social support for the poor. Thus it is that Oosthuizen emphasises

> '... the relationship of the independent churches to the
> black situation and their contribution to development'
> (Oosthuizen n.d.[b])

as an important field of study: it is not merely as churches that the AICs have to be studied, but as important social forces as well.

Similarly, Kiernan's work underscores the importance of locating the AICs within the wider social context of apartheid, impoverishment and disempowerment. Kiernan sees the AICs as churches of the poor for the poor, providing the poor with a sense of 'reconstituted order' and of upliftment and empowerment, and draws comparisons between the South African AIC movement and the religious movements among urban blacks in Chicago in the last century which, amongst other things, gave rise to the South African Zionist movement. Both represent responses to poverty and disempowerment. Kiernan identifies the AICs as movements which have located themselves at the crossroads of the major sociological trends in South Africa, and identifies the healing which they offer as a major form of social support (see below).

On the other hand, the AICs have grown away from their political origins and become associated with an apolitical stance: they discourage their members from direct involvement in political activity, and view politics as a divisive force in

society, quite counter to their emphasis on promoting social unity. In contrast to the fears expressed in early literature that the AIC movement was militantly 'anti-white', the AICs have attempted as much as possible to distance themselves from the various black nationalistic movements that emerged to fight first colonialism and then apartheid. The literature on AICs however distinguishes this apolitical stance from a total indifference to the hardships caused by national political agendas. For example, Oosthuizen's work has concentrated on many of the activities which AICs undertake in the area of alleviating the suffering caused by apartheid, particularly in regard to their developmental activities and the forms of mutual aid which the AICs foster.

In the post-February 2 1990 era, a new trend is emerging in the literature on South Africa's AIC movements. With the dismantling of apartheid, under conditions of economic uncertainty and spiralling violence, new challenges are facing the AIC movement. For many years apolitical, the members of AICs are now facing pressure from competing political camps to 'take sides'. The traditional roles of women and youth within the AICs are undergoing transformation as the roles of these two demographic categories in the wider community change. Present studies of the AICs thus move further away from ethnographic description towards seeking to understand the role which the AICs play in providing islands of stability amidst a sea of change (see, for example, Schoffeleers 1991, and Zulu and Oosthuizen 1991). It is within this trend that the present study is located.

## 3.2     HISTORY OF THE AIC MOVEMENT

It is generally agreed that the AIC movement was born out of a reaction to both ecclesiastical and political colonialism. AICs allowed African Christians the freedom to practise a Christianity which was separated from the political and cultural repression which was associated with more orthodox Christianity of the various mission churches.

The first African 'separatist' church was established by Nehemiah Tile, a Methodist minister, in 1884, after he was criticised for his strong sympathies for the Thembu nationalist cause. Tie was accused by the Methodist Mission Church

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of venturing into politics, and of challenging the imposition of white rule over the Thembu Chiefdom through magistrates from the Cape Government (Saunders 1971: 555). Tile's church placed an emphasis on black liberation and 'a conception of common blackness' (ibid.: 567), and on the acceptance of African cultural traditions within the Christian context.

This act was followed in 1893 by the foundation of the Ethiopian Church of South Africa under Moses Mokone. Ethiopia, which had never been subjected to colonial rule, was seen as symbol of liberation within the Afro-American struggle for liberation from slavery during the 19th Century. 'Ethiopianism' is, as Shepperson (1953) notes, a term embracing both

> '... secessions from the main stream of nonconformist churches in South Africa ... which often emphasise their independence of the European by associating themselves with kindred bodies amongst American Negro churches ... [and] ... new types of churches of an apocalyptic character, which often find their origins in the missionary efforts of similar American groups.'

The latter type of church is usually distinguished from the former by the use of the label 'Zionist', due to their original association with the Christian Catholic Church in Zion, which was founded on 22 February 1896 in Chicago, Illinois at Zion City by John Alexander Dowie. Dowie, born in Scotland, and raised in Australia, was a faith-healer and crusader against drugs, alcohol and tobacco. He published a periodical, *Leaves of Healing*, in which it becomes evident that already by 1897 the Christian Catholic Church in Zion had made extended its influence to South Africa through the person of an ex-minister of the Congregational Union of South Africa, Rev. J. Buchler (Mahon 1986: 172-173; Oosthuizen 1987: 12).

Buchler soon acquired a following, particularly among the Zulus and Swazis of the Wakkerstroom area. After his resignation in 1900, the church continued to gain converts, spreading to Sri Lanka and India amongst Boer prisoners of war. Buchler's task was continued by Pieter le Roux, who led a delegation of South African Zionists to America in 1902. It was le Roux who extended the work of the Zion Church particularly among black South Africans. In 1904 the Rev. Bryant arrived with his wife Emma Dempcy Bryant, an elder in the church, from Zion City:

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she took a particular interest in the black South African church. From Bryant, there entered into South African Zionism many of the 'social' aspects which characterise the AICs:

> '... [the Christian Catholic Church in Zion] assist[s] members in earning a living... Inculcating a work philosophy and utilising one's possessions in the context of the community are emphases which made an impact on the African mind where the sense of community is so strong.' (Oosthuizen 1987: 15)

In 1908 the Apostolic Faith Mission was established in South Africa by John G. Lake and Thomas Hezmalhalch of the Apostolic Faith Church, based in Azusa Street, Los Angeles. From the AFM comes the strong pentecostal element within the South African AICs: both Lake and Hezmalhalch had witnessed the 'outpouring' of the Holy Spirit at Azusa Street which heralded the birth of the modern pentecostal movement.

The most significant local development took place in 1911, when Isiah Shembe, a visionary and prophet, founded the *iBandla lamaNazaretha*, or Nazarite Baptist Church (often called the Shembe Church). Shembe was a close friend of John Dube, founder of the African Native National Congress (later renamed the African National Congress), and both Shembe and Dube influenced one another. Shembe preached that reversion to the Mosaic law would end racial and political oppression, and encouraged his followers to be independent of white 'slavery' through seeking self-sufficiency. He also taught respect for traditional Zulu customs and beliefs. The Nazarite Baptist Church is the largest AIC among the Zulus, and has followers among other ethnic groups as well. After Shembe's death in 1935, the church was led by his son Johannes Galilee. After Johannes Galilee died in 1976, his elder brother Amos assumed leadership, with one of Galilee's sons leading a secession away from the main body of the Nazarite Baptist Church.

Sundkler argues that

> '... both Separatism as such and the ensuing religious ideology on Bantu lines are an outcome of the deep malaise felt throughout the African masses in the years after 1913'

and the passage into law of the first Land Act (Sundkler 1961: 4). This might explain the rapid growth of the AIC movement throughout the century. According to the 1911 population census, 40% of black South African Christians were Methodist, 15% Anglican, 11% Lutheran, and 7% members of the Dutch Reformed Church. By 1980, as noted above, the AICs had moved significantly toward displacing the mainline churches in the religious life of black South Africans.

Inevitably, such rapid expansion has put a strain upon AICs and this undoubtedly is a major contributing factor to the tendency towards schism within the AICs. Apart from the large AIC congregations such as the Zion Christian Church, which meets at Moria every Easter, the St. John's Apostolic faith Mission, and the Nazarite Baptist Church, the majority of AICs are small, consisting of fewer than 100 members all told. New small-scale churches are regularly formed, often because church membership has become too large for the church to be able to fulfill its various social support functions, or because the church leadership cannot retain the support of all members. In a large number of cases church fission appears to relate to disagreements over money, leadership style, and theological issues (Cross, Oosthuizen, Bekker and Evans 1992: 10).

This tendency towards schism reflects a search for different solutions to problems presently confronting the AICs. These problems in turn are much influenced by the current political and social turmoil. Whether or not the AICs are going to be able to adapt to the changing South African political environment depends to a large extent on how flexible they are. In order to get some idea of the answer to this question, it is necessary to examine the dynamics at work within AICs.

## 3.3    DYNAMICS OF THE AIC MOVEMENT

The AICs are part of the Christian religious tradition, which rests upon two fundamental assumptions:

(i)    There exists an omnipotent and omnibenevolent God; and

(ii)   This God is so concerned with the human condition that He incarnated as a human being, Jesus Christ, and in that incarnation atoned for human sin by suffering and dying.

Viewed as a sociological phenomenon, Christian organised religion performs a number of crucial functions within society. *Inter alia*, these include providing emotional security and relief in stressful situations; consoling troubled individuals with the assurance that their existence has a purpose, and that hardships are temporal and thus of little concern when considered against the backdrop of eternity. God is not indifferent to human suffering: indeed, having endured suffering Himself during His incarnation, He extends consolation to those who suffer.

Seen from this sociological standpoint, the function of organised religion is thus essentially cognitive: it allows an individual a structure within which meaning can be constructed. This structure is derived from values which organised religion asserts as being divine: they originate outside space and time with the Godhead, and reflect the Godhead's will for the way things should be. By asserting these values as divine in origin (rather than of human construction), organised religion sets them beyond human question: they constitute an eternal moral reality which may not be gainsaid. These values are reflected in the practices of organised religion, in its rituals and its instruments.

The AICs share these characteristics with many other Christian denominations; but they are unique in many other respects, particularly in regard to their integration of traditional extra-Christian beliefs into the Christian world view. Much as the early Christian church adapted and adopted certain European pagan beliefs, the AICs have fashioned their own unique reality through a fusion of compatible elements in both the Christianity preached to Africans by the mission churches and the religion which they practiced before the missionary endeavour.

Two important aspects of the theology of the AICs need to be considered here. The first of these relates to the belief in spirits, i.e. invisible, intangible and

intelligent agencies which are active in the lives of people. Indeed this belief is widespread enough to be almost universal: though they are downplayed in the more modernist versions of some of the mainline churches, rituals of exorcism for people possessed by spirits are not infrequent even in the secular First World. Furthermore, most Christian churches are *trinitarian*, that is, they identify the Godhead as triune, possessing three persons while remaining one: a Creator figure ('The Father'), the historical manifestation of God as a human being in Jesus Christ ('The Son'), and an intangible but active presence in the lives of human beings ('The Holy Spirit'). Most trinitarian churches place an emphasis upon one or another of these aspects: among Pentecostal Churches, the person of the Holy Spirit is accorded greatest importance. The AICs, partially because of their roots in American pentecostal churches, follow this line: but this is also in many respects due to the importance placed upon spirits in traditional African beliefs. For the AICs, spirits - and the Holy Spirit in particular - are of paramount importance, and are active agencies, for both good and ill (the Holy Spirit exclusively for good), in the world (Oosthuizen 1993). The reasons for this will be discussed below.

The other important aspect of African Zionist theology is a belief in the continued existence after death of one's ancestors as active and essentially benevolent agents. In this regard the AICs differ sharply from the beliefs of the mainline churches, most of which assert an eternal rest wholly removed from the world of the soul after death. In traditional African belief, the ancestors live in an invisible world, freed from the trials and tribulations of life, but otherwise experiencing spiritually much the same kind of existence as they did while alive: the most substantial difference being their possession of greater wisdom (Oosthuizen 1990b: 3). In particular they remain closely associated with their descendants, whom they seek to counsel and to guide. Although their actions may be unpredictable and ambivalent, they are seen as benevolent and worthy of reverence as the protectors of their lineage (Oosthuizen 1993a).

It is these aspects of ancestral reverence which have been adopted by many AICs. Although the Apostolic churches see ancestors as demonic, in the Zionist, Shembe and some Ethiopian churches the ancestors are seen as the guardians of certain values which need to be conserved by the living. Illness and misfortune are

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diagnosed within these AICs as being caused by ancestors who are displeased with their progeny and have therefore, if they have not actually visited hardship upon the living, withdrawn their protection. In this important regard the belief in both spirits and the ancestors within the AICs are connected: the ancestors, who are seen as sharing their efficacy with the Holy Spirit, provide protection in conjunction with the Holy Spirit from attacks by malign spiritual entities (Oosthuizen 1993a).

One important function of the AICs is to provide both a diagnosis of, and a cure for, the consequences of these spiritual attacks. Illness, hardship and other sources of stress are thus interpreted, not as stemming from causes in the temporal world, but rather as signs of 'warfare in the spiritual realm': i.e. an illness such as kwashiorkor is caused less by adverse social and economic conditions than by an attack by a malign spiritual force, usually as a result of the withdrawal of ancestral protection[1].

One consequence of this approach has been the gradual withdrawal of the independent churches from direct social, economic and political activism. Although they were founded in an attempt to escape ecclesiastical subjection of blacks to whites, and were involved in the early days of black South African nationalism, the AICs have become associated with an 'apolitical' stance, much like that of the Jehovah's Witnesses: social, economic and political disempowerment are a consequence of the withdrawal of divine favour from a sinful world, and any activity to redress these imbalances constitutes a failure of faith in the rewards promised to believers in the hereafter[2].

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1    The AICs share this characteristic with a number of charismatic Christian churches operating in the First World; hence the frequency of 'miracle healing crusades'. In the Christian context, this beliefs derives from a fundamentalist, literalist interpretation of Gospel references to Jesus 'casting out' demons to cure the sick.

2    Interestingly enough, the Jehovah's Witnesses may be on the increase in the black informal settlements of the DFR (based on researcher observations and discussions with fieldworkers).

The other important consequence of this approach is the curative activities of the AICs. These can be loosely categorised as falling into two types:

(i)      Faith healing, whether aimed at illness or at other symptoms of assault by malevolent spiritual entities; and

(ii)     Social support.

Both these forms of activity can be said to derive only partially from the American pentecostal origins of contemporary South African AICs. For the most part they existed in pre-Christian and pre-colonial African society. While the faith healing which is offered by AICs may be traced to both the healing activities of Dowie and to the strong emphasis upon the gifts of the Holy Spirit inherited from Lake and Hezmalhalch, faith healing has always been widespread throughout the Third World[1]. Similarly, while the aspect of social support was emphasised (as noted above) by Bryant, traditional African society is strongly mutualist and is based upon networks of mutual social support. Both these aspects of Christian teaching took root within the context of a slowly modernising African society for precisely the reasons outlined by Oosthuizen above: they made an impact on African thinking, which sustains a strong sense of community, and a deep-rooted spirituality.

Part of the reality of life for black South Africans, under colonialism, apartheid and in the present era of transition, is disempowerment and its consequences: anomie and poverty. The exclusion of the black population of South Africa from meaningful access to land by the passage of the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, coupled with the increasing demand for marginally-skilled labour in an industrialising economy, has led to labour migration with consequently disastrous effects for the essentially patriarchal society of traditional black rural areas. The partial collapse of black rural South Africa has accelerated the migration of black South Africans to urban areas, where a total failure by formal housing delivery systems to cope with the need to provide housing units has resulted in the rapid growth of shack settlements around the peripheries of South Africa's urban

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1      It is also of interest that in the last fifteen years pentecostal worship originating overseas has again spread significantly in South Africa, as well as in much of the developing world.

centres. Job creation has not kept up with the demand for formal employment, while violence has become endemic.

It is precisely in this context that the AICs which are of importance to policy processes and poverty studies. There exists within the AICs an ethic of mutualism: a belief (which is pre-Christian, but certainly in harmony with Christian teaching) that the basis of the social order is mutual help and assistance. In particular, the AICs which flourish in the urban and peri-urban environment are providing support for their members. Both Oosthuizen (1993) and Kiernan (1991b) have hypothesised that AICs provide a reception network in urban areas by offering support and access to urban resources to the newly-arrived poor. This support might take many forms: financial support, assistance with the settlement process, assistance with finding employment. The AICs form a network within which disempowered and low-resource individuals are able to mobilise their few resources for the benefit of the maximum possible number of people. This assistance is very real, very practical, and constitutes a form of Christian social action. The hypothesis that AICs are an *urban reception network for the newly-urbanised poor* is explored in the next chapter.

This in fact returns the argument to Kiernan's hypothesis that the AICs are institutions of the poor for the poor. While there is no denying the apolitical stance of the AICs, to equate this with a lack of concern for social issues is too simplistic, as Zulu and Oosthuizen argue (Zulu and Oosthuizen 1991: 3). The AICs stand, as Kiernan puts it, at the confluence of the major crises facing South Africa:

> 'They flourish in the urban centres where their composition is exclusively of the poor, recruited from the working class, and their primary attraction is that they provide a healing service which the poor can afford.' (Kiernan 1991b: 2)

Kiernan goes on to argue that there is every reason, not only to attribute the phenomenal growth in the membership of the AICs to this function, but also to assume that this tendency will continue. 'Healing' in this context refers not only to the curing of physical illness, but also in a more holistic sense to the alleviation of psychic discomfort caused by adverse social, political and economic conditions.

The AICs appear to be a communal response to the confusion experienced by large sections of the black South African population, caused by the anomic character of a society in transition (Oosthuizen 1993).

Under such circumstances, it is scarcely surprising that the AICs have become so attractive to the marginalised urban underclass. For one thing, the emphasis placed by the AICs on the power of the Holy Spirit is closely related to the powerlessness of black South Africans. Given their impotent social, economic and political position in South Africa, the power of the Holy Spirit has provided, in Hammond-Tooke's words,

> '... a potent counterbalance to the realities of the existential situation.' (Hammond-Tooke 1989: 62)

Another important aspect of the AICs which may be attractive to the black South African urban underclass is their vertical depth. Pre-industrial black South African society has been patriarchal and hierarchic, with authority vested in clearly identifiable figures such as chiefs and heads of family, and with the extended family functioning as the basic unit of the social order. This fabric has been severely weakened in the urban and peri-urban zones of South Africa, leading to an unstructured or even disorganised society. These conditions lead to reduced potential for social support, and explain much of the psychic stress experienced by new arrivals in town from rural areas.

The AICs have been able to make an impact in this situation. AICs typically act like and are structured along the same lines as the extended family and are thereby able to become a substitute society which both looks back to traditional society and renews it (Oosthuizen 1993). Oosthuizen's recent unpublished analysis (1993 forthcoming) has led him to construct the dynamics of group formation as the central concern of the urban disadvantaged in their establishment of independent church congregations. In this sense, narrowly religious considerations may be supportive to the essential character of these urban churches as social movements. In Oosthuizen's current view, these small, human-scale groups proliferate as society continues to secularize, creating problems of depersonalization.

Oosthuizen therefore interprets the role of the independent churches as that of carrying forward the humanity of the older African society into the industrial and post-industrial context, holding to the model of family relations to structure a caring enclave in the impersonal urban world. For this purpose, the independent churches employ a more vibrant form of worship than the established churches of European missionary origin permit. Healing, music and dance serve as means to a broad social goal, bridging the enforced alienation of the urban poor. The emphasis on mutual support represents the actualization of new interpersonal ties in long-term exchange relations. Church membership therefore enables disparate individuals to be in effect adopted into an urban family idiom.

The applicability of this framework to the situation of urban and urbanizing youth in relation to the independent churches is clearly evident. Although the two are in no way contradictory, this more general approach to *indigenous church formation as a response to alienation* is of broader application than the proposition of independent churches as vehicles for urban reception referred to above. Accordingly, it has been used to define our second general hypothesis in relation to youth participation in the independent churches.

Responding to alienation, the AICs offer a buffer to the stresses which follow from rural to urban migration, and create a psychic zone within which the uprooted and disoriented individual can adapt. By offering value systems which are closely modelled upon traditional values, and by replicating in the church structure and in its rituals and operations many aspects of the extended family and chiefdom structure, the AICs are able to act as a stabilising force within urban and peri-urban areas (Oosthuizen 1993). The AICs thrive at the point of interaction between traditional South African black society and the modernising influence of urbanisation.

### 3.3.1. Turner's sociological typology of AICs

Turner (1967) offers a comprehensive typological analysis of AICs which distinguishes not only between the different theological categories of AICs - the

Zionist, Apostolic and Ethiopian strands identified above (see 3.2) - but also between different sociological dimensions.

Turner identifies firstly

> '... the more inchoate and unorganised prophet movement, which influences a large number of people in varying degress without necessarily offering them any new or alternative relgious community, and which depends only on the influence of the charismatic leader.' (Turner 1967: 32)

This, argues Turner, is the initial form of organisation of religious movements in Africa, and leads to the establishment of the second form:

> '... the familiar pattern of church life in local congregations linked together in some wider district or national organisation. This may be called the congregational type.' (*ibid*, 32)

The third type are the

> '... new villages [which] have been founded and [where] a Christian communal life has developed.' (*ibid*, 32)

These churches offer, in Eberhardt's phrase

> '... "total" societies of a theocratic-charismatic nature.' (quoted in Turner, page 32)

The 'Holy Cities' of some of the Zionist churches (for instance, the 'Holy City' of Ekuphakameni established by Isiah Shembe in Inanda) are an example of this type of social organisation promoted by the AICs. Other examples are cited Turner from Zambia, Ghana and Nigeria.

The fourth type is the

> '... "clientele" form that consists of patients attached to a practitioner renowned for his healing powers, and sharing in the religious exercises and teaching that are part of the treatment.' (*ibid*, 32)

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This form of sociological order within the AIC movement might even extend to the creation of small villages: Turner cites Sundkler's example of the Bethesda community as one such therapeutic community. Turner also notes that this latter type is the only type where there exists any correlation between the religious emphasis of the church and the form of sociological order.

## 3.4    TRANSFORMATION IN AICS

The AICs may indeed provide a sense of continuity for their adherents, spanning the gulf between the traditional and the modern; but whether or not they will continue to be successful in this depends on their degree of flexibility. At present, rapidly changing realities are compelling accelerating changes among the AICs which focus on church youth. These changes may dilute or even wholly destroy the mediatory role identified above for the independent churches.

Changes in the role of church youth may be linked to changes in the role of women. Contrary to expectations, women have always played key roles within AICs: not only as leaders of women's groupings within the AICs, but also in other important areas. Though the Nazarite Baptist Church does not allow women to preach to men (Cross, Oosthuizen, Bekker and Evans 1992: 7), women occupy two of the most important roles within AICs: those of *abathandazi* (healers) and *abaprofeti* (prophets). At the same time some of the less centralised denominations have permitted women preaching. Approximately two-thirds of all healers and prophets within the AICs are women, and males who become initiates to act as healers and diviners dress during the initiation stage as women (Oosthuizen 1993). Given the importance of prophecy and healing to the AICs - particularly in regard to healing, which, as emphasised above, is their principal attraction - this foregrounds the very important role of women within the AICs.

On the other hand, women are not expected to occupy leadership roles, and are expected to keep to their own traditional spheres of activity. There have however been instances reported in the literature of women bishops (see, for example, Sundkler 1961: 320, for references to 'Ma' Nku of the St. John's Apostolic Faith

Mission). In general women have responsibility for the recruitment of new members through prayer visits, for social prayers for the sick and the dying, for teaching and guiding the youth, and for much or most of the organising work required for their churches' daily operation. In some churches women are appointed to church committees and exercise real influence on decision-making. Wives of church leaders also occupy a recognised position of importance which can allow an influence on policy.

At the same time, women within AICs are experiencing the same problems as women in the wider black South African community. They have been drawn by force of circumstance into both the formal and the informal economic sectors. Many women in urban, rural and peri-urban areas are acting as heads of households, either on a *de facto* basis (males being absent in search of formal employment) or permanently because they are widowed, divorced, abandoned or separated. Women are also being drawn into the political struggle. How this will affect women within AICs is a crucial issue which needs further study.

What may be emerging is a mediating and bridging role for women in advancing the interests of youth in the changing alignment of power within the AICs, or even some *de facto* alliance between women and youth in church dynamics. Such a relationship is in keeping with the role of women as wives and mothers in mediating between youth and male elders in the rural extended family.

Similarly, the role of youth within AICs is changing. Traditionally, youth form an important part of the church congregation, and are seen as entitled to be trained to take up roles in the church in their adulthood. Unlike women, except in rare cases they have not been reported as involved in the leadership of the church, except in restricted roles reserved for youth members, i.e. as the leaders of youth groups. These roles appear to have been more consistently isolated from the decision processes than those of women. Like women, youth have been allocated their own sphere of activity within the churches. However, the youth sphere centers on social and recreational activity and appears to be maintained as more fully separate from the general working of the churches. In terms of the extended family model, some structural tension may obtain between the sovereignty of older

male leaders in AICs and the potential autonomy and influence of their putative heirs and successors among the youth.

The balance of forces here may be changing, as a result of two important factors. On the one hand, black youths tend as a rule to be more literate and thus more educated than their parents (Tongaat-Hulett, 1989; Cross *et al* 1992a,b,c and d). Youth are therefore starting to play important roles in the wider community within which the AICs are located. In addition, there is the important role which youth have played in the anti-apartheid struggle in urban and peri-urban areas since 1976. The school boycotts and other manifestations of youth activism have mobilised urban youth to a higher degree of awareness and organisation, and have also affected the youthful members of AICs: they feel pressurised to take a side in the political struggle, which is unacceptable to the AIC approach of seeing the solution to temporal problems in spiritual world (Mohr 1993). Increasingly many youth within the AICs are becoming drawn into the political struggle, while even those who are not are subjected to tremendous pressures which the AICs themselves may not be able to resolve (*ibid*).

It is not only the role of youth within AICs that is changing, but also the status of youth generally. It has been noted above that the AICs provide a mutual support network for the resource-poor in urban and peri-urban areas. Obviously one of the most important target groups for this kind of assistance is the youth. Youth are among the most resource-poor people within urban and peri-urban environments, and their greatly disadvantaged status is well documented (see Burman and Reynolds 1986, and Møller 1991). Youth are particularly vulnerable in regard to unemployment for a number of reasons. Firstly, they have borne the brunt of the crisis in black education:

> '... by the end of the eighties, a position of stagnation had been reached. In the last three years, 1989 to 1991, six out of ten candidates, a total of 442 000 young people, having survived the struggle to stay in school, but with no certificate to show what they have achieved, have gone out into a world of unemployment and alienation. Little is being done ... to re-train them, re-direct their ambitions and rescue them so that they can become productive members of society.' (Hartshorne 1992a: 83)

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The virtual collapse of black education has left a generation of under-educated, and consequently extremely vulnerable to unemployment, youth in South Africa's urban and peri-urban areas. Their vulnerability to unemployment is further exacerbated by their lack of working experience (which makes it difficult for them secure jobs) and by the principle of 'last in, first out', which makes even the positions of the few who have secured formal employment uncertain. This vulnerability is borne out by statistics: according to Bromberger (personal communication, 1993), in the late 1980s in Pietermaritzburg the age cohort from 15 to 25 experienced the highest unemployment rates. This situation probably reflects the situation in most other urban centres, and has grown worse as unemployment has risen.

In addition, black South African youth in peri-urban and urban areas are most susceptible to violence. While Møller argues that the popular image of black South African youth tends to show youth at their most destructive at the expense of the rank and file of youth who attempt to engage in society in a more constructive fashion (Møller 1991: 6), there is still undoubted truth in some aspects of that popular image: youth as

> '...leaders of the mass movements, the judges and marshals of the kangaroo courts, the comrades running the street committees, the gangs of thugs who have closed the gaps created by the power vacuum since the townships have become "ungovernable".' (Møller 1991: 6)

While it is important not to lose sight of the 'invisible' majority of youth who attempt to make a positive contribution to society, the presence of this more visible (and visibly destructive) form of youth activity must be seen as an important social force within the lives of black South African youths. It is within the context of these stresses upon the lives of youth that the AICs engage in support to, and interact with, youth.

## 3.5 SUMMARY

In South Africa's cities the roots of youth alienation are deep. An anomic urban society is simmering in despair and anger: formal unemployment is at record levels, and youth are faced with useless schooling that is unable to guarantee jobs. Urban conditions are harsh and physically dangerous. Urban youth are unable to make anything of their lives, and lose hope.

Under these social conditions, people are moving from a disintegrating rural hinterland towards an urban poverty in the informal settlements which is splattered with violence. Loss of control leads both youth and adults to loss of purpose. There is an urgent need to find direction for the energies and idealism of youth.

Given the desperation of the urban predicament, the African independent churches cannot be said to be irrelevant in spite of their long-standing posture of retreat from the outside world and their preference for avoiding contact with political authorities. While the independent churches have turned away from public causes, they have been strongly involved on their own ground, at the coal-face of urban poverty. Their deep convictions of equality and mutualism have led to a sub-culture of mutual support which replicates some of the most advantageous social practices of an earlier rural generation. To their youth, they offer a humanistic vision of a strong society and a dedication to self-reliance as well as a structured relation to divinity. In their small communities, they may be among the best equipped urban institutions to mediate the shocks of the urban transition.

We have seen how the AICs have grown from their origins as missionary exercises undertaken by pentecostal American independent churches to become an influential movement which touches upon the lives of many black South Africans. Although originally the AICs articulated a black aspiration to escape the yoke of European colonialism, the AICs have become associated with an apolitical stance, due largely to their belief that hardships in the temporal world are a manifestation of attacks by spiritual powers, and as such must be contested through spiritual means rather than through direct social and political activism.

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It would be wrong to interpret this as indifference to plight of the members of AICs. In fact the AICs offer not only 'healing' for their members but a range of social support systems which, by spanning the divide between the rural and urban, traditional and modern, can assist people in adjusting to the transition from a rural, traditional environment to a modern, urban one.

Because of this important role, their response to the rapidly-changing wider South African situation is crucial, and in the context of changes and social transformation it is important to examine how the AICs are responding to social changes. This is the context within which this project examines their role in facilitating the process of urbanisation.

Youth have been identified as a particularly critical element within the AICs and within the wider South Africa society. Not only are the conventional roles defined for youth within AICs in the process of changing, but the critical situation of the 'lost generation' of youth identified above makes the youth a challenge of considerable importance, which the AIC movement must attempt to meet. For this reason it is important to examine what role the AICs play in facilitating the urbanisation process for youthful households.

Based on the analysis reviewed here, it was decided to attempt to validate either or both of the major formulations of the role of the AICs in society as applied to urbanisation. These are:

(i)     The hypothesis proposed by Kiernan and Oosthuizen that AICs act as agents to receive the poor on their arrival in town; and

(ii)    The recent Oosthuizen hypothesis that AICs carry forward the structure of traditional African society in an urban context, thereby alleviating the alienation of the urban poor.

It is with these hypotheses in mind that the discussion now turns to an analysis of the data on AIC youth members in the migration process.

# CHAPTER FOUR: THE INDEPENDENT CHURCHES IN MEDIATING URBANISATION

> 'As prayer union organizer, I have responsibility for groups sent to recruit the new members, because church members love a church that cares for them both spiritually and physically.'
> - Regina X, housewife and mother

> 'The church tries its best to provide a warm and comfortable welcome into the area for its members. For instance, members without proper accommodation are helped as far as possible by being sheltered by some of the church members. In times of violence the church played a major role by sheltering its traumatized members. But not only were these people church members - there were also others who were non-members with nowhere to go.'
> - Joyce N, unmarried youth member

Against the background of urban violence, the lack of legitimate institutions to guide and support the settlement process is starkly apparent. Past government policies have largely forestalled the emergence of effective local government institutions at the grass roots, and severely thinned the growth of self-help organizations. Few if any of the major NGOs systematically assist families moving through the urbanisation process. Similarly, few if any formal organizations systematically attempt to consider the process of settlement from the viewpoint of the in-migrant family. Results from the present study suggest that the African independent churches may be the main genuinely popular institution now operating in this institutional gap.

At present, households are coming into and moving through the informal settlements under chaotic conditions of institutional impoverishment. In some respects the situation is particularly difficult for youth, who suffer severely from unemployment, run high risks from violence, and risk being drawn into criminal activities. Research to date has highlighted the role of household and personal networks in locating opportunities to settle, directing the urbanisation streams and enabling local stabilisation to take place (Cross *et al* 1993a,b). Disadvantaged urban settlers of all ages rely on links into the local area to locate possible new

settlement areas as well as to help them complete the settlement process effectively.

This chapter attempts to examine some of the ways in which the independent churches facilitate the process of urbanization, in terms of assisting with urban residential mobility, and dealing with the accompanying stress. This inquiry deals both with youth in households of rural origin which have entered the urban area and are attempting to find a satisfactory place to live, and with youth in urban origin households which are involved in intra-urban residential movement.

Analysis will concentrate on kinds of support needed and provided in the urban as opposed to the rural situation, the problems perceived by the youth migrants themselves, and how the assistance given by the independent churches is distributed. In addition, attention will be given to the responses of the churches to urbanisation and to urban violence in regard to the position of youth in their structures. Finally, an attempt will be made to sum up the relation of the independent churches to the urbanisation of youth in the Durban Functional Region.

## 4.1 HOUSEHOLD SUPPORT AND RURAL SETTLEMENT

The African independent churches have a particular significance in the urban environment. In structure, they are voluntary organizations: that is, they are comprised of people who have joined through choice, in order to align themselves with the specific body of membership. As noted above, they are institutions of the poor. In addition, they have the important advantage of routing their institutional and personal relations through a sacred discourse, which can be argued to increase the reliability of transactions and relationships carried out in this framework (cf Rappaport 1967). These characteristics fit them in unique ways to help urbanising households cope with poverty. A process analysis of urbanisation and of urban residential moves in relation to the AICs begins with the support strategies that define the economic limits of the urbanisation process.

For both rural and urban residents, coping strategies employed to deal with poverty can probably be said to involve networks more than structured institutions

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as such. Rural dwellers faced with the risk of shortfalls in regard to basic needs deploy packages of survival options (Bekker *et al* 1993). Some options provide primary support in the form of regular income or food, while others provide intermittent support, or backup against unforeseen contingencies which is activated at need.

These supplemental and emergency options are of particular importance in providing the household with security, since in the event of a failure in primary support - wage income, pensions, larger and more regular informal incomes - they stand between the household and a disastrous failure of support. From the standpoint of the household, their purpose is to bring the structure of support and survival as fully as possible under the household's control, and to avoid exposure to uncontrolled risks of failure and starvation (Sahlins 1972).

### 4.1.1 Rural settlement systems

In rural communities, these relational forms of disaster insurance are largely routed through social relationships, and only in extreme cases through outside charitable organizations. Indigenous institutions such as the chiefship, which in pre-colonial times offered the kind of last resort assistance which is now sporadically provided by government and by charitable NGOs, are now able to provide little if any assistance. Accordingly, rural families who may be faced with job loss, death of the breadwinner or other serious unforeseen contingencies rely on the rural ethic of mutual support within the context of the neighborhood, and on the reciprocal help of relatives and neighbors.

In this frame of reference, the value of the rural neighborhood to its residents becomes clear. Rural families see their neighborhoods or localities as a quasi-institution, taking the form of a known association of families around a kinship core. These residential quasi-institutions are built up gradually, over time. Consequently, rural neighbourhoods are relatively closed to outsiders and admit them only slowly and conditionally, with subordinate social standing. Because of the close ties of the neighbourhood and its attribution of strategic resources to its own members, new households entering usually experience anxiety until they are fully accepted.

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These localities offer safety from any possible outside attack[1] and also sustain the networks of local relations among families which give emergency support to those in need. In that such rural settlement clusters are built up around a kinship core, the idiom of the extended family can be used to cover even unrelated people[2].

The importance of the loss suffered by urban migrants in relation to leaving their home neighborhood is evident here. Not only do urban migrants tend to suffer the loss of physical safety entailed in coming to live among a random assortment of strangers: in addition, they lose the long-standing and delicate support networks which the rural neighborhood provided. Rural-type survival strategies therefore represent not only the package of economic options employed by specific households, but also their social networks. These survival networks are painstakingly built up by individual households making use of their personal connections in the kinship and neighborhood framework. Moving into town ordinarily means breaking off or drastically cutting away the social connections which previously provided the family with security and disaster insurance. This significant loss contributes to the risk associated with rural to urban moves.

Urbanising households therefore usually make insistent efforts to rebuild their networks and reestablish their survival structures in their new environment.

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1    In rural areas the essential nature of the neighbour relationship is often glossed in terms of mutual support against physical danger, as the most acute threat requiring to be warded off by staunch cooperation. One respondent referred to this formulation when he noted enthusiastically that his new informal neighbourhood was an excellent one because when his wife had been attacked by criminals the neighbours had run to her support, apprehending the attackers and handing them over to the comrades. The family's previous areas had apparently offered no similar security.

2    In some parts of KwaZulu the rural settlement cluster is still referred to as 'umuzi kaSobanibani' (the homestead of So-and-So), using the name of the original landholder or his contemporary senior descendant. The homestead in this sense includes in-married people and dependents as well as blood relatives. The rural settlement system and its sustaining cognitive assumptions are described in Cross 1991; for its role in insuring household support see also Bekker *et al* 1993.

However, the nature of urban life, with rapid demographic change and turnover at the local level, works against the development of stable support networks. By comparison with the rural context, urban informal neighborhoods are socially unstable and even chaotic. Network support is accordingly more tenuous.

Accordingly, urban families usually command greater cash incomes than rural families, but are uneasily aware of their increased exposure to failure of household support if they meet unexpected reverses. This exposure to risk is a significant poverty problem, and has been seriously worsened by the numerous moves forced by urban violence in the last three years. For the study of urbanization, it a cardinal point that this uncertainty and risk peak at and around the time of actual moves, and in the consolidation period following.

Disruption of support networks is therefore a major transaction cost incurred in the process of moving to a new area. Although this break may be most acute in the case of long-distance rural to urban moves, this need not be the case. Where pipeline moves are involved, disruption can be minimised (see Case 4 in Appendix 3). Against this, intra-urban moves, and particularly unprepared moves occasioned by violence, can be at least equally disruptive. Further, loss of the perceived security of the previous area and its network appears to contribute significantly to the personal stress felt by individuals involved in urban migration.

### 4.1.2. Conceptualising the role of the churches in urbanization

The role of the independent churches can be seen here in sharp relief. As local-level voluntary associations based on both mutual interest and sacred discourse, rooted in rural values, the churches offer a portable community. Individuals or families can move from one local church congregation to another by a type of pipeline process, with little emotional or economic displacement and little stranger anxiety. In that they attest to mutual trust, they unite the disadvantaged in stable alliances which provide fruitful opportunities for the establishment of quick and reliable support networks in unfamiliar areas. Strangers entering a new area as members of a local independent church need not go through the long period of probation and tentative acquaintance often required to establish reliable

relationships. The same holds in urban areas where the household may have lived for some time without being able to develop networks extensive enough to give subjectively satisfactory insurance.

These alliances have the cardinal advantage of being based on achieved membership rather than on ascriptive social characteristics such as kinship, or territorial co-residence from birth. In addition, as the membership and leadership of the church state over and over in interviews, they are assembled around an ideology of mutual support, which operates in a Christian framework directly related to poverty. While the independent church are as much subject to internal politics as other forms of association, their claim to unity has a transcendental dimension beyond that of expedience.

It follows that the role of the independent churches in facilitating urbanisation and migration has to be viewed in the round, and not limited to an immediate role in assisting households to make the trip between one urban area and the next. Church assistance may be involved in organising the move, in receiving the arriving household into the new area, in helping the household to consolidate its local position, and in insuring against risks to the survival of the family for an indefinite period afterward. Churches may offer help to members moving away, but most commonly seem to help new member families moving in. In addition, the churches offer emotional and spiritual help which is very important to the well-being of youth in the urban context.

We can sum up by suggesting that, as the reception hypothesis indicates, people coming into town have social transformations to cope with. Coming out of a rural culture where individual and family identity are very much embedded in the secure social relations of the neighborhood settlement cluster, they enter an urban environment in which mobility is the rule and there is considerable urban anonymity. Although urban informal areas in many ways appear to be more loosely structured simulacra of rural neighbourhoods, they also have a complicated array of cultural and political affiliations or alignments which need to be learned. Likewise, interpersonal distrust and the fear of spiritual attack are widespread. In addition, in urban areas where rapid residential mobility is normal, identity inheres

in the individual to a greater extent than in the older type of rural community. Vilakazi's (1965) discussion of the perceptions of rural people in the late 1950s toward the urban environment emphasizes its strangeness and threat.

Discussing the way in which Japanese city residents have coped with urbanism overtaking rural social relations, Nakamura (1968) notes the existence within the city of close-knit urban neighbourhoods which maintain many of the organizational and structural characteristics of the earlier rural villages. Associated with gradual and coherent urbanisation with moderate mobility, such a pattern has been excluded in South Africa due to apartheid-determined urban policy. Durban's free-standing informal settlements exhibit a bounded cohesiveness and sense of identity in many instances, but are also characterized by very weak institutionalisation and unpredictable bursts of mobility associated with medium-scale violence. The normal stratification of urban neighborhoods around Durban has yet to sort itself out of the settlement distribution developed under apartheid (Urban Foundation, 1989; Cross *et al* 1992a,b and 1993 a,b).

Movement between the two generates various forms of stress, which are reinforced by the actual physical and economic risks of urbanism in the informal settlements today. It is this tension between rural social relations and social thought and the realities of urban society that are at issue in relation to the hypothesis of the independent churches assisting in the urban transition for disadvantaged families. At the same time, the degree of cognitive distance between contemporary rural black society and the society and economy of the urban informal settlements has probably declined significantly in recent years, and this decline is probably accelerating.

Manona (1988) noted that in the Eastern Cape urban and rural differences were disappearing well before the lifting of influx control as rural people moved freely into town and out again: rural and urban lifestyles and levels of education appeared to be converging, easing the transition process. In the Natal region, rural levels of education have also risen, and many or most rural-born individuals appear to have some experience of urban life.

An important factor here is the high percentage of urbanizing Natal households (nearly one fifth of the present sample: see 2.3 above) which originate in peri-urban areas. While this outer urban fringe region of KwaZulu is generally classed as rural and remains under rural forms of organization, interchange between these areas and the cities is continual and urban experience is becoming general.

At the same time the population of the DFR's informal areas remains largely rural born and tends to comparatively low levels of education, determining substantially less rural from urban separation than would obtain between the townships and the rural hinterland. The disorientation of urban entry is likely to be declining for rural born individuals (see Case 10, Appendix 3).

Such changes bear closely on where the difficulties of urbanisation are located. In addition to the need for institutions to ease the urban transition, there is a need for institutions to ease the process of movement into town and also the process of intra-urban movement. The second hypothesis stated in section 3.3. above refers to the role of the AICs in these respects. Considerable difficulties clearly remain both with the urban transition and with the intra-urban process, as youth respondents' accounts indicate:

> 'As somebody coming from a rural area, I had some problems of adjustment. Although Folweni is basically semi-rural, most of the residents are urbanized and consequently have their own outlook on life, which may at times be completely different from a rural outlook. However, because of my involvement with youth activities in the area I soon managed to adapt to this setting, although it was a most tempestuous time politically...'

> 'I was accustomed to urban life since I had spent about three years living with my mother, who was a domestic worker in Durban North. But my own household has gone through much social harassment since we could not afford our own permanent accommodation. We were forced to become lodgers, which destabilized us psychologically. Consequently we could not establish a proper family.'

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Under contemporary conditions in the informal settlements, the constant residential moves forced by violence have become perhaps as difficult as the initial urban transition. Such emergency moves have to be made without preparation, often involving the loss of personal possessions as well as whatever housing stock the family had been able to build up. In addition, refugee moves require the family to find a new area under distress conditions without having saved up to pay for the move.

> 'After the flaring up of violence at Richmond in 1989, our house was petrol bombed and burnt because the Inkatha followers felt that all young people were ANC comrades. We moved into Umgababa where we had bought a plot. But towards the end of 1990 the area where we had bought was overtaken by political conflict with widespread violence and we had to flee again... [The family moved on several more times.] All this time, the family was moving together. We eventually landed in Sophiatown, an informal settlement within Umlazi. These events had a most devastating effect on our lives both psychologically and educationally. The children felt homeless and their schooling was terribly affected... They had to travel to KwaMashu since it would have further disrupted their schooling had they transferred. The constant moves and the travelling sapped our family's finances.'

Respondents' stories draw attention to the overriding role played by violence in structuring the context of contemporary urbanisation for the disadvantaged. Perhaps as much as the initial urban transition, the prevalence of violence, the financial strain, the incidental obstacles encountered and the perceived weak standing of in-migrant households appear to determine the need for assistance in relation to the urbanisation process. At the same time, results appear to support the hypothesis that the constituency most effectively assisted by the independent churches is that of the dominant rural born element in the informal settlements of the DFR.

# CHAPTER FIVE: CHURCH ASSISTANCE IN URBANISATION AND SETTLEMENT

'When we found the plot at Umgababa, the owner of the land was a Zionist minister... The Zionists would offer prophecies regarding our problems, noting in particular that one of our relatives was actually responsible for our residential troubles. He had planned the witchcraft in such a manner that wherever we settled there would always be problems of instability, which would eventually lead us to a divorce... As soon as we got to know each other the church members became very sympathetic, especially because we had lost almost everything in the violence. The members of the church always provided spiritual comfort, and before we completed our house the church members offered us temporary accommodation. During the house building stage, church members would come and help in the building... The very fact that the Zionists took us under their wing made us feel at home.'
                    - Marian M, youth church member

'Around 1991 there was a very fierce struggle for political control in KwaMashu. Every young man had to enlist as a comrade to fight, and I had to leave my elderly parents behind. Very often the guys would be called to attend evening camps where we would be taught survival techniques. When my predicament became known to the church, the church members decided to offer me an alternative accommodation free of such instability. A member offered me his outbuilding until I could secure my own accommodation. In the meantime, other church members were trying their best to find me a plot. Eventually one was found in P Section.'
                    - Aaron C, church secretary

## 5.1 FORMS OF ASSISTANCE PROVIDED BY THE INDEPENDENT CHURCHES

For households migrating within the urban area, independent church assistance goes beyond assistance in moving house. Especially in cases where migrating families have no pipeline or kinship connection to help them settle in, church membership will often be the first opportunity for them to situate themselves in a new social netting which will cover them against future poverty reverses.

In addition, the churches have a specific and unique function in dealing with the perceptions of risk and danger which accompany moving between areas in the context of informal urbanization: assistance in this category falls into the second hypothesis. As will be shown below (section 6.2), the contribution of the churches in allowing disadvantaged youth to continue functioning under conditions of severe stress brought about by their exposed situation is fundamental to the role of the churches in urbanization.

### 5.1.1 Urbanization-related problems identified by respondents

The difficulties associated with the process of urbanisation have been approached in several ways for the present study. Tables 24 and 25 present the replies given by youth and adult respondents to the closed questions, 'When you first arrived in town, how was your perception of well-being?' and 'When you first came to your present area of residence, how was your perception of well-being?' For both questions, respondents were asked to explain any problems noted. In addition, evident urbanisation problems appearing in detailed responses to a number of open-ended questions have been examined qualitatively. The array of problems indicated by the qualitative procedure is more extensive and nuanced than that yielded by the direct questions.

In relation to the rural-to-urban transition, Table 24 suggests significant differences between adult and youth respondents in their perception of well-being on arrival in town. Only a minority of adults noted no disturbance in their personal atmosphere, while most younger respondents reported feeling generally all right.

Male adult respondents (aged 35 or over) most often referred to perceptions of hostility from others, and then to difficulty in adapting, followed by feeling unsafe and by fear of violence specifically, and by threat from invisible powers. Women adult respondents most often noted difficulty in adapting, followed by perceived hostility and fear of violence and less often by inadequate accommodation and infrastructure, feeling unsafe, fear of crime, and threat from the invisible world.

For youth respondents, a different pattern emerged. The majority of respondents in both cases put forward no serious perceived problems related to their urban transition. The response here may be related to the general optimism of young urban residents noted by Møller (1991). However, male urbanising youth referred most often to problems of adaptation, followed by perceived hostility. Fear of violence and of invisible powers followed, at approximately the same level, with fear of crime and financial difficulties also receiving mention. Young urbanising women felt the least overall disturbance, but referred most often to danger from the invisible world, and then to fear of violence.

These specific problems - difficulty in adapting, perceptions of interpersonal hostility and threat from invisible forces - define the list spontaneously mentioned by respondents in relation to initial urban entry. Other difficulties mentioned are confined to the minor placings.

In relation to arriving in the present area of residence, Table 25 indicates that political violence was the most widely shared concern affecting well-being, followed by difficulties with accommodation and financial problems. However, threat by invisible powers received significant mention from adult women in particular, ranking second after fear of violence in a pattern showing relatively high concern. In contrast, female youth noted few problems with well-being other than concern with violence. Male youth reported greater concern, focussing on accommodation, and male adults a little more anxiety, involving violence, accommodation, and financial problems.

In view of the acute overall reluctance of respondents in general to discuss attacks by invisible powers, it is striking that this form of danger ranks for all categories in initial entry. It is likely that the true level of discomfiture associated with hostile spiritual powers is several times higher than what the direct question reflects. Since such problems are a particular sphere of the independent churches, this finding in itself lends support to the hypothesis concerning the role of independent churches as institutions of reception. However, the other difficulties cited also refer to reality stresses with which the independent churches are able to assist.

### 5.1.2. Spiritual attack as an index of urbanisation anxiety

Consideration of the more detailed accounts suggests that violence, perceived interpersonal hostility and spiritual attack may be more salient than the tabulated responses alone would indicate. The important underlying consideration here appears to be the perceived and real risks of contention over scarce resources as the household arrives in a new area in a weak social and institutional position. A 27 year old man who had recently moved into one of the informal settlements surrounding Umlazi from a peri-urban district north of Durban, put his reactions this way:

> 'Town life had its own ups and downs, with violence always rearing its ugly head - but this is to be found everywhere, even in rural areas. Town life, however, at first seemed more decadent and promiscuous, and this was a bit scary to a person not used to it. On moving to Mgaga there was first a problem of unemployment which made life dull and not worth living. Some of the people were hostile, but with the passing of time I got to understand them. Secondly, an informal settlement is not a good place to live in with its bad social conditions. However, people look more organized and approachable in times of need. There were also some problems of witchcraft at work, where the older people felt threatened by the presence of a young educated man who seemed bent on taking away their jobs. These ... threats were accompanied by the practice of witchcraft. However, the church always provided security.'

In addition, a number of cases of contention and witchcraft over access to scarce residential sites were reported, of which the following accounts are examples:

'Since arriving in this area we experienced a lot of difficulties caused by witchcraft. It appears that there were many other people who were after this plot. One family had actually eyed it for their married son but had hesitated to build on it since it would have been illegal. The moment we built there, people started bewitching us and some other people would actually pass threatening remarks. Eventually, we approached a church nearby, and the prophet there told us the whole household was engulfed in darkness and consequently whoever looked at us suddenly felt this urge to do something bad to us. This darkness was created by a jealous relative. Therefore we were put through the *ukulahlwa* process, which involves the use of a black fowl to remove this spiritual darkness, and the house was also reinforced against further attacks. Indeed, these jealousies and threats suddenly died down and our archenemies started talking to us.'

This link between contested resources, perceived hostility, witchcraft and consciousness of physical threat is clear in the experience of this young family:

'Friends were responsible for our move to this area, but the church members did us a great service since it appeared that other people were also in line to get the plot which the old man [former landlord] had bequeathed to us. When the plot came to us, there were very strong suspicions that these rivals might resort to witchcraft or even physical attacks - consequently prayers were said to fight against this threat, and we survived.'

Women respondents also noted various implicit conflict situations being manifested through similar attacks. A significant number of respondents reported witchcraft and other spiritual attacks linked to contexts of urbanisation and migration, such as establishing a new informal business in the area after arriving.

Since the work of Marwick (1970) it is an axiom of anthropological theory that witchcraft serves as a social strain gauge, with reported incidents clustering around points of stress and conflict. In this sense witchcraft acts as a marker for

perceived interpersonal hostility, and may be linked to perceptions of danger from interpersonal as opposed to social or political violence.

It would appear from the accounts obtained that the actual transition to an urban informal settlement, relatively difficult for adults, is in itself not necessarily perceived as very stressful by youth respondents. At the same time, the clustering of witchcraft and related incidents around institutions and events related to urbanisation and urban moves suggest strongly that considerable anxiety is involved in the separate concerns of major urban moves.

Urban informal neighbourhoods are much more open to new people than rural ones, but the social act of entering a new area is still a daunting one. In addition, much of the anxiety of any urban move appears to attach to the need to maintain income from primary household support activities, including wage work and informal businesses. Respondents' repeated mention of witchcraft in these contexts suggests that stress does attach to urban moves, but for youth may more often relate to the process of entering a new area while sustaining household support than to the urban transition itself. While physical safety also figures importantly, anxiety occurs when the family, in a weak position as strangers or outsiders without local support, enters new social contexts and becomes involved in contention over scarce resources which carry the risk of interpersonal confrontation with prior residents. These risks become more ominous in relation to the role played by struggles over contested resources in sparking off local violence in the informal settlements (cf Zingel 1991).

## 5.2. CONCEPTUALISING PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH SETTLEMENT

This analysis suggests that the act of entering an urban neighborhood is subject to social and economic anxieties for young people which approach the perceptual disturbance associated with the rural to urban transition. These anxieties are likely to be mediated depending on whether household members were urban born or not, whether the move was prepared and whether household members felt the move was within their resources.

Overall, problems with urban moves emerging from respondents' detailed accounts

can be categorized into reality stresses and the perceptual stresses that derive from them. On the side of immediate problems encountered, the following can be abstracted from respondent discussions:

- difficulty in locating communities or sites to settle

- covering the actual costs of moving

- becoming socially and otherwise accepted in new areas

- dealing with actual jealousy and hostility

- finding and keeping work (or more broadly maintaining an adequate level of household income)

- coping with local authority structures

- avoiding unwelcome political entanglements.

On the perceptual side are included:

- coming to cognitive terms with the youth-dominated present structure of urban informal society

- dealing with the perceptual aspects of competition for scarce resources

- coping in particular with hostility expressed through the invisible world.

### 5.2.1. Assistance through the AICs

Against this background, help provided to urbanising households by the independent churches includes a wide range of provisions. The actual types of

assistance which have been identified by respondents can be categorised as follows:

1   *Help in making the transition between areas*

Churches have located possible areas for congregants wanting to move; have supplied local households to act as sponsors and assist in obtaining plots; have arranged land or sites directly; have identified houses which congregants could buy or rent in the new area; have arranged transport; have taken up collections and offered money to defray the expenses of moving.

2   *Help in setting up house in the new area*

Churches have helped newly arrived members to build; have provided building materials, house furnishings and kitchen requirements; have provided food to new arrivals; have provided members' labour to help with building; have provided accommodation over the transitional period.

3   *Help in social integration into the new area*

Churches have provided information and social direction; have offered immediate social networks and friends; have absorbed new arrivals into church-centered settlement clusters; have introduced new arrivals to local authority structures; have sponsored new arrivals by attesting to their good character and respectable standing.

4   *Help with economic problems at and during the transition*

Churches have provided direct financial help with the expenses of moving house and have offered accommodation, food, clothing, furniture and kitchen furnishings (see 1 and 2 above); frequently carry out job searches for members suffering sudden job loss.

5    *Help with violence*

Churches have provided sanctuary shelter to families at risk in times of violence; through prophecy, have warned youth members of immediate risk of violence or of being targeted for assassination; have provided spiritual means of protection to threatened youth members and to local comrades in general; have taken up collections and started burial societies to defray the expense of funerals for families bereaved specifically by political violence.

6    *Help with maintaining confidence against the stress of transition*

Churches have provided new arrivals with advice and with prayer and healing; have given spiritual defenses against perceived personal enmities and against assaults on members' formal employment and individual business undertakings; have provided new arrivals with the consciousness of reliable group support available in times of need.

It can be seen here that the forms of church assistance provided reach across the entire spectrum of problems identified in relation to urbanisation and urban mobility. Assistance in these areas is not unique to the independent churches, being also obtained from the personal connections of individuals and households, not to mention from other church denominations. However, it is suggested here that the independent churches may be the most generally available institution which provides support to the urbanisation process on this level.

In this light, church assistance to youth in urbanisation will be considered under three main headings: that of tangible help given at and around the period of the actual move (section 5.3) ; of backup support and insurance against risk provided over a longer period (section 6.1); and of spiritual and emotional reinforcement in relation to the reality stresses associated with work and unemployment, violence, and the threateningly impersonal nature of the urban environment (section 6.2).

## 5.3. TANGIBLE CHURCH HELP WITH IMMEDIATE NEEDS

While it is clear that the independent churches sometimes offer substantial help in relation to urbanization, it remains to be determined what levels of help have been provided, how far it impacts on the demands of urbanization, and - most centrally - how such help is distributed across the body of church membership with respect to youth. While it is not possible to derive firm answers from the present small quota sample, some information can be furnished against these questions.

### 5.3.1. The independent churches as institutions providing help

Issues of levels and distribution of help are refracted through church principles, the institutional character of the churches and also their self-perceived interests. Help provided to urbanising families stems on the one hand from the independent churches' powerful commitment to universal brotherhood in the family of man, to mutual support along quasi-rural lines and to the Christian duty to help those in need. On the other hand, commitment to help derives also from the churches' stake as institutions in their own continuation and survival.

### 5.3.2. Levels of assistance

It is difficult with available resources to put a value on the precise levels of concrete assistance being supplied through the churches. Most of the actual assistance on offer - categories 3, 5, 6 and much of 1 and 2 - can be classed as social intervention in sponsorship and networking, as backup risk insurance or as stress mediation. These categories are not susceptible to being valued without very detailed inquiries beyond the scope of this study, and will be dealt with separately.

However, the independent churches also supply significant levels of concrete help, most of which can in principle be assigned a value. Given the qualitative nature of the data available from the present study, such a valuation exercise can only be undertaken in a very approximate and impressionistic manner, and must be treated with caution.

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Concrete assistance in urban moves includes collections of money; permanent or temporary accommodation or building sites; transport; building materials and/or labour to help in building; food; and household items such as clothing, blankets, furniture or kitchen furniture. While AICs have been observed to provide actual jobs or houses to newly arriving members, such cases are unusual.

Replies to the question as to whether the household has received help from the church in moving indicates a minimum base level of 23 percent of households reporting direct, measurable assistance, as opposed to backup networking, local sponsorship or stress reduction (cf Table 32). Reference to the qualitative questions suggests that perhaps 3-8 percent of this total may represent services (site or housing location for people moving) rather than physical assistance. If so, this would leave perhaps 15-20 percent of mobile church membership receiving some substantial physical help from or through their church as an institution, rather than separately from individual members as friends or neighbors.

Previous RUSU research in the informal settlements of the DFR suggests that the vast majority of the informally housed population has moved at least once (Cross *et al* 1992b, 1993a,b). Since it appears that membership in the AICs is concentrated in the informally housed population - probably representing at least 40 percent and more probably half or more - then at a very rough approximation perhaps somewhere between 1 in 20 and 1 in 8 of all informal residents in the DFR may have been obtaining such direct physical help from their AICs when they move. There are indications that the relative frequency of such assistance may have increased sharply in the 90s as levels of violence have risen (see 5.3.2 below).

Estimating actual values for such assistance is still more approximate. However, the types of assistance reported may be valued at between R 30 and R 3000, depending on what assistance is rendered and how many forms of assistance a single household receives. Perhaps the majority would appear to amount to some R 100-300.

Work with the supplementary quota sample of interviews dealing with the cost of moves suggests that, at least in the few areas sampled, the estimated total cost varies significantly, from some R 400-500 to more than R 3000. Total cost appears to depend not only on the quality of the informal structure being built or bought, but also very significantly with the presence of labour costs; that is, it depends on whether the householders employ paid builders or erect their structure themselves, using household labor for the most part. Transport costs, while important, appeared to vary less in the cases reporting, representing some 5-20 percent of total costs depending on the cost of the house. Inexpensive owner-built structures may cost R 400-800 in reported cases, while custom-built informal housing runs to considerably more. However, it is likely that costs estimated by the household may miss out some items, causing an undervaluation of the total cost of the move.

The relative contribution of AIC assistance to this total is difficult to determine. However, if church assistance in reporting cases approximates R 100-300 of what would otherwise be necessary expenditure, then for independent church members in the poorest categories dependent on owner-built housing such a contribution would be very substantial. At the same time, figures quoted in section 1.3.2 above indicate that the majority of AIC members are poor in relation to the total informally housed population, and very poor in relation to the townships. It then appears likely that for low-income members of AICs who are reliant on lowest-cost owner-built housing, the help given by their churches may be very real.

Where the total cost of an informal move is under R 500, even a contribution costing out at less than R 50 may be of significant use. This is particularly true when the move is precipitated under emergency conditions, by violence. At the same time, for the better off church members who are able to put up relatively comfortable custom-built structures from their own resources, the greatest contribution offered by the churches may be in other services and interventions, in sponsorship, in offsetting risk, and in stress mediation. It remains to determine how the direct assistance is distributed in relation to AIC youth membership.

### 5.3.3. Distribution of assistance

In order to accomplish their goals, in mutual support, in Christian ethics and in church survival, the independent churches need to fulfill a duty in delivering assistance to members in need, but also need to recruit new members and hold the allegiance of existing members. Results suggest that in doing this, the churches may tend to prioritize their assistance in hierarchical terms.

As noted in Chapter 2, the AICs tend to be strongly hierarchical structures conceptually rooted in the rural extended family. Final authority is placed with the senior male members, who have responsibility for deciding church policy. This hierarchical structure based on seniority appears to relate directly to the distribution of urbanization-related assistance.

Extending downward from the church head, the hierarchical structure of authority internal to the church includes first the older male and female office-holders (see Chapter 2). Virtually all of these central members are mature adults. However, such young office-holders as church youth leaders, youth organizers, youth program developers and church secretaries - who are often youth members - are very important to the operation of the church as a whole. They may be defined as central church members although they frequently report that they are formally excluded from decision-making outside the sphere of church youth affairs.

Located outside the church core of leader and office-holders is the body of the church congregation. This larger membership can also be defined in terms of church commitment and structural centrality. Perhaps closest to the core leadership are the church group members who make up the various intra-church voluntary associations, including the church council, prayer groups, mothers' unions and the youth groups. Outside this sphere are the general membership, defined as people who report that they attend church on a regular basis. On the boundaries of the church can be counted persons who attend irregularly but identify themselves as members (peripheral members). For the present quota sample, the frequency of these categories of membership is given in Table 26.

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### 5.3.4. Recruitment dynamics and scale of church structures

In relation to the outside associations of the individual congregations, there is considerable variation in the extent to which local congregations are autonomous as constituted churches in themselves, or belong within the organisation of a larger, over-arching church structure. As popular institutions, the independent churches rely on an expanding membership. Organized for the most part into small localized congregations of some 20-50 members and based on face-to-face relations, the AICs are characteristically prone to fission in the sense of splitting and re-forming their local groups. New members are continually sought through a process of evangelisation, offering both social and spiritual support. However, the overall expansion of the churches takes place through this process of building new congregations.

While members' statements characteristically lay stress on the value of cooperation among separate church congregations of the same general doctrinal persuasion, in practice the impulse to greater cohesion and centrality tends to be more than balanced by the tendency to fissiparity. This process is particularly characteristic of the Zionist and Apostolic churches, but even the relatively monolithic Shembe church has not been immune. The scale at which interconnectivity between congregations has been maintained differs significantly in terms of how far the specific churches have been able to suppress formal fission as their constituent congregations grow, split and separate.

For the present study, independent churches have also been categorized as far as possible on the reported scale of their operation into four groupings. Larger translocational churches contain a number of individual local congregations attached to a central church authority. Medium-sized churches may include four or more local congregations, and small churches some two or three. Single-community churches represent the extremely localized autonomous church bodies without local links outside their own area.

Table 27 presents the distribution of scale of church in the present sample, while Table 28 shows how the different membership categories are distributed between

sizes of church. It is evident that for this quota sample at least, the medium sized and small churches had the highest proportion of central members, while the large translocational churches had relatively the most rank and file members and the least central members. From what is known of the composition and behaviour of the large and small churches, it is *a priori* probable that this apparent trend is genuine. The ratio of urban-born to rural-born church members in each category of church scale varies between 1:3 and 1:7, with small churches having the fewest urban-born members and single-community churches having the most.

Making use of this category analysis, it will appear that respondents from larger translocational churches reported having encountered noticeably fewer urbanization-related problems than members of smaller and more localized churches, both on first coming to town (Table 29) and when arriving in the present area of residence (Table 30). One reason for this difference is likely to be the association of the larger and older churches with the townships, and therefore with informal township infill areas. Accordingly, a higher proportion of the members of the larger churches come from backgrounds with extensive and relatively sophisticated urban experience (see also Table 31). In addition, the environment of the infill areas is in some ways more comfortable and acceptable than that of the large freestanding settlements (see 2.3 above), and it is possible that it cushions urban transition shock for rural people able to move directly to an infill area.

### 5.3.5. Distribution of urbanisation assistance

Against the background of differences in church structure, this distribution of assistance within and between categories of the independent churches begins to emerge. Working in terms of seniority, the churches overall appeared to give most assistance to their most committed and valued members. However, the dynamics of church recruitment and continuation under contemporary conditions in the informal settlements may influence this distribution so that direct assistance includes youth. At the same time, it is important to consider the indirect channeling of urbanization-related assistance as well, much of which may benefit youth.

This section therefore examines in detail the pattern of response to a direct question as to whether the family's church as an institution has helped the household in making an urban move. "Direct help" at issue here includes all forms of substantial aid to households making an urban move, insofar as they are provided by the church collectively, in a more or less official capacity and not by individual members. These include taking up a collection of money, locating or arranging a plot or a house for the family, contributing building supplies or labor, providing temporary shelter or significant quantities of food, or of home furnishings, or carrying out job searches for workers subject to sudden job loss around the time of their move.

In this context, church direct help to adult members may be more common overall than church help to youth members (Table 32). For this sample, male youth respondents received assistance in a ratio of about 1:4, while for adult men the ratio was nearly 1:2. For young women respondents, direct help was reported in a ratio of roughly 1:5, as against 2:1 for adult women respondents. It is important to bear in mind here that the total adult sample is only 31, that adult women are under-represented, and that the adult sample contains a high proportion of committed as opposed to peripheral church members. In these respects the quota sample reproduces but also exaggerates actual population characteristics indicated in the 1992 RUSU/NERMIC survey. At the same time, the concentration of aid in adult women members is striking, and clearly carries further implications.

At the same time, the small and the very small, localized churches appear to provide significantly more help overall than do the larger, translocal churches (Table 33). This finding came as a surprise, since the researchers had assumed that the large churches with numerous local branches would be better able to supply help to members moving from one area to another. Larger churches helped members in a ratio of about 1:7, while small churches with few local congregations managed a ratio slightly better than 1:2 overall. On the other hand, the very small and entirely local congregations appear to have provided help in a ratio of about 1:4, which may suggest that very isolated congregations have less opportunity to assist members.

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Some light on the difference across church scale may come out in Table 34, which appears to confirm that the independent churches' office-holders, or central members, received most of the direct help offered by the churches, and that this trend was most pronounced in the small, as well as medium, scale churches. Overall, church direct help was most concentrated among central members of small churches, in a ratio of about 4:3. As already noted, office-holders were also the most numerous relative to other members in the small churches.

Likewise, in the small churches, frequency of direct assistance appears to decline in a linear relationship from central to peripheral members. The apparent linearity here suggests an important role for relative commitment to the church in determining who receives help in the small congregations. A similar general relationship seems to appear in the very small churches although the sample here is smaller and the level of help lower. For the larger churches, supplying less help overall, centrality appears to be much less important.

If this analysis is extended to distinguish gender as well (Table 35), it can be seen that male youth who are central office-holders actually received help proportionately more often (1:1) than did central male adults (2:3). However, male youth who did not hold church office rarely received help, while help to other adult male members was fairly common, and included peripheral members.

For female youth, centrality appeared to make little consistent difference across the total sample, with central members only a little more likely to receive help (1:3) than peripheral members (1:4). For this sample, rank and file female youth - church group members and regular attenders - least often obtained help in moving (1;6, 1:8). However, for the small number of adult women respondents in the sample, the provision of church help in moving was relatively intense: all four central members received help, as did two out of five rank and file members. Although the total number of cases in the quota sample is too small to support any generalization, the concentration of church help in the older women in this sample is still striking.

If scale of church is then included, all trends appear together (see Table 36). Larger churches seem most likely to assist female youth respondents across the board (six young women), but gave comparatively little assistance to either male youth or adult members (one young man, one adult woman and no adult men). Small churches tended to assist central female youth (3:4), though less often than central male youth (3:2), and less often than they assisted central adult members. For medium-scale and very small churches, which account for a relatively low proportion of the assistance represented, the distribution is now stretched too thin to be interpreted.

Turning to the factors involved with migration, Table 37 shows the distribution of direct church help for respondents of rural and urban origin. The larger churches provided assistance to proportionately more households of urban origin (2:5) than to rural households (1:10). The trend was different for the medium-scale, small and very small, localized churches, though for the medium and very small churches the number of urban-origin respondents interviewed is probably too small to offer comparison.

For the small churches, the opposite held true: assistance tended to flow to rural-origin people. The ratio of rural origin respondents receiving and not receiving help in small churches was about 3:5, while for the urban origin respondents it was 1:3.

If the type of area where the household originated is considered instead of the rural/urban dimension (Table 31), a possible orientation of the larger independent churches becomes more apparent. For the present sample, help appears to concentrate in the urban born as well as in female youth.

Respondents originating in urban formal townships received help at a ratio of about 1:2, while persons originally from the freestanding urban informal settlements received it less often, at 1:4. Roughly the same ratio obtained for rural KwaZulu tribal districts and for black freehold land, but respondents from peri-urban tribal districts appeared to do slightly better, at about 2:5. A possible explanation would be a tendency towards assisting young married women

belonging to families of urban church insiders, who may be better placed to approach the church hierarchy.

For the small churches, the dynamic appeared to be different. Rural respondents from tribal areas continued to receive help more often, at 2:3. Urban-origin respondents obtained assistance less often, in a ratio of 1:5.

## 5.4. DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCH HELP IN URBAN MOVES

Overall, several trends appear in the tables which may warrant further research. For the sample as a whole, there is a trend to urbanization assistance for adult central members, and especially adult women. However, below this level the provision of independent church aid to young women and young men, and to persons of rural and urban origin, seems to vary in relation to the scale and size of the church.

For the larger, translocational churches, direct help in urban moves was given to a minority of female youth members, on a ratio of roughly 1:5. Help seemed to carry some preference for urban origin, but little apparent concern for recipient's personal status in the church. It was given to few others, and central members had little obvious advantage over others.

Reasons for this pattern are not entirely clear, but may relate to the scale and physical location of the larger independent churches. The larger churches are associated with the townships and relatively free from violence. They tend to multi-stage hierarchies and are less contained in face-to-face relations than the smaller congregations. It is at least possible that they are less obliged to consider church survival when offering help, and take a more disinterested, universalist approach. However, a further analysis, including the relations of the young women to the church hierarchy, might show a link through kinship or other ties. In addition, demand for assistance from other categories of member may be relatively low, since the townships and infill areas seem to be subject to less urban shock in transition than the larger informal areas.

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The smaller churches, which operate particularly in the freestanding informal settlements, seem to concentrate assistance on their more central members, as well as on church members of rural origin. In particular, they seem to help central male youth and adult women, and rural born people more than urban persons. Intensive assistance to adult women may reflect a role for the churches as surrogate families and social sponsors for women members. Rural born congregants may maintain a more intense commitment to the church and to church discipline: they may also express more need for help. But for male youth, it appears probable that the apparent emphasis on helping young male office-holders is related to the far-reaching effects of urban violence on the churches.

## 5.4.1. Violence and youth empowerment

The recent warfare over control of the informal settlements has put great pressure on church youth in relation to their church commitment, as well as in their growing tendency to question church discipline which restricts the scope of youth members to influence decision-making. The freestanding informal settlements where the smaller churches predominate were at the center of the recent wave of political violence and are still far from safe. One young man aged 20 commented,

> 'The devastating violence has created a "war psychosis" and consequently most youth members have lost confidence in church life.'

A woman of 28 agreed on the strain created between the youth and the church by conflict:

> 'The church being in the midst of violence has suffered through the loss of its youth members - some had to throw in their lot with the comrades, and others had to flee the area. Belonging to a violence-ravaged area, the youth members became politicised, but those who still remain within the church are still subjecting themselves to church authority.'

These developments represent a serious risk for the small independent church congregations. The independent churches clearly identify the youth as their future, and, more specifically in the case of male youth, as the future leaders of the

church. The point is often put forward by both male church leaders, central women members, and the youth themselves, who use it deliberately as an argument to support the proposition that they should be freely allowed to put forward their opinions on church affairs. A woman youth leader aged 28 remarked,

> 'As church youth developer, I hold meetings with the church elders on how best to mould the youth of today because obviously they are quite a different lot. There is the problem of politicization, with the youth getting more and more involved in other extra-mural activities. The youth need to be brought back into the fold of Christianity. In my church role I am encouraged to speak to the youth to find out about their needs and aspirations... Where possible the church may be approached for donations to help youth who come to the church with problems. I feel the youth should be encouraged to mingle and share ideas, and even be critical of leadership inefficiency and misbehavior.'

Numerous other respondents, both youth and adult women, have echoed her feelings on exchange of views and freedom to criticize the leadership. A male youth leader of 30 argued that youth should play a meaningful role in the community and meet the challenge of a new South Africa:

> 'I feel the youth are sometimes thwarted by the leadership, which is not very much in favor of progressive thinking... the leadership feels that politics if for politicians and nobody else, and it's worse if politics involves the youth. For me, the church, like politics, is about people.'

In the light of the danger to their institutional·survival, it seems probable that the senior male leadership of the smaller churches may feel no alternative to making concessions to assertive youth in order to hold their allegiance. Concessions to youth are likely to be linked to concessions to women, as church women and church youth appear to maintain a *de facto* alliance (see section 3.4).

Central women members by their own accounts typically take up a strong advocacy position on behalf of youth, on the model of the mediating position of

the mother in the older rural family structure. At the same time, concessions obtained for youth help to create more scope for women in the churches as well, leading to greater empowerment and equality for these formally disadvantaged membership groupings.

Such concessions come with difficulty, since in the present social order of the informal settlements, what authority there is has come generally to rest with the comrades youth movement. This reversal has created by default a youth-directed society, in which older rural-born men see rapidly decreasing space in which to exercise the social authority which the earlier society assigned to them. Such authority positions are seen as the natural reward to a life of work in supporting the household. Their loss dislocates urbanizing adults and represents a process of disempowerment for them in a context which offers older less educated men few if any alternatives.

The earlier RUSU/NERMIC survey of independent churches in development (Cross *et al* 1992 unpublished) identified only a single point on which the attitudes of independent church members conflicted significantly with those of established church members and non-churchgoing persons: this issue was the entry of youth into authority positions. While majorities from the other churches and the general public accepted this trend as normal in urban areas, the AIC respondents as a group continued to reject youth in authority by 53 to 35 percent. The retreat of patriarchy which seems to be occurring in the independent churches is ultimately violence-driven, and is obtained at the cost of considerable pain.

Both the churches' increasing openness to youth voices and the apparent attention given by small churches to assisting the urbanization of their central youth appear to relate to such violence-driven changes. The relatively large churches, rooted in the townships which are less affected by the violence than the informal areas, might feel less pressure here.

Likewise, by comparison to the small churches of the freestanding informal settlements, the larger township-centered churches have a more substantial pool of youth congregants available as future leaders. On grounds of size alone, they

may be likely to feel themselves less at risk of impending collapse in relation to youth defections. It therefore appears *a priori* likely that the greatest pressure exerted by youth-related violence on church organization and structure bears on the relatively conservative small and very small independent churches in the informal settlements.

### 5.4.2. Violence and refugee processes

In addition to their effects on the dynamics of power, it appears that the full process effects of violence on the churches in the informal areas are not simple. On the one hand, it is possible that violence is involved in sowing the independent churches themselves much more widely across the urban field, indirectly increasing the opportunities for the smaller churches to help their members in making urban moves. Depth interviewing indicates clearly that many of the church households which are moving within the urban area out of preference or under refugee conditions are carrying with them, and disseminating, their churches.

In spite of the churches' characteristic fissiparity, church members as individuals appear to show considerable loyalty, stability and commitment to their own church leadership and church networks. In this light it appears that they join new churches after an onwards move less often than might be expected.

While the 1992 RUSU/NERMIC survey showed that 55 percent of independent church members had changed churches at some time in their lives, 70 percent joined the same church they had belonged to at home after arriving in the urban area. In this prior study, changes of church appeared to be most often precipitated by specific problems between the congregant and the church - leadership disputes, lack of reverence toward the ancestors, lack of dynamism and effective healing, and misunderstandings over the use of church revenues - rather than by urban residential moves.

The implication would appear to be that so long as members are satisfied with their churches they avoid membership changes in so far as they are able to do so even when moving between areas. For the present quota sample, Table 38

suggests that for all age/gender categories the majority of respondents joined their present church before their latest residential move, with the greatest stability shown by male youth respondents. Some two thirds of the total sample, eight out of ten male youth and six out of ten female youth retained their church membership through this move to the present area.

Large churches with numerous congregations did not retain members after moves very much better than small churches (Table 39), while by far the most stable institutions in the sample were the very small, highly localized churches. Interviews show that these churches are effective in retaining members in relation to characteristic short moves from township formal housing to the infill areas by former lodgers or township children. In these cases, the original church is still within a few kilometers of the member's new area of residence, and is able to maintain social ties and continue to provide help if any is being given. For similar reasons these churches may provide less assistance overall than the somewhat larger churches: it is very easy for on-migrating members to move out of the reach of these local churches.

In keeping with the trend to maintain church membership into the new area, it appears that committed members use the occasion of a move to spread their own churches. Where no branch of the present church is available in the new community, case material reflects a number of cases where church members arriving in a new area have arranged permission to start their own branch congregation.

This apparent pattern underwrites the importance of independent church membership in urban on-migration. At the same time, it suggests that violence itself, in increasing the total number of urban moves, may be promoting the expansion and dissemination of the independent churches. In this respect, violence may be stimulating a partial response from civil society to the dislocations of the refugee process and of on-migration.

### 5.4.3. Refugee effects

At the same time, the most direct way in which violence appears to influence the independent churches in aiding urban mobility is in help rendered to refugees. Table 40 strongly suggests that all sizes of church are more likely to assist members who have been forced to flee their previous areas of residence by violence than members moving for other reasons. For large churches, the ratio of assistance increases from 1:8 for other moves to 1:3 for refugees. For small churches, the shift is from 1:3 to 1:1 for refugees. It would appear that a crisis context has a significant effect in the independent churches as in many others, and that the churches feel the greatest need to assist where the dislocation of the move is greatest. The importance of the AICs in rendered assistance on the ground and at point of need to the victims of violence is very clear in this context. It is unlikely that any outside agency can match the accessibility of the African churches - both independent and mainline - in helping victims of urban violence to pick up the pieces.

However, as Table 40 suggests, violence-related moves are most frequent for members of medium and small churches, and less common by a noticeable margin among the larger churches with their township connections. The same would apply with greater force to the older established churches. The effect of greater violence on church charity and assistance therefore appears to be greatest in the smaller independent churches.

### 5.5. SUMMARY: A GENERAL MODEL OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCH ASSISTANCE

The independent churches in the informal settlements have enjoyed their phenomenal expansion due to successful recruitment of new members into a structure of constantly differentiating local congregations. Given the tension between the value of increasing church membership and the tendency to fission, the AICs maintain their adherence to the importance of continual expansion by the constant recruitment of new people. This process is carried out by evangelisation, through offering social and spiritual support. At the same time, the AICs

consciously attempt to maintain the adherence of existing members. Youth are particularly important in this context, since if older members hold authority, the youth members are consciously recognized as the future of the church. To a considerable extent the assistance offered to youth members in relation to urban residential mobility may reflect the perceived stake of the existing churches in continuity against the dissolving force of urban conflict and violence.

Assembling the available information from the limited present sample, it is possible to suggest how direct church assistance - tangible and immediate help with urbanization - may be distributed across urban church youth by gender and age. Results from the quota sample suggest that access to direct help in urban moves is influenced by, in addition to age and gender, locality, church status, church scale, household status and refugee status.

The overall percent of adult respondents in the present sample receiving help in urban moves is 67 for women and 63 for men. It is likely that this figure is well above the population value since the present sample adults are disproportionately central to their churches. A true value might be 50 percent or less of adult independent church members.

Dependent youth in an on-migrating household headed by an adult will be indirectly helped by assistance provided in the name of the adult in charge. Consequently, the frequency curve described by church urban mobility assistance over a lifetime parameter would appear to be a saddle curve if all sizes of independent church are taken together (see Figure 1).
On the left vertical axis, most children and youth under the care of an older independent church member will be positioned to receive help through the parent, at an unknown level represented here by a 50 percent parameter. As youth begin to leave the parental household to marry or work the curve would decline steeply to the 20 percent parameter provided by the sample as an average for youth aged 16-35.

With most of the youth population married and entering the mature adult level of entree to church affairs, the curve would rise again through the average adult

FIGURE 1.

SCHEMATIC MODEL: HYPOTHETICAL DISTRIBUTION OF AIC ASSISTANCE TO URBANIZING YOUTH

ASSUMED PERCENT RECEIVING DIRECT HELP FROM AICs

AGES OF DFR INFORMAL RESIDENTS RECEIVING AIC ASSISTANCE

DEPENDENT YOUTH

INDEPENDENT SINGLES

YOUNG FAMILIES

ESTABLISHED FAMILIES

MATURE FAMILIES

OLDER FAMILIES

level, peaking perhaps with independent widows who might be best placed to command church assistance. As infirm elderly persons wind up their households and hand over headship to more vigorous relatives the curve for assistance to the household might then drop somewhat at the far right of the diagram.

Similar curves could be derived for young men and young women, and for larger and smaller churches. A high level of urban violence leading to sustained refugee movements would have the effect of raising the level of the entire curve for the duration of the underlying conflict, and would also flatten the distribution by directing more assistance to youth.

Results suggest that the assistance curve for the freestanding informal settlements, with their smaller churches and higher proportion of rural born church members, would probably be located substantially higher than that for township infill areas, and much higher than one for the formal township residents.

At the same time, the level and shape of the curve for church urbanization assistance may differ with gender of household head. While the number of available cases is very small and not representative, the apparent concentration of assistance in older women household heads suggests that female headed household may be able to take regular advantage of church support when they move.

As such households among independent church members seem to be poorer than average and appear in previous research as a vulnerable category in relation to urban mobility (see 1.3.3) it is possible that women heads of household both need and use church support more than do male heads, both for sponsorship in new areas and for direct help in making the move successfully. Case studies suggest that the churches tend to see women household heads as vulnerable and in need of help in the Christian idiom, sometimes providing them with extensive assistance.

It would follow that dependent youth who belong to the households of widows, divorced and abandoned wives may receive the highest levels of urbanization-

related church assistance of any youth category. Youth living on their own, and young married couples, may be helped less often unless they become involved with violence. In such cases it would seem that the independent churches' commitment to mutual support and Christian ethics may be instrumental in putting significant assistance where it is most needed.

Figures are lacking to estimate the actual levels of assistance separately attached to these categories of youth. However, it would appear that if independent church members can be very roughly assumed to represent 40 percent or more of the urban African population and some 20 percent or more of church youth overall have received direct assistance in their own right, whether as tangible help or in specific services, then a figure for black youth in the informal areas receiving such help may lie between 8 and 25 percent, depending on the character of the area, the size of the local churches, the percentage of female headed households and the levels of violence. Counting in aid to parents which helps dependent youth, the overall percent is likely to be higher; and if indirect help in the form of networks, provision against risk, and stress management is added in as well the final figure for independent church help to urbanizing youth may rise toward 50 percent.

Any such thumbnail estimate would also be affected by time and violence. In so far as urban violence levels have climbed over the last 10-15 years and still remain high and direct assistance is sensitive to violence, this estimated average level can probably be taken to have risen in the last three years to well above 10 percent. To the extent that this model bears any relation to real events, it may be that the levels of assistance to urbanizing households given by the African independent churches far surpass what is given by any other urban body.

# CHAPTER SIX: INDIRECT CHURCH ASSISTANCE IN URBANISATION

'In some cases, I found that some of our youth come to the church for spiritual protection against political violence, that is, to be reinforced (*ukuqiniswa*). Some of them come to church because their homes are breaking up and poverty is unchecked, and by being in church such problems would be resolved through the power of God. There are various other problems. We then try to counsel them and to hold prayers with them. When it seems right, the church may give such needy youth a donation of money.'
- Aurelia D, church youth leader

'Invisible powers permeate the African society and take the form of witchcraft. In fact, witchcraft is a sort of culture on its own, and consequently one has learnt to develop defense mechanisms against it, such as spiritual healing.'
- Miriam Z, church youth member

'The success of any Zionist church rests squarely on the Zionist churches' ability to heal.'
- Absolom Q, senior prophet and assistant to the bishop.

The urban world is perhaps more than anything else a dangerous place. People moving through the urban environment face urban violence, various unpredictable forms of competition for limited resources, and perceived spiritual risk. From the standpoint of the urbanizing individual or household, their dilemma is often one of helplessness in relation to unforeseen contingencies, compounded by incomprehension concerning social and institutional practices in the new arena.

For a low-income household the problem is often interpreted as one of lacking the necessary contacts to access assistance for problems beyond the resources of the household members. In either the urban or the rural situation, the strategy most often adopted is one of intensive networking. Disadvantaged households invest heavily in mutual obligations which can be called in almost as currency in time of need. Church assistance in the area of networking appears to be very central to the strategies of many member households. Such network connections, together with the concrete help that members can obtain from other members through

them, constitute one major sector of indirect assistance rendered by the AICs. The present study offers some evidence to suggest that the independent churches may be the single form of network most often available to and widely utilized by their disadvantaged constituency.

## 6.1. INDEPENDENT CHURCH NETWORKS IN RESIDENTIAL MOVES

The mesh of relationship and obligation established by and through the independent church therefore has significance which goes far beyond the immediate needs of urban residential movement. Networks are a form of insurance which the disadvantaged African population tries to maintain at all times in order to have fallback arrangements at need.

At the same time, networks are of vital importance to households in the moment of moving. Households contemplating a move rely primarily on contacts to obtain information to identify the possible alternative areas for settlement and decide between the possibilities.

Table 41 illustrates the extent to which church members rely on independent church networks in preparing to move. The most used and presumably preferred connections in locating the present area of residence in an unstructured urban context were friends and neighbors, by a small margin over relatives: relatives are not always available, while nearly any urban-dwelling household and most rural ones have usable connections with their non-kin urban contacts. Church contacts ranked third, well below the first two but far above the remainder. Variations in choice by the scale of the church involved were minor.

For respondents of urban or rural origin, use of contacts varied very distinctly (Table 42). Rural born respondents, most concentrated in the freestanding settlements, applied a standard pattern of using friends, neighbors and relatives most, followed by church connections. Urban respondents showed a distinct and different response. They were for the most part linked to townships. Understanding the urban bureaucratic environment more fully, they tended to go to the authorities in the first instance to find new housing. This preference was

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closely followed by recourse to friends, church connections and chance contacts, all at the same frequency. All three ranked ahead of relatives.

Much the same pattern appears if scale of church is added to the analysis (Table 43). For the informal population broadly, church contacts appear in general as the second or third line of approach in locating a new area to settle in.

The supplementary research for the present study confirms that urban families contemplating a major move study the situation carefully ahead of time, and save for the expenses before undertaking the move itself. Many use network connections to collect the necessary resources, in information, supplies, transport, money and introductions, for undertaking their move. Most of the 18 households interviewed indicated that they had been successful in estimating the cost of their most recent move and had covered it successfully. However, urban risks peak at the time of a residential move.

A minority of the households interviewed had encountered serious problems when expenses ran ahead of estimates, when arrangements collapsed or when unforeseen obstacles intervened. For refugee households, which have to undertake emergency moves with little or no notice, the situation can become very serious. Being caught short while involved in a move, or meeting the unforeseen in terms of costs or other reverses, exposes a household to serious shortfalls while it may have no base from which to operate. In these situations, households interviewed appealed to relatives, friends, former neighbours and their churches. Such appeals obtained critical interim support in the form of cash, transport, labour and supplies.

For households establishing themselves in the new area, rebuilding broken network connections is a first priority. When the arriving family is not moving into a new area through a migration pipeline connection and is unable to bring any of their home people or other connections with them, church contacts are frequently the first available line of defense against the unforeseen. This significant role for church membership as a form of networking is likely to peak in the period during and immediately after the move, while the household is rebuilding its contacts around the new area.

### 6.1.2. Church networks after arrival

Independent church members appear to be fully aware of their opportunity to provide shielding against adversity and simultaneously cement in new members. As noted in chapters 4 and 5, many go to considerable trouble as individuals to offer shelter, prayer and spiritual healing, as well as other forms of assistance. As the entering family picks up new connections the relative importance of the church congregation may decline.

For other households, the church remains the primary network for the indefinite future. Many church central members reported that they had local relatives or home people, but were too busy with church business to have time to visit them. However, in other cases, churches were not successful in bringing in the new family, and remained a relatively subordinate and unimportant element of the household network or were gradually disengaged (see Appendix 3 for cases of both types). The chances for the church to become or remain the main network for the individual or household seem to depend on how dynamic, caring and open the specific congregation's leadership may be, in addition to the actual personal and network connections involved.

Networks used by respondents in their present areas of residence are presented in Tables 44 - 46. Respondents were asked whether they had any persons or contacts to turn to in case of emergency. For men respondents generally, the church was the entity most often mentioned, followed by people from the household's last area and then by current friends and neighbors. Home people, relatives and other contacts ranked much lower, reflecting less contact. Women placed church connections marginally second to people from the last area, and barely ahead of friends and neighbors. Together with case material, responses here may suggest a trend for women to be more conservative and backward-looking in network choices. However, women mentioned relatives at about the same frequency as men, and home people less often.

Dividing the distribution further to show choices for youth and adults by gender reflects similar overall patterns, with little difference between male youth and male

adults (Table 45). Among women, female youth most frequently referred to people in the last area, closely followed by friends and church people. Female adults named church people most often, followed jointly by home people, friends/neighbors and people from the last area. Choices of respondents based on scale of church again showed surprising uniformity (Table 46).

### 6.1.3. Independent church networks in the urbanisation process

Overall, the results suggest that the importance of the independent churches in contributing to personal and household networks which cushion risk in urbanization is probably very significant. In locating the next area for urban on-migration church contacts ranked third overall, and in anchoring members' networks in the new area the churches were almost consistently ranked first, well ahead of relatives and home people who may otherwise be the preferred choices but who are frequently unavailable in the urban informal areas. Churches therefore probably rank as the number one institution which actually give *de facto* assistance to urbanising or urban households as they move into new areas.

Results here confirm the unique role of the independent churches in providing support through small-scale interaction at ground level. Independent church congregations are almost universally available in the informal areas where other institutions are very scarce, and by using their strong value structure and concept of Christian sanctity they are able to bring outsiders into a constructed community very quickly and effectively. The value of networks as indirect assistance in urbanization appears to be as important to youth as it is to adults. Although figures are not available, it appears that the great majority of youth membership of the AICs, as well as some percentage of young non-members residing in households containing church members, make use of church-based networks to provide against the risks of urban life.

### 6.2 CHURCH HELP IN STABILISATION THROUGH STRESS MEDIATION

The AICs also mediate the experience of urbanisation by enabling their members to cope with the stresses of urban life. For this reason, as seen in 3.1 above, and in

Table 23, healing and curing are the most important reasons why people join their present AICs. Similarly, healing and curing are the most important component of the recruitment activity of AICs, along with visits that demonstrate the caring nature of the church network. It is not known at this stage whether or not recruiting groups target new arrivals in the urban area, or whether they target people who are afflicted by various manifestations of stress, whether illness or attack by other forms of spiritual power. But, as the present study bears out, the AICs sell themselves by offering curing and networking services to their potential members (see Appendix 3). In doing so, they appear to serve as the main institution which deals with the extreme stress levels of urbanisation, and of urban life more broadly. Stress mediation can then be seen as the second important aspect of indirect AIC help to youth in relation to urbanisation.

The most acute manifestations of psychological stress in the urban environment center around competition with strangers for scarce resources, such as sites, jobs, and meaningful interpersonal relations. In addition, the threat of victimisation, crime and violence is very pervasive, probably reaching a peak in the freestanding informal settlements.

In the urban environemnt, these conflicts are unmediated by the cross-cutting social connections that would obtain in rural areas. The psychological landscape of the urban environment is very stark and new arrivals in the urban areas are at an acute and unmediated disadvantage by comparison to the established residents, who, since they are already on the scene, normally feel that they have a putative claim to the scarce resources which are available. The situation here is compounded by stranger anxiety (see 4.1.1).

This breeds an hostility towards newcomers which has been noted in other studies of migration in the DFR (Cross *et al* 1992a and b). In addition, newcomers in low-resource areas may perceive a greater degree of hostility than actually exists, particularly in the case of people who are refugees from violence. The emotional crisis which this perceived hostility precipitates can be so acute that people are unable to function (see quote from the present study below). This in turn precipitates further problems: they might lose their jobs, or otherwise retreat from

engagement in society. The widespread fears of spiritual attack noted in Chapter 4 above and in Table 24 are an indication of the severity of these perceptions.

The severity of this constellation of problems depends on the degree to which the person who has newly arrived in town can mobilise access to a wide range of urban resources, including networks of support. The most disadvantaged categories of people in this regard may be women and youth, unless the latter are able to access political networks.

It is in this context that the claim of AICs to be able to counter spiritual attacks must be interpreted. People reporting threat by spiritual powers are frequently confronting various forms of social stress (see Marwick 1965 and 1970, and Ivey 1992). It is an accepted point of anthropological theory that the clustering of witchcraft accusations reveals points of social strain. Attributing such stresses to the actions of malevolent spiritual entities enables the individual to externalise his/her own feelings of helplessness and inadequacy, and to project a sense of perceived threat onto an imperceptible origin.

Churches which offer the promise of countering such attacks are attractive to persons experiencing these forms of stress. Membership of an AIC, as has been demonstrated above, brings with it a number of forms of social support, providing a psychological buffer against stress. Speaking of both the Satanist cult and predominantly white South African pentecostal religions, Ivey notes that they provide

> 'Instant community identity and a sense of communally
> derived self-worth [which] provides relief from
> alienation and loneliness' (Ivey 1992)

To see this process in action, consider the example of a 30 year old man who arrived in town at the age of 16 indicated his feelings as follows:

> 'I never experienced problems with regard to town life.
> While at school I used to do casual gardening jobs for
> some Durban North residents. And when I started
> working properly, there was no problem of orientation

> or adjustment to the environment. The only problems I
> experienced were associated with witchcraft. Being
> young and matriculated, some older workers did not
> appreciate my being promoted to a supervisory
> capacity. Witchcraft was so severe that sometimes I
> would just fall asleep at work, and this was meant to
> create conflict with the management since I would be
> called a lazy worker and consequently lose my job. At
> one stage I developed swollen feet and this was also
> meant to create problems, in the form of inability to
> walk. I consulted various prophets for this problem and
> indeed was helped spiritually.'

In this instance, a person in an advantageous position interprets the symptoms of stress he experiences as a result of the perceived jealousy of work comrades as evidence of witchcraft. The AICs, by mediating the stress, relieve the symptoms, and so are perceived to be successfully combating the malign spiritual powers.

A high proportion of accounts mirror this respondent's experience closely. Another young man remarked,

> 'I had a series of problems related to the procurement
> of employment, and was also dogged by a disease that
> seemed to create problems in walking properly. There
> was incessant pain in my body and legs, but since
> being prayed over by my present church I recovered
> completely. Their prayers also took care of the problem
> of being unemployed.'

Respondents' accounts emphasize the point that such problems are both repetitive and cumulative. In this light, an important aspect of this kind of assistance is the perception that the independent churches provide permanent safety from hostility through their services in relation to prophecy and healing, which are available at need.

In his pathbreaking extended analysis of the role of ritual and spiritual processes in social cognition, the anthropologist Victor Turner (1968, 1969) discusses the cyclical nature of social anxiety processes. As anxiety builds up in the community in relation to cognitive dissonance and real conflict, periodic ritual treatment relieves the stress by spiritual means and returns the perceptual universe to a functioning state. Such ritual can then be seen as necessary to maintain anxiety at

a viable level over time. The periodic spiritual treatments provided to individuals by the AICs appear to fulfill a similar function in regard first to the individual adrift in the hostile urban environment; but also, through the participation of the church membership, to the entire congregation as a spiritual community. In this way the extreme anxiety states described by respondents as 'desperate' or 'irrational' (see histories above) may be dealt with effectively, humanely and with dignity.

The AICs, by providing relief from these symptoms of social stress, offer their members a feeling of safety and protectiveness, which enables them to further deal with the stresses of urbanisation, and to continue functioning in contexts where perceived hostility - either in the new community or at work - might otherwise force a withdrawal or even precipitate desperate attempts at retaliation.

In that the provision of these treatments in a Christian framework is perhaps the special province of the independent churches, and particularly of the majority Zionist denominations, this final service provided to urban society by the AICs extends well beyond the boundaries of the churches themselves. Vast numbers of non-church members suffering stress symptoms and experiencing difficulty in coping with their lives come to the AICs for treatment. In this respect, stress mediation serves as perhaps the main recruiting mechanism for the independent churches and is the major engine of their rapid growth (Table 23). Through the services provided here by the AICs to these impoverished and violence-ridden communities in general, the help made available to youth in and around the urbanization process may well reach over sixty percent of youth in informal settlements.

## CHAPTER SEVEN. CONCLUSIONS: THE INDEPENDENT CHURCHES AGAINST THE URBAN PREDICAMENT

> '...the institutional order ... is continually threatened by the presence of realities that are meaningless in its terms. The legitimation of the institutional order is also faced with the ongoing necessity of keeping chaos at bay. All social reality is precarious. All societies are constructions in the face of chaos. The constant possibility of anomic terror is actualized whenever the legitimations that obscure the precariousness are threatened or collapse...If man in society is a world-constructor, this is made possible by his constitutionally given world-openness, which already implies the conflict between order and chaos.'
> - Berger and Luckmann (1967).

In the context of the informal settlements, urban African youth face the urban predicament in an acute form. Squeezed between physical violence and economic risks, they face an existential struggle to gain control of their lives and obtain a decent standard of living. With few resources in education and limited knowledge of how to deal with the official world, disadvantaged families tend to live as permanent outsiders, excluded from the relatively stable townships and left to provide for themselves under conditions of record unemployment and minimal public provision.

The urbanisation process, manifested in the household's crisis of finding and moving into new areas, is perhaps the most severe aspect of the urban predicament. Social and economic conditions in the informal settlements push continual on-migration. With each new move, the crisis of urbanisation is repeated for the family. The role of violence in driving on-migration is central here. It is not unusual for rural-origin families to make five major moves before they enter middle age. Behind the other factors, the informal settlements' chronic violence obstructs stable settlement.

In this context, 'urbanization' has been defined for the purposes of this report as the entire process of moving into or between urban settlements, broadly taken to

include an extended settling-in phase. In view of the dominating role of the informal settlements in absorbing and sustaining urban migration, emphasis has been placed on the freestanding and township-infill informal areas.

Living in this unstable world, the most effective strategy for the disadvantaged youth of the cities appears to be mobilisation through effective small-scale organization at the grass roots capable of helping build reliable mutual support. The present study tries to substantiate the proposition that the African independent churches are the most generally available and most consistently effective non-political local level institution presently available to urban youth.

In some ways the churches appear an unlikely institution for promoting stable urban settlement. Their long-standing ethic has prohibited involvement with issues of urban power. Under the relentless pressure of the urban violence, the churches now appear to be changing, opening up to more open debates and greater engagement with civic issues. Youth are the essential force in this change. However, the value of the independent churches to disadvantaged urban youth and to the process of urbanization proceeds from their capacity to give both tangible and spiritual support to their congregants.

This report has examined two complementary hypotheses concerning the role of the independent churches in the youth urbanization process in the DFR. On the one hand, it has been argued that the independent churches represent a reception institution for individuals and households moving into the urban environment from the rural districts. On the other, it has recently been proposed that the nature of the churches is essentially social, and that their value is to sustain rural traditions of mutual reliance into the impersonal urban context.

Findings presented here tend to sustain both hypotheses. However, it appears from the results that contemporary rural-origin youth experience less strain on entering the urban environment than has the older generation. The point at which urban youth today require support may well be in relation to the various risks and anxieties involved in continual on-migration through the informal settlements.

## 7.1 ASSISTANCE IN URBANIZATION

Households involved with the urbanization process encounter three general types of obstacle which may call for help from outside the household itself. On the one side are the various reality demands of the move itself, in terms of finding a site and arranging entry, providing transport, obtaining the structure and becoming accepted in the new area. Over and above these immediate demands is the need to maintain viable resources in the event of unforeseen emergencies. Associated with these is the need to cope continually in psychological terms with the acute stresses of moving and settling in an anomic and violent environment. These problems are severe for urbanizing youth, who suffer high unemployment and are most at risk in relation to violence.

It is argued here that the independent churches assist members with all three of these needs. In addition to providing youth members directly with tangible contributions of money and supplies, churches provide social interventions in helping to find sites and arrange housing. Indirect help, in the form of interpersonal networks centered on the churches, also provides emergency backup and help to insure the urbanizing youth household against risk during the move and during the settling-in period afterward. Finally, indirect help is rounded out with the widely-available spiritual healing services of the independent church movement, which relieve the severe personal stresses associated with urbanization. This healing service helps young informal residents to withstand the perceptions of interpersonal hostility which commonly accompany entry into new urban areas.

## 7.2 THE INDEPENDENT CHURCHES IN URBANIZATION

Historically, the African independent churches have represented relatively small inward-turned groupings, devoted to providing a secure atmosphere for people of rural origin arriving in the confusing and hostile environment of the cities. The larger independent churches, with greater organizational depth, appear to be associated with the formal townships, and secondarily with the township-oriented population of the new areas of informal township infill settlement. By contrast, the older free-standing informal settlements support a largely rural born population,

and tend to smaller, face-to-face church congregations. Results suggest that these smaller churches concentrated in the freestanding informal areas provide proportionately more direct help, in terms of supplies and interventions, to urbanizing youth. Reasons appear to be linked to role structure and to violence.

Although they maintain a strong ideology of egalitarianism, the churches' internal structure is characteristically hierarchical, with authority vested in senior male members. While women have played an important though subordinate role, youth have largely been excluded from decision processes. This role configuration, which shapes the distribution of church assistance with urbanization, now appears to be changing under the influence of rising educational standards, cross-cutting group membership, and greater urban experience among church young people. In addition, the internal role structure of the churches appears to be opening up in response to the pressure exerted by urban violence.

Political conflict has forced church youth to take sides, and appears to have led to a widespread falling away of youth membership. In that male youth members are clearly seen by the churches to represent the next leadership generation, fear of losing young men appears to have constrained the senior leadership of the independent churches to concede greater freedom and access to decision making to youth. This process seems to have borne hardest on the smaller independent churches in the large freestanding settlements.

**7.3 THE DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCH HELP WITH URBANIZATION: DIRECT HELP**

In addition to a general opening up of the retreatist position of the independent churches to a greater engagement with. the outside world, the bind between seniority and youth autonomy appears to be closely involved with the distribution of direct assistance to youth involved in urbanization.

In so far as it is possible to determine with the present sample, assistance given by the independent churches to urbanizing youth appears to vary with the church's size and scale of operations, with age, with gender, and with the rural or urban origin of the recipients and with where the recipient stood in relation to the church's hierarchical structure.

Overall, as noted above, youth members were most likely to receive direct help with urbanization from the smaller churches of the freestanding settlements. These churches are dominated by rural-born members. The close face-to-face relations and high concentration of office-holders and church group members in these churches appeared to be the linking factor.

The most frequent assistance was given to older church members. Within this frame, assistance tended to go most often to the churches' most central and committed members, including youth. Male youth members who also held church youth offices received a relatively high level of assistance in their own right in the small churches, and young female office holders a slightly lower level. Central male youth in these churches were helped somewhat more often than adult male members.

However, the youth category which appeared to be most likely to receive such church help was that of young members of female headed households. Adult women with strong church commitment appeared to be the single grouping most likely to receive church help with urbanization, with such help indirectly benefitting youth in these households.

Larger, township-oriented churches appeared to give less direct help with urban migration and settlement overall. For the present quota sample, these churches were most likely to give assistance to urban born young women members generally, without apparent relation to church office. Few other church members of any age reported receiving direct help.

To the extent that the availability of direct assistance in services and tangibles to the total urbanizing youth population can be estimated from the data, it appears that between one in twelve and one in four young people may have been receiving such help over the past five to ten years. Within these limits, actual chances of receiving help vary for the individual in relation to his/ her church and area of residence, as noted above.

## 7.4 THE DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCH HELP WITH URBANIZATION: INDIRECT ASSISTANCE

For other, indirect forms of assistance in networking and stress management, estimates are difficult to obtain. However, church networks appear to be perhaps the single most often used form of urban network for church members, and it appears that the great majority of AIC youth members use church-centered network connections to cope with risk and emergencies. Church networks are also sometimes used by young people outside the churches.

At the same time, stress management though church healing and curing represents the independent churches' most widely used service. Case material and the literature suggest that virtually all church youth, and a very large but unmeasured proportion of youth outside the churches, have regular recourse to spiritual treatment through the churches in order to maintain the anxieties of urban life at a manageable level.

## 7.5 THE DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCH HELP WITH URBANIZATION: ASSESSMENT

The total role of the churches in relation to youth urbanization can be seen in relation to the way their help is distributed. Tangible direct help is the least common, but appears to be effectively targeted on the poorest and the victims of violence, who are most likely to have difficulty in covering the financial and other costs of urban on-migration. To a considerable extent, it appears to reach the minority who need it most, so long as they are AIC members.

For the rest, indirect help in networking and stress management is very widely available, and is not limited to church youth members. Such assistance is appropriate for less poor households, who are better able to deal with outright costs of moving, but continue to need the sponsorship and networking insurance and who are also subject to the perceived hostility, violence and random stresses of urban poverty.

Taking direct and indirect help together, it appears that one or another form of help in the urbanization context is provided to a majority of youth in the informal settlements of metropolitan Natal.

## 7.6 VIOLENCE AND CHURCH HELP WITH URBANIZATION

In addition, results suggest that the results of urban violence on the churches are also affecting AIC assistance to urbanizing youth. In addition to channelling more assistance to youth in the threatened smaller congregations in an effort to maintain their allegiance, the force of violence in driving on-migration is also spreading the independent churches by seeding new congregations. At the same time, results appear to indicate that the all the AICs are significantly more likely to give direct assistance to households making urban moves when these are refugees, or are otherwise afflicted through violence.

The overall result appears to be that violence may have had a significant effect in motivating and positioning the independent churches to give greater assistance to youth in an urbanization context. In this light, the independent churches may now appear as civil society's main instrument in alleviating the strain of urbanization, for youth as well as for adult members.

## 7.7 THE INDEPENDENT CHURCHES AS AN AGENCY FOR HELP

Perhaps the most important aspect of the independent churches' role in assisting youth with urbanization is their capacity to deliver help to the households which need it most, and at the point of their greatest need. Delivery of tangible church assistance to refugee households is a case in point. Such provision requires organization which is small-scale and local, and effective in personal terms. In these respects, no formal agency can match the presence on the ground in the informal communities of the independent churches.

Perhaps ironically in view of the churches' often-expressed desire to come together into larger assemblies, the independent churches' tendency to continual fission appears as the mechanism which positions the smaller churches, with their

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# APPENDIX 1: STUDY METHODOLOGY

## 1 UNIVERSE OF THE STUDY

The universe chosen for the study was defined as being youth between the ages of 16-35 who have moved within the last 10 years into or within the Durban Functional Region (DFR) and who belong to an African Independent Church (AIC).

## 2 STUDY AREAS

The study was located in the informal areas of the DFR where the demographic impact of urbanization is being chiefly felt, and where independent churches are strongly active.

The interviews were undertaken in the informal infill settlements around Umlazi and Ntuzuma (N = 54), in the formal townships of Umlazi, Inanda Newtown, KwaMashu and Ntuzuma (N = 22), and in the freestanding informal settlements of the Inanda complex and surrounding Umlazi (N = 45). Comparatively few were undertaken in the peri-urban zone of Nyuswa in the western DFR (N = 14).

Based on the experience of the Rural-Urban Studies Unit with previous research and surveys in the informal settlements of the DFR, it was decided to attempt coverage of a broad geographical spread of informal areaa, and to concentrate on youth members of AICs, with a minimum comparison in other social and spatial categories.

## 3 DESIGN OF THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

A draft interview schedule in English was drawn up by the researchers and piloted in the field. Changes made to the draft schedule based on the results of the pilot study were incorporated into the final questionnaire.

A second interview schedule was also drawn up by the researchers to examine the costs to households of moving.

## 4 RECRUITMENT OF FIELDWORKERS

Five experienced fieldworkers who have conducted socio-economic surveys for the Rural-Urban Studies Unit and NERMIC were recruited and briefed by the research team. These interviewers were employed on both the pilot study and the main study.

## 5 SAMPLING

Limitations on available funding resources ruled out a representative equal-probability sample survey. It was decided to carry out a quota sampling procedure for 150 individual interviews which could be interpreted against the background of other accumulated research by both the Rural-Urban Studies Unit and NERMIC dealing with informal settlements, urbanization and the AICs. It was further decided to concentrate on the dynamics of processes within AICs, rather than on obtaining detailed socio-economic data about households and survey areas.

Of this quota sample, 130 interviews would be drawn from the major urban and peri-urban areas of the DFR, and would represent households which were either headed by youth, or which had youth members. Since comparison was a subordinate consideration, this was limited to ten households in which there were no youths, and ten households in which there were youths but which have not moved in the last ten years. These comparison cases households have not been tabulated in the formal sample of 135 cases.

Overall 108 youth interviews with persons aged 16 to 35 were collected, and 27 interviews where the respondent was an adult, i.e. aged 36 years or older. This sample is intended to represent both independent youth-headed urban households and also households where youth are dependent members.

The quota sample resulted in good representation of young men and young women, but relatively few adult women. Of the adults represented in the tabulated results, most were committed church members, a characteristic which needs to be borne in mind in considering the tabular material.

Relating the sample equally to urbanization and to youth participation in AICs was problematic, since often enough the youth do not make and/or do not know much about the migration decisions made by seniors in the household, or about factors such as household income, etc. In view of this it was decided to interview the heads of household as respondents for basic data in those households where the youth were dependent members, while still identifying the oldest youth member of the household as the youth reference person. This produced 21 adult respondents representing 67 dependent youth.

Because the conditions on the ground in the informal study areas to north, west and south of the city were often difficult, it was necessary to maintain considerable flexibility in regard to area balance. It was originally intended to distribute the sample equally between the south, west and north DFR, with 50 interviews taking place in each, but in practice the sample was distributed as follows:

(i) Southern DFR    N =    80
(ii) Northern DFR   N =    41
(iii) Western DFR   N =    14

The interview schedule relating to the costs of moving house was administered to twenty households in the Umlazi area.

## 6 INTERVIEW TECHNIQUES AND DATA ANALYSIS

Individual interviews which were conducted in a general survey format were employed to obtain extensive coverage of the migration details and involvements in AICs of the sampled households, but in addition 30 % of the interviews were conducted in an extended discussion format to yield detailed case material.

An overall qualitative approach consistent with a quota sample was therefore employed, but in order to generate data that would give some numerical indication of the extent of trends observed, the questionnaire employed was designed to be capable of producing data which could be worked into a table format. This

research report has accordingly produced tables of relevant data, which however need to be interpreted with due care in relation to the non-representative character of the sample.

Individual interviews were chosen over group interviews because of stress on individual family and household histories; in addition, in the previous study (1991) the researchers had already conducted extensive group interviewing, and had found that the group interview format tended to put the churches' 'public face' forward, providing little critical data. Furthermore, under such circumstances, individual histories were not readily discussed.

## 7 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED WITH FIELDWORK

Due to violence and unsettled conditions in the informal areas, interviews were obtained with some difficulty and at some personal risk to the interviewers. One interviewer was held captive for 24 hours by a group of frightened refugees who had difficulty in crediting his explanations. Interviews were therefore obtained at irregular intervals over an extended period. Because of sporadic violence in the survey areas during the duration of the fieldwork, only one female fieldworker was employed. This may have biased the sample towards male-headed households.

Fieldworkers report that respondents were extremely reluctant to report on instances of supernatural attack, especially for interviews being handled in survey mode.

While it is widely acknowledged that it is extremely difficult to develop a level of reasonable trust with survey respondents within informal communities in the interview situation, the research team is confident that the results reported here, while indicative of trends - rather than hard and fast facts - are essentially correct.

**APPENDIX 2: TABLES**
NOTE: In the following tables, all percentages have been rounded off to the next highest number.

## TABLE 1: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE TOTAL HOUSEHOLD POPULATION

| AGE | N | % |
|-----|-----|-----|
| 00-05 years | 54 | 9 |
| 06-10 years | 72 | 12 |
| 11-15 years | 65 | 11 |
| 16-20 years | 62 | 10 |
| 21-25 years | 57 | 10 |
| 26-30 years | 114 | 19 |
| 31-35 years | 68 | 11 |
| 36-40 years | 33 | 6 |
| 41-45 years | 15 | 3 |
| 46-50 years | 26 | 4 |
| 51-55 years | 16 | 3 |
| 56-60 years | 10 | 2 |
| 61 + years | 4 | 1 |
| **TOTAL:** | **596** | **100** |

## TABLE 2: AGE OF RESPONDENTS BY SURVEY AREA LOCATION

| | NORTH DFR | | SOUTH DFR | | WEST DFR | | OVERALL | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Youth 16-35 | 27 | 66 | 67 | 84 | 14 | 100 | 108 | 80 |
| Adult 36 + | 14 | 34 | 13 | 14 | 0 | 0 | 27 | 20 |
| TOTAL | 41 | 100 | 80 | 100 | 14 | 100 | 135 | 100 |

## TABLE 3: GENDER OF RESPONDENTS BY SURVEY AREA LOCATION

|  | NORTH DFR | | SOUTH DFR | | WEST DFR | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Male | 23 | 56 | 39 | 49 | 3 | 21 | 65 | 48 |
| Female | 18 | 44 | 41 | 51 | 11 | 79 | 70 | 52 |
| **TOTAL** | 41 | 100 | 80 | 100 | 14 | 100 | 135 | 100 |

## TABLE 4: GENDER OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY SURVEY AREA LOCATION

|  | NORTH DFR | | SOUTH DFR | | WEST DFR | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Male | 36 | 88 | 66 | 83 | 10 | 71 | 112 | 83 |
| Female | 5 | 12 | 14 | 18 | 4 | 29 | 23 | 17 |
| **TOTAL** | 41 | 100 | 80 | 100 | 14 | 100 | 135 | 100 |

## TABLE 5: DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE BY SURVEY AREA LOCATION

|  | NORTH DFR | | SOUTH DFR | | WEST DFR | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| No. of H/holds | 41 | 30 | 80 | 80 | 14 | 11 | 135 | 100 |

**TABLE 6: DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE BY SURVEY AREA SETTLEMENT TYPE**

| | FORMAL TOWNSHIP | | FREESTANDING INFORMAL | | INFORMAL INFILL | | NEAR PERI-URBAN | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| No. Of H/holds | 22 | 16 | 45 | 33 | 54 | 40 | 14 | 10 | 135 | 100 |

**TABLE 7: GENDER OF RESPONDENTS BY SURVEY AREA SETTLEMENT TYPE**

| | FORMAL TOWNSHIP | | FREESTANDING INFORMAL | | INFORMAL INFILL | | NEAR PERI-URBAN | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Male | 12 | 54 | 28 | 62 | 22 | 41 | 3 | 21 | 65 | 48 |
| Female | 10 | 46 | 17 | 38 | 32 | 59 | 11 | 79 | 70 | 52 |
| TOTAL | 22 | 100 | 45 | 100 | 54 | 100 | 14 | 100 | 135 | 100 |

**TABLE 8: AGE OF RESPONDENTS BY SURVEY AREA SETTLEMENT TYPE**

| | FORMAL TOWNSHIP | | FREESTANDING INFORMAL | | INFORMAL INFILL | | NEAR PERI-URBAN | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Youth 16-35 | 19 | 86 | 28 | 62 | 47 | 87 | 14 | 100 | 108 | 80 |
| Adult 36 + | 3 | 14 | 17 | 38 | 7 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 27 | 20 |
| TOTAL | 22 | 100 | 45 | 100 | 54 | 100 | 14 | 100 | 135 | 100 |

### TABLE 9: GENDER OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY SURVEY AREA SETTLEMENT TYPE

| | FORMAL TOWNSHIP | | FREESTANDING INFORMAL | | INFORMAL INFILL | | NEAR PERI-URBAN | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Male | 19 | 86 | 43 | 96 | 40 | 74 | 10 | 71 | 112 | 83 |
| Female | 3 | 14 | 2 | 4 | 14 | 26 | 4 | 29 | 23 | 17 |
| TOTAL | 22 | 100 | 45 | 100 | 54 | 100 | 14 | 100 | 135 | 100 |

### TABLE 10: MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOMES BY GENDER OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD

| | MALE | | FEMALE | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| R 000 - R 099 | 6 | 6 | 3 | 14 | 9 | 7 |
| R 100 - R 299 | 24 | 23 | 10 | 45 | 34 | 27 |
| R 300 - R 499 | 19 | 18 | 2 | 9 | 21 | 17 |
| R 500 - R 699 | 10 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 8 |
| R 700 - R 999 | 10 | 10 | 3 | 14 | 13 | 10 |
| R 1000 - R 1499 | 22 | 21 | 4 | 18 | 26 | 20 |
| R 1500 - R 1999 | 8 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 6 |
| R 2000 - R 2999 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 5 |
| R 3000 + | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| TOTAL | 105 | 100 | 22 | 100 | 127 | 100 |

### TABLE 11: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE YOUTH POPULATION

| | 16-20 | | 21-25 | | 26-30 | | 31-36 | | TOTAL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Age at survey | 62 | 21 | 57 | 19 | 114 | 38 | 68 | 23 | 301 | 100 |

## TABLE 12: MARITAL STATUS OF THE YOUTH REFERENCE PERSON IN THE HOUSEHOLD

|                       | N = | %   |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|
| Married               | 37  | 27  |
| Single                | 52  | 39  |
| Living together       | 19  | 14  |
| In process of marriage| 17  | 13  |
| Divorced              | 6   | 4   |
| Widowed               | 2   | 1   |
| Separated             | 2   | 1   |
| Deserted by spouse    | 0   | 0   |
| **TOTAL**             | 135 | 100 |

## TABLE 13: DOES THE YOUTH REFERENCE PERSON IN THE HOUSEHOLD HAVE CHILDREN IN THE HOUSEHOLD?

| YES | NO  | OVERALL |           |
|-----|-----|---------|-----------|
| 45% | 55% | 100%    | N = 135   |

## TABLE 14: SURVEY AREA SETTLEMENT TYPE BY HAS THERE BEEN ANY VIOLENCE IN THE LAST YEAR?

|                       | VIOLENCE | | NO VIOLENCE | | OVERALL | |
|-----------------------|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|                       | N | %   | N   | %   | N   | %   |
| Formal township       | 1 | 5   | 21  | 18  | 22  | 16  |
| Freestanding informal | 8 | 38  | 37  | 32  | 45  | 33  |
| Informal infill       | 3 | 14  | 51  | 45  | 54  | 40  |
| Near peri-urban       | 9 | 43  | 5   | 4   | 14  | 10  |
| **TOTAL**             | 21| 100 | 114 | 100 | 135 | 100 |

**TABLE 15: PREVIOUS AREA SETTLEMENT TYPE BY HOUSEHOLD REASON FOR LEAVING PREVIOUS AREA**

| | FLED VIOLENCE | | OTHER REASON | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Urban CBD | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Formal township | 11 | 24 | 38 | 42 | 49 | 36 |
| Freestanding informal | 13 | 29 | 12 | 13 | 25 | 19 |
| Informal infill | 2 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 4 |
| Near peri-urban | 1 | 2 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 6 |
| Outer peri-urban | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| White farm | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Rural isabelo | 15 | 33 | 26 | 29 | 41 | 30 |
| **TOTAL** | 45 | 100 | 90 | 100 | 135 | 100 |

**TABLE 16: REASONS FOR LEAVING PREVIOUS AREA BY URBAN/RURAL ORIGIN OF HOUSEHOLD**

| | URBAN ORIGIN | | RURAL ORIGIN | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Violence | 3 | 11 | 33 | 34 | 36 | 29 |
| Wanted own home | 12 | 43 | 20 | 22 | 32 | 26 |
| Looking for work | 1 | 4 | 10 | 10 | 11 | 9 |
| Personal problems | 4 | 14 | 7 | 7 | 11 | 9 |
| Problems with landlord | 1 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 6 |
| Found work/transferred | 1 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 6 |
| Area being developed | 2 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 5 |
| Stay with family | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 4 |
| Forced removal | 1 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Overcrowding | 2 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Police harrassment | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Better access to education | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Nearer to church | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Heard of free land available | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **TOTAL** | 28 | 100 | 97 | 100 | 125 | 100 |

## TABLE 17: RURAL AND URBAN ORIGINS OF SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS

|              | N   | %   |
|--------------|-----|-----|
| Rural origin | 104 | 77  |
| Urban origin | 31  | 23  |
| **TOTAL**    | 135 | 100 |

## TABLE 18: ORIGIN OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD BY SURVEY AREA LOCATION

|                | NORTH DFR | | SOUTH DFR | | WEST DFR | | OVERALL | |
|----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|                | N   | %   | N   | %   | N   | %   | N   | %   |
| Central DFR    | 3   | 7   | 1   | 1   | 0   | 0   | 4   | 3   |
| North DFR      | 13  | 32  | 7   | 9   | 0   | 0   | 20  | 15  |
| West DFR       | 3   | 7   | 2   | 3   | 5   | 36  | 10  | 7   |
| South DFR      | 2   | 5   | 20  | 25  | 1   | 7   | 23  | 17  |
| Outer core     | 1   | 2   | 7   | 9   | 3   | 21  | 11  | 8   |
| South coast    | 1   | 2   | 14  | 18  | 0   | 0   | 15  | 11  |
| South interior | 1   | 2   | 5   | 6   | 1   | 7   | 7   | 5   |
| North coast    | 4   | 10  | 2   | 3   | 1   | 7   | 7   | 5   |
| North interior | 13  | 32  | 18  | 23  | 3   | 21  | 34  | 25  |
| Transkei       | 0   | 0   | 3   | 4   | 0   | 0   | 3   | 2   |
| Outside S.A.   | 0   | 0   | 1   | 1   | 0   | 0   | 1   | 1   |
| **TOTAL**      | 41  | 100 | 80  | 100 | 14  | 100 | 135 | 100 |

**TABLE 19: SETTLEMENT TYPE WHERE HOUSEHOLD HEAD WAS BORN BY SURVEY AREA SETTLEMENT TYPE**

| | FORMAL TOWNSHIP | | FREESTANDING INFORMAL | | SURVEY AREA: INFORMAL INFILL | | NEAR PERI-URBAN | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| HH HEAD ORIGIN | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Formal township | 7 | 32 | 3 | 7 | 12 | 22 | 0 | 0 | 22 | 16 |
| Freestanding informal | 3 | 14 | 6 | 13 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 8 |
| Informal infill | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Near peri-urban | 3 | 14 | 6 | 13 | 6 | 11 | 5 | 36 | 20 | 15 |
| Outer peri-urban | 1 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 29 | 6 | 4 |
| White farm | 2 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 7 | 5 | 4 |
| Rural isabelo | 6 | 27 | 28 | 62 | 32 | 59 | 4 | 29 | 70 | 52 |
| TOTAL | 22 | 100 | 45 | 100 | 54 | 100 | 14 | 100 | 135 | 100 |

**TABLE 20: TYPE OF IMMEDIATE SOURCE AREA BY TYPE OF SURVEY AREA**

| | FORMAL TOWNSHIP | | FREESTANDING INFORMAL | | SURVEY AREA: INFORMAL INFILL | | NEAR PERI-URBAN | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IMMEDIATELY PREVIOUS AREA | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Urban CBD | 1 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 2 |
| Formal township | 10 | 45 | 13 | 29 | 26 | 48 | 0 | 0 | 49 | 36 |
| Freestanding informal | 6 | 27 | 9 | 20 | 9 | 17 | 1 | 7 | 25 | 19 |
| Informal infill | 0 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 4 |
| Near peri-urban | 1 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 29 | 8 | 6 |
| Outer peri-urban | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 14 | 3 | 2 |
| White farm | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Rural isabelo | 4 | 18 | 17 | 38 | 13 | 24 | 7 | 50 | 41 | 30 |
| TOTAL | 22 | 100 | 45 | 100 | 54 | 100 | 14 | 100 | 135 | 100 |

## TABLE 21: LOCATION OF IMMEDIATE SOURCE AREA BY SURVEY AREA LOCATION

|                | NORTH DFR | | SOUTH DFR | | WEST DFR | | OVERALL | |
|----------------|----|-----|----|-----|----|-----|-----|-----|
|                | N  | %   | N  | %   | N  | %   | N   | %   |
| Central DFR    | 5  | 12  | 1  | 1   | 0  | 0   | 6   | 4   |
| North DFR      | 21 | 51  | 4  | 5   | 0  | 0   | 25  | 19  |
| West DFR       | 2  | 5   | 1  | 1   | 6  | 43  | 9   | 7   |
| South DFR      | 1· | 2   | 59 | 74  | 1  | 7   | 61  | 45  |
| Outer core     | 1  | 2   | 2  | 3   | 3  | 21  | 6   | 4   |
| South coast    | 1  | 2   | 3  | 4   | 0  | 0   | 4   | 3   |
| South interior | 0  | 0   | 4  | 5   | 0  | 0   | 4   | 3   |
| North coast    | 5  | 12  | 1  | 1   | 0  | 0   | 6   | 4   |
| North interior | 5  | 12  | 5  | 6   | 4  | 29  | 14  | 10  |
| TOTAL          | 41 | 100 | 80 | 100 | 14 | 100 | 135 | 100 |

## TABLE 22: STABILITY OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP BY CHURCH SCALE

|                          | LARGE TRANSLOCATIONAL | | MEDIUM SIZE CHURCHES | | SMALL CHURCHES | | SINGLE CONGREGATION | | OVERALL | |
|--------------------------|----|-----|----|-----|----|-----|----|-----|-----|-----|
|                          | N  | %   | N  | %   | N  | %   | N  | %   | N   | %   |
| Has not changed churches | 33 | 57  | 6  | 60  | 20 | 41  | 8  | 44  | 67  | 50  |
| Left AIC joined AIC      | 11 | 19  | 1  | 10  | 10 | 20  | 2  | 11  | 24  | 18  |
| Left mainline joined AIC | 14 | 24  | 3  | 30  | 19 | 39  | 8  | 44  | 44  | 33  |
| TOTAL                    | 58 | 100 | 10 | 100 | 49 | 100 | 18 | 100 | 135 | 100 |

**TABLE 23: REASONS FOR JOINING PRESENT CHURCH BY CHURCH SCALE**

| | LARGE TRANSLOCATIONAL | | MEDIUM SIZE CHURCHES | | SMALL CHURCHES | | SINGLE CONGREGATION | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Raised in this church | 19 | 33 | 1 | 10 | 12 | 24 | 4 | 22 | 36 | 27 |
| Spiritual support | 1 | 2 | 2 | 20 | 8 | 16 | 2 | 11 | 13 | 10 |
| Healing | 9 | 16 | 2 | 20 | 11 | 22 | 5 | 28 | 27 | 20 |
| General support from church | 4 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 6 | 8 | 6 |
| Influenced by relatives/friends | 3 | 5 | 4 | 40 | 5 | 10 | 2 | 11 | 14 | 10 |
| Evangelised by church | 4 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 7 |
| Joined to be with spouse | 5 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 6 |
| Church attractive to respondent | 8 | 14 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 11 | 12 | 9 |
| Recognises African tradition | 4 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 5 | 4 |
| Other | 1 | 2 | 1 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 2 |
| TOTAL | 58 | 100 | 10 | 100 | 49 | 100 | 18 | 100 | 135 | 100 |

**TABLE 24: PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED ON COMING TO TOWN BY AGE AND GENDER OF RESPONDENT (Multiple Response)**

| | MALE YOUTH | | MALE ADULT | | FEMALE YOUTH | | FEMALE ADULT | | OVERALL | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| No problems | 26 | 63 | 11 | 39 | 39 | 78 | 1 | 7 | 77 | 58 |
| Difficult to adapt | 5 | 12 | 4 | 14 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 21 | 13 | 10 |
| Hostility | 4 | 10 | 5 | 18 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 21 | 12 | 9 |
| Threat by invisible forces | 2 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 4 | 8 | 1 | 7 | 9 | 7 |
| Fear of violence | 2 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 14 | 8 | 6 |
| Not safe | 0 | 0 | 2 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 2 |
| Financial problems | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 2 |
| No infrastructure | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 2 |
| Fear of crime | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 2 | 1 |
| Accommodation | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 2 | 1 |
| TOTAL REPLIES | 41 | 100 | 28 | 100 | 49 | 100 | 14 | 100 | 132 | 100 |
| Respondents N = | 35 | | 13 | | 45 | | 7 | | 90 | |

Note: Table excludes urban-born respondents

## TABLE 25: PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED ON COMING TO SURVEY AREA BY AGE AND GENDER OF RESPONDENT (Multiple Response)

|  | MALE YOUTH | | MALE ADULT | | FEMALE YOUTH | | FEMALE ADULT | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| No problems | 33 | 60 | 10 | 50 | 48 | 75 | 2 | 22 | 93 | 61 |
| Political violence | 3 | 5 | 3 | 15 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 44 | 14 | 9 |
| Accommodation | 6 | 11 | 3 | 15 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 11 | 12 | 8 |
| Financial | 2 | 4 | 2 | 10 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 11 | 7 | 5 |
| No infrastructure | 3 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 11 | 5 | 3 |
| Threatened invisible powers | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 33 | 5 | 3 |
| Difficult to adapt | 2 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 3 |
| Fear of crime | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 11 | 3 | 2 |
| Hostility | 2 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 2 |
| Very bad conditions | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| Good at first, then bad | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Threatened by authorities | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Schooling | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Not sure, still young | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| **TOTAL** | 55 | 100 | 20 | 100 | 64 | 100 | 13 | 100 | 152 | 100 |
| N = | 47 | | 18 | | 61 | | 9 | | 135 | |

## TABLE 26: STATUS OF RESPONDENT WITHIN CHURCH BY AGE AND GENDER

|  |  | CENTRAL MEMBER | | CHURCH GROUP MEMBER | | REGULAR ATTENDANCE | | PERIPHERAL MEMBER | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Male: | Youth | 15 | 42 | 11 | 32 | 11 | 27 | 10 | 42 | 47 | 35 |
|  | Adult | 10 | 28 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 21 | 18 | 13 |
| Female: | Youth | 7 | 19 | 17 | 50 | 28 | 68 | 9 | 38 | 61 | 45 |
|  | Adult | 4 | 11 | 5 | 15 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 7 |
| **TOTAL** | | 36 | 100 | 34 | 100 | 41 | 100 | 24 | 100 | 135 | 100 |

## TABLE 27: DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCHES OF VARIOUS SCALES IN SAMPLE

|  | LARGE TRANSLOCATIONAL | | MEDIUM SIZE CHURCHES | | SMALL CHURCHES | | SINGLE CONGREGATION | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| No. of Households | 58 | 43 | 10 | 7 | 49 | 36 | 18 | 13 | 135 | 100 |

## TABLE 28: STATUS OF RESPONDENT WITHIN CHURCH BY CHURCH SCALE

|  | CENTRAL MEMBER | | CHURCH GROUP MEMBER | | REGULAR ATTENDANCE | | PERIPHERAL MEMBER | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Large translocation | 8 | 22 | 20 | 59 | 22 | 54 | 8 | 33 | 58 | 43 |
| Medium | 4 | 11 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 13 | 10 | 7 |
| Small | 20 | 56 | 9 | 26 | 12 | 29 | 8 | 33 | 49 | 36 |
| Single congregation | 4 | 11 | 4 | 12 | 5 | 12 | 5 | 21 | 18 | 13 |
| TOTAL | 36 | 100 | 34 | 100 | 41 | 100 | 24 | 100 | 135 | 100 |

**TABLE 29: PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED ON COMING TO TOWN BY CHURCH SCALE (Multiple Response)**

| | LARGE TRANSLOCATIONAL | | MEDIUM SIZE CHURCHES | | SMALL CHURCHES | | SINGLE CONGREGATION | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| No problems | 35 | 77 | 5 | 36 | 28 | 56 | 8 | 67 | 76 | 54 |
| Difficulty adapting | 3 | 7 | 1 | 7 | 5 | 10 | 4 | 33 | 13 | 10 |
| Hostility | 2 | 4 | 2 | 14 | 5 | 10 | 2 | 17 | 11 | 9 |
| Threatened by invisible forces | 2 | 4 | 2 | 14 | 5 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 7 |
| Fear of violence | 1 | 2 | 1 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 33 | 8 | 6 |
| Not safe | 0 | 0 | 2 | 14 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 17 | 3 | 2 |
| Financial problems | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 17 | 3 | 2 |
| No infrastructure | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 2 |
| Fear of crime | 2 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| Accommodation | 0 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 17 | 2 | 1 |
| TOTAL: | 45 | 100 | 14 | 100 | 50 | 100 | 21 | 100 | 130 | 100 |
| N = | 43 | | 8 | | 41 | | 12 | | 104 | |

**TABLE 30: PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED ON COMING TO SURVEY AREA BY CHURCH SCALE (Multiple Response)**

| | LARGE TRANSLOCATIONAL | | MEDIUM SIZE CHURCHES | | SMALL CHURCHES | | SINGLE CONGREGATION | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| No problems | 48 | 79 | 4 | 36 | 29 | 50 | 12 | 54 | 93 | 61 |
| Political violence | 2 | 3 | 1 | 9 | 7 | 12 | 4 | 18 | 14 | 9 |
| Accommodation | 0 | 0 | 2 | 18 | 9 | 16 | 1 | 5 | 12 | 8 |
| Financial | 2 | 3 | 1 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 14 | 7 | 5 |
| Threatened by invisible powers | 0 | 0 | 1 | 9 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 3 |
| No infrastructure | 4 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 3 |
| Difficult to adapt | 1 | 2 | 1 | 9 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 3 |
| Fear of crime | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 3 | 2 |
| Hostility | 2 | 3 | 1 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 2 |
| Very bad conditions | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| Good at first, then bad | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Threatened by authorities | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Schooling | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Not sure, still young | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| **TOTAL** | 61 | 100 | 11 | 100 | 58 | 100 | 22 | 100 | 152 | 100 |
| N = | 58 | | 10 | | 49 | | 18 | | 135 | |

**TABLE 31: DID THE CHURCH HELP TO MOVE BY CHURCH SCALE AND TYPE OF PLACE WHERE HOUSEHOLD HEAD BORN**

| | LARGE TRANSLOCATIONAL | | | | MEDIUM SIZE | | | | SMALL CHURCH | | | | SINGLE CONGREGATION | | | | OVERALL | | | |
| | YES | | NO | | YES | | NO | | YES | | NO | | YES | | NO | | YES | | NO | |
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Urban formal | 2 | 25 | 4 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 25 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 13 | 1 | 25 | 2 | 14 | 4 | 13 | 12 | 12 |
| Urban informal | 1 | 13 | 4 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 14 | 2 | 6 | 7 | 7 |
| Peri-urban isabelo | 1 | 13 | 3 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 5 |
| Church land | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| White farm | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 25 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 6 | 3 | 3 |
| Black freehold | 1 | 13 | 3 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 6 |
| Trust land | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 50 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Rural isabelo | 3 | 38 | 34 | 68 | 1 | 50 | 6 | 75 | 14 | 64 | 21 | 65 | 2 | 50 | 9 | 64 | 20 | 64 | 70 | 67 |
| TOTAL | 8 | 100 | 50 | 100 | 2 | 100 | 8 | 100 | 17 | 100 | 32 | 100 | 4 | 100 | 14 | 100 | 31 | 100 | 104 | 100 |

**TABLE 32: DID CHURCH HELP HOUSEHOLD TO MOVE BY AGE AND GENDER OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD**

| | | YES | | NO | | OVERALL | |
| | | N | % | N | % | N | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Male: | Youth | 9 | 29 | 38 | 37 | 47 | 35 |
| | Adult | 7 | 23 | 11 | 11 | 18 | 13 |
| Female: | Youth | 9 | 29 | 52 | 50 | 61 | 45 |
| | Adult | 6 | 19 | 3 | 3 | 9 | 7 |
| TOTAL | | 31 | 100 | 104 | 100 | 135 | 100 |

**TABLE 33: DID CHURCH HELP HOUSEHOLD TO MOVE BY CHURCH SCALE**

|  | LARGE TRANSLOCATIONAL | | MEDIUM SIZE CHURCHES | | SMALL CHURCHES | | SINGLE CONGREGATION | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Yes | 8 | 14 | 2 | 20 | 17 | 35 | 4 | 22 | 31 | 30 |
| No | 50 | 86 | 8 | 80 | 32 | 65 | 14 | 78 | 104 | 70 |
| TOTAL | 58 | 100 | 10 | 100 | 49 | 100 | 18 | 100 | 135 | 100 |

**TABLE 34: DID DIFFERENT SIZE CHURCHES HELP THE HOUSEHOLD TO MOVE BY STATUS OF RESPONDENT WITHIN THE CHURCH**

|  | CENTRAL MEMBER | | | | CHURCH GROUP MEMBER | | | | REGULARLY ATTENDS | | | | PERI-PHERAL | | | | OVERALL | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | YES | | NO | | YES | | NO | | YES | | NO | | YES | | NO | | YES | | NO | |
|  | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Large | 1 | 6 | 7 | 37 | 3 | 50 | 17 | 61 | 2 | 50 | 20 | 54 | 2 | 50 | 6 | 30 | 8 | 26 | 50 | 48 |
| Medium | 2 | 12 | 2 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 15 | 2 | 6 | 8 | 8 |
| Small | 12 | 71 | 8 | 42 | 2 | 33 | 7 | 25 | 2 | 50 | 10 | 27 | 1 | 25 | 7 | 35 | 17 | 55 | 32 | 31 |
| V. Small | 2 | 12 | 2 | 11 | 1 | 17 | 3 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 14 | 1 | 25 | 4 | 20 | 4 | 13 | 14 | 13 |
| TOTAL | 17 | 100 | 19 | 100 | 6 | 100 | 28 | 100 | 4 | 100 | 37 | 100 | 4 | 100 | 20 | 100 | 31 | 100 | 104 | 100 |

| | CENTRAL MEMBER | | CHURCH GROUP MEMBER | | REGULARLY ATTENDS | | PERI-PHERAL | | OVERALL | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | YES | NO | YES | NO | YES | NO | YES | NO | YES | NO |
| | N % | N % | N % | N % | N % | N % | N % | N % | N % | N % |
| Male Youth | 7 41 | 8 42 | 1 17 | 10 36 | 1 25 | 10 27 | 0 0 | 10 50 | 9 29 | 38 37 |
| Male Adult | 4 24 | 6 32 | 1 17 | 0 0 | 0 0 | 2 5 | 2 50 | 3 15 | 7 23 | 11 11 |
| Female Youth | 2 12 | 5 26 | 2 33 | 15 54 | 3 75 | 25 68 | 2 50 | 7 35 | 9 29 | 52 50 |
| Female Adult | 4 24 | 0 0 | 2 33 | 3 11 | 0 0 | 0 0 | 0 0 | 0 0 | 6 19 | 3 3 |
| TOTAL | 17 100 | 19 100 | 6 100 | 28 100 | 4 100 | 37 100 | 4 100 | 20 100 | 31 100 | 104 100 |

**TABLE 36: DID DIFFERENT SCALE CHURCHES HELP THE HOUSEHOLD TO MOVE BY AGE, GENDER AND STATUS OF RESPONDENT WITHIN THE CHURCH**

| | CENTRAL MEMBER | | | | CHURCH GROUP MEMBER | | | | REGULARLY ATTENDS | | | | PERI-PHERAL | | | | OVERALL | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | YES | | NO | | YES | | NO | | YES | | NO | | YES | | NO | | YES | | NO | |
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| **Large Translocational** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Male Youth | 6 | 2 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 18 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 20 | 1 | 3 | 15 | 14 | 13 |
| Male Adult | 0 | 0 | 4 | 21 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 6 |
| Female Youth | 0 | 0 | · 1 | 6 | 2 | 33 | 10 | 36 | 2 | 50 | 15 | 41 | 2 | 50 | 1 | 5 | 6 | 19 | 27 | 26 |
| Female Adult | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 17 | 2 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| **Medium** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Male Youth | 0 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 |
| Male Adult | 2 | 12 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 3 | 3 |
| Female Youth | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Female Adult | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Small** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Male Youth | 5 | 29 | 4 | 21 | 1 | 17 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 25 | 3 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 10 | 7 | 23 | 11 | 11 |
| Male Adult | 2 | 12 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 17 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 25 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 13 | 2 | 2 |
| Female Youth | 2 | 12 | 3 | 16 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 18 | 1 | 25 | 7 | 19 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 20 | 3 | 10 | 19 | 18 |
| Female Adult | 3 | 18 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| **Single congregation** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Male Youth | 1 | 6 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 15 | 1 | 3 | 8 | 8 |
| Male Adult | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 25 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Female Youth | 0 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 |
| Female Adult | 1 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 17 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 1 |
| **TOTAL** | 17 | 100 | 19 | 100 | 6 | 100 | 28 | 100 | 4 | 100 | 37 | 100 | 4 | 100 | 20 | 100 | 31 | 100 | 104 | 100 |

**TABLE 37: DID CHURCH HELP TO MOVE BY CHURCH SCALE AND URBAN/RURAL ORIGIN OF HOUSEHOLD**

| | LARGE TRANSLOCATIONAL | | | | MEDIUM SIZE | | | | SMALL CHURCH | | | | SINGLE CONGREGATION | | | | OVERALL | | | |
| | YES | | NO | | YES | | NO | | YES | | NO | | YES | | NO | | YES | | NO | |
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rural origin | 4 | 50 | 39 | 78 | 2 | 100 | 6 | 75 | 15 | 88 | 26 | 81 | 3 | 75 | 9 | 64 | 24 | 77 | 80 | 77 |
| Urban origin | 4 | 50 | 11 | 22 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 25 | 2 | 12 | 6 | 19 | 1 | 25 | 5 | 36 | 7 | 23 | 24 | 23 |
| TOTAL | 8 | 100 | 50 | 100 | 2 | 100 | 8 | 100 | 17 | 100 | 32 | 100 | 4 | 100 | 14 | 100 | 31 | 100 | 104 | 100 |

**TABLE 38: WHEN DID HOUSEHOLD JOIN CHURCH BY AGE AND GENDER OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD**

| | | BEFORE MOVE | | AFTER MOVE | | OVERALL | |
| | | N | % | N | % | N | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Male: | Youth | 37 | 42 | 10 | 22 | 47 | 35 |
| | Adult | 10 | 11 | 8 | 17 | 18 | 13 |
| Female: | Youth | 36 | 40 | 25 | 54 | 61 | 45 |
| | Adult | 6 | 7 | 3 | 7 | 9 | 7 |
| TOTAL | | 89 | 100 | 46 | 100 | 135 | 100 |

**TABLE 39: WHEN HOUSEHOLD JOINED CHURCH BY CHURCH SCALE**

| | LARGE TRANSLOCATIONAL | | MEDIUM SIZE CHURCHES | | SMALL CHURCHES | | SINGLE CONGREGATION | | OVERALL | |
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Before move | 39 | 67 | 5 | 50 | 30 | 61 | 15 | 83 | 89 | 66 |
| After move | 19 | 33 | 5 | 50 | 19 | 39 | 3 | 17 | 46 | 34 |
| TOTAL | 58 | 100 | 10 | 100 | 49 | 100 | 18 | 100 | 135 | 100 |

**TABLE 40: DID THE CHURCH HELP THE HOUSEHOLD TO MOVE TO THE PRESENT AREA BY WHETHER THE MOVE WAS TO FLEE VIOLENCE**

| HELP: | LARGE TRANSLOCATIONAL YES | | NO | | MEDIUM SIZE YES | | NO | | SMALL CHURCH YES | | NO | | SINGLE CONGREGATION YES | | NO | | OVERALL YES | | NO | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Moved to flee violence: | 3 | 38 | 9 | 18 | 2 | 100 | 3 | 38 | 10 | 59 | 11 | 34 | 2 | 50 | 5 | 36 | 17 | 55 | 28 | 27 |
| Moved for another reason: | 5 | 62 | 41 | 82 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 62 | 7 | 41 | 21 | 66 | 2 | 50 | 9 | 64 | 14 | 45 | 76 | 73 |
| **TOTAL** | 8 | 100 | 50 | 100 | 2 | 100 | 8 | 100 | 17 | 100 | 32 | 100 | 4 | 100 | 14 | 100 | 31 | 100 | 104 | 100 |

**TABLE 41: HOW DID HOUSEHOLD LEARN ABOUT PRESENT AREA BY CHURCH SCALE (Multiple Response)**

| | LARGE TRANSLOCATIONAL | | MEDIUM SIZE CHURCHES | | SMALL CHURCHES | | SINGLE CONGREGATION | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Friends/neighbours | 17 | 30 | 2 | 18 | 16 | 31 | 9 | 45 | 44 | 32 |
| Other relatives | 16 | 29 | 4 | 36 | 16 | 31 | 6 | 30 | 42 | 30 |
| Church connections | 8 | 14 | 2 | 18 | 10 | 19 | 1 | 5 | 21 | 15 |
| Own accord | 6 | 11 | 3 | 27 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 10 | 7 |
| Government/authorities | 2 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 10 | 2 | 10 | 9 | 6 |
| Work colleagues | 4 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 5 | 8 | 6 |
| Employer | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 2 |
| Other connections | 2 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| **TOTAL** | 56 | 100 | 11 | 100 | 52 | 100 | 20 | 100 | 139 | 100 |
| N = | 58 | | 10 | | 49 | | 18 | | 135 | |

**TABLE 42: HOW DID HOUSEHOLD LEARN ABOUT PRESENT AREA BY URBAN/RURAL ORIGIN OF HOUSEHOLD (Multiple Response)**

|  | RURAL ORIGIN | | URBAN ORIGIN | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Other relatives | 38 | 35 | 4 | 14 | 42 | 32 |
| Church connections | 16 | 15 | 5 | 17 | 21 | 30 |
| Friends/neighbours | 39 | 35 | 5 | 17 | 44 | 15 |
| Other connections | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 7 |
| Work colleagues | 6 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 8 | 6 |
| Own accord | 5 | 5 | 5 | 17 | 10 | 6 |
| Employer | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| Government/authorities | 3 | 3 | 6 | 21 | 9 | 1 |
| TOTAL | 110 | 100 | 29 | 100 | 139 | 100 |
| N = | 104 | | 31 | | 135 | |

TABLE 43: HOW DID HOUSEHOLD LEARN ABOUT PRESENT AREA BY CHURCH SCALE AND URBAN/RURAL ORIGIN OF HOUSEHOLD (Multiple Response)

| RURAL | LARGE TRANSLOCATIONAL | | | | MEDIUM SIZE | | | | SMALL CHURCH | | | | SINGLE CONGREGATION | | | | OVERALL | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | URBAN | | RURAL | | URBAN | | RURAL | | URBAN | | RURAL | | URBAN | | RURAL | | URBAN | | | |
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Other relatives | 13 | 31 | 3 | 21 | 4 | 44 | 0 | 0 | 16 | 36 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 33 | 1 | 20 | 38 | 35 | 4 | 14 |
| Church connections | 5 | 12 | 3 | 21 | 2 | 22 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 18 | 2 | 25 | 1 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 16 | 15 | 5 | 17 |
| Friends/neighbours | 14 | 33 | 3 | 21 | 2 | 22 | 0 | 0 | 15 | 34 | 1 | 13 | 8 | 53 | 1 | 20 | 39 | 35 | 5 | 17 |
| Other connections | 1 | 2 | 1 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Work colleagues | 3 | 7 | 1 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 13 | 1 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 7 |
| Own accord | 4 | 10 | 2 | 21 | 1 | 11 | 2 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 20 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 17 |
| Employer | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Government/authorities | 1 | 2 | 1 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 38 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 40 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 21 |
| TOTAL | 42 | 100 | 14 | 100 | 9 | 100 | 2 | 100 | 44 | 100 | 8 | 100 | 15 | 100 | 5 | 100 | 110 | 100 | 29 | 100 |
| N = | | 58 | | | | 10 | | | | 49 | | | | 18 | | | | 135 | | |

TABLE 44: NETWORKS EMPLOYED BY RESPONDENTS BY GENDER (Multiple Response)

| | CHURCH | | RELATIVES IN AREA | | HOME PEOPLE | | FRIENDS/ NEIGHBOURS | | PEOPLE IN LAST AREA | | OTHER ORGANZ | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Male | 46 | 51 | 25 | 54 | 22 | 61 | 38 | 46 | 39 | 45 | 16 | 64 | 186 | 51 |
| Female | 45 | 49 | 21 | 46 | 14 | 39 | 44 | 54 | 47 | 56 | 9 | 36 | 180 | 49 |
| TOTAL | 91 | 100 | 46 | 100 | 36 | 100 | 82 | 100 | 86 | 100 | 25 | 100 | 366 | 100 |

**TABLE 45: NETWORKS EMPLOYED BY RESPONDENTS BY AGE AND GENDER (Multiple Response)**

|  | CHURCH | | RELATIVES IN AREA | | HOME PEOPLE | | FRIENDS/ NEIGHBOURS | | PEOPLE IN LAST AREA | | OTHER ORGANZ | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Male Youth | 31 | 34 | 16 | 35 | 16 | 44 | 25 | 30 | 28 | 33 | 11 | 44 | 127 | 35 |
| Male Adult | 15 | 16 | 9 | 20 | 6 | 17 | 13 | 16 | 11 | 13 | 5 | 20 | 59 | 16 |
| Female Youth | 37 | 41 | 16 | 35 | 7 | 19 | 37 | 45 | 40 | 47 | 5 | 20 | 142 | 39 |
| Female Adult | 8 | 9 | 5 | 11 | 7 | 19 | 7 | 9 | 7 | 8 | 4 | 16 | 38 | 10 |
| **TOTAL** | 91 | 100 | 46 | 100 | 36 | 100 | 82 | 100 | 86 | 100 | 25 | 100 | 366 | 100 |

**TABLE 46: NETWORKS EMPLOYED BY RESPONDENTS BY SIZE OF CHURCH (Multiple Response)**

|  | CHURCH | | RELATIVES IN AREA | | HOME PEOPLE | | FRIENDS/ NEIGHBOURS | | PEOPLE IN LAST AREA | | OTHER ORGANZ | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Large | 35 | 38 | 20 | 43 | 10 | 28 | 29 | 35 | 35 | 41 | 6 | 24 | 135 | 37 |
| Medium | 7 | 8 | 6 | 13 | 3 | 8 | 7 | 9 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 29 | 8 |
| Small | 35 | 38 | 14 | 30 | 17 | 47 | 34 | 41 | 34 | 40 | 16 | 64 | 150 | 41 |
| Single Cong. | 14 | 15 | 6 | 13 | 6 | 17 | 12 | 15 | 12 | 14 | 2 | 8 | 52 | 14 |
| **TOTAL** | 91 | 100 | 46 | 100 | 36 | 100 | 82 | 100 | 86 | 100 | 25 | 100 | 366 | 100 |

**TABLE 47: DID CHURCH HELP TO MOVE BY URBAN/RURAL ORIGIN OF HOUSEHOLD**

|  | URBAN ORIGIN | | RURAL ORIGIN | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Yes | 7 | 23 | 24 | 30 | 31 | 23 |
| No | 24 | 87 | 80 | 70 | 104 | 87 |
| **TOTAL** | 31 | 100 | 104 | 100 | 135 | 100 |

**TABLE 48: HAS THERE BEEN VIOLENCE IN THIS AREA IN THE PAST YEAR?**

| | YES | NO | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 17% | 87% | 100% | N = 135 |

**TABLE 49: SCALE OF CHURCH BY WHETHER LAST MOVE WAS CAUSED BY VIOLENCE**

| | LARGE TRANSLOCATIONAL | | MEDIUM SIZE CHURCHES | | SMALL CHURCHES | | SINGLE CONGREGATION | | OVERALL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Yes | 12 | 21 | 5 | 50 | 21 | 43 | 7 | 39 | 45 | 33 |
| No | 46 | 79 | 5 | 50 | 28 | 57 | 11 | 61 | 90 | 67 |
| TOTAL | 58 | 100 | 10 | 100 | 49 | 100 | 18 | 100 | 135 | 100 |

# APPENDIX THREE: SELECTED CASE STUDIES

Note: in the following case studies, the names of the characters have been changed to protect their identity.

## CASE STUDY 1: INTRA-URBAN MIGRATION AND CHURCH INTEGRATION

Gloria P., has two illegitimate children but is now engaged and in the process of marriage. She grew up in town but had to leave the freestanding informal settlement in the northern DFR where she was born, when her father, an Inkatha supporter, was killed during one of the political skirmishes with the UDF in the area. Gloria's family felt unsafe in the area because they had become a target for some UDF elements.

At that time, nearly ten years ago, the safer areas like Umlazi were still very much against informal settlement and the family could not raise the site fees for a formal house. A friend and distant relative had moved to Folweni some time before and persuaded the family to move in as well, because it was quiet compared to their home area. At that time Folweni was a peaceful semi-rural area and the KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation was offering innovative ideas about physical development in the area.

Gloria P.'s family joined their present church before moving to the area. The whole family now belongs to this church but also occasionally attends other large AICs when perceived problems become 'insurmountable' and their own church cannot solve them. Gloria herself had belonged to a number of churches, trying to find one that gave spiritual satisfaction, starting with her mother's Methodist church and later trying the St. John's Apostolic Faith Mission with a friend. After this she dropped church attendance for two years, until her father developed arthritis and was cured by her present church. This church then cleansed whole family of their many misfortunes: unlike those of traditional healers, *inyangas* and *sangomas*, the services of the church were rendered free of charge.

Around this time the church also strengthened her so that her second child could be born successfully. Joining this church expressed the household's confidence and gratitude in the church. When Gloria's father died, the church buried him. She attends church twice a month even though it is so far away, and members come from all points in the DFR.

Gloria serves as assistant to the woman who sews the church uniforms and also as youth program developer, keeping in close contact with youth members. She is also hoping to find a job through the use of her church network as well as contacts through neighbors. She has very few relatives or home people in her present area and visits them when she has time. Her main contacts are with youth members of the church who stay in the same area. She feels that the independent churches give a variety of types of help to people involved in the settlement process as well as in other circumstances. She has obtained healing and protection from her church on several occasions, including illness, job loss, skin problems and witchcraft attacks resulting in *tikoloshes* and frogs entering the house carrying the hostility of the witches. Her brother is now a shop steward and subject to harassment and attempted assassination, which was prevented by spiritual help. She also met her present fiance in church. She sees the church leadership as variable but often effective and believes that the Zion churches are growing to rival the established churches. She sees the voice and activities of youth and women as significant if not sufficient. She is not entirely happy in the area since the scale of violence is causing general fear and may be holding up development and service delivery.

## CASE STUDY 2: INTRA-URBAN MIGRATION FOR PERIPHERAL CHURCH MEMBERS

Barbara M, a household head aged 31 with two young children, was born in KwaMashu and was brought up a member of an Apostolic church. Pressed to leave home by serious overcrowding, after a long search she successfully approached the local township office and in 1990 obtained a house in another part of KwaMashu. Her church played no role in this

bureaucratic process; she did not choose her church affiliation for herself and perceives it as bringing no particular benefits.

Barbara M has not changed her membership to a local church but continues to attend her original church with her natal family, 4 kilometers from her present home. She holds no office in this church, does not participate in any church group or church youth group, and is not aware if there is a branch closer to her new house. In her opinion neither youth nor women have a voice in her present church. Working days and some weekends, she sees herself as having insufficient time to attend church services and gatherings regularly. She is also unaware of how helpful or otherwise churches and church leadership in her present area may be.

For assistance in minor emergencies Barbara M turns to a few neighbors with whom she has established a friendship connection and exchanges occasional visits; for major problems she would refer to her natal family. She has never referred to an independent church for healing and is not aware of any help given by AICs to people in need. However, she maintains categorically that they have not helped her as an individual. At the same time, she feels edgy in her new neighborhood: 'I do not feel very safe because in black residential areas violence can erupt at any time.'

In her profile as an AIC peripheral youth member who has not received church help and has also not integrated fully after a residential move, Barbara M appears to resemble Thulisile N, another young single mother.

## CASE STUDY 3:    INTRA-URBAN MIGRATION FOR PERIPHERAL CHURCH MEMBERS

Thulisile N is 34 years old and was born in the Soweto informal infill settlement within Ntuzuma township. She has two children and lives as household head with her lover, her younger sister and her sister's two children.

Thulisile N moved in January 1993 to the Stop 8 informal settlement in Inanda at the urging of her parents, because she and her children were at risk of violence at home from an unstable younger brother. The house they are using is owned by her father, whose first wife absconded during the violence in 1990. When she reluctantly determined to leave home she knew of no other viable settlement alternative. As she and her sister are unemployed and her lover contributes irregularly to the household, much of the household's support appears to be contributed by her parents.

Like Barbara M's church affiliation, Thulisile N's church membership dates back to her childhood. Selected by her mother, her Apostolic church yields her no self-perceived benefits and did not help her in her move. She has nevertheless so far maintained her membership of her old church, in which she holds no office and belongs to no church groups. This church meets about two kilometers from her present home.

In her new area she has as yet no network. The area has only recently emerged from a cycle of violence, so that people are afraid to be seen on the streets. So far Thulisile N has not formed any local acquaintances with whom to exchange chat or visits, is unfamiliar with local churches and church leadership, and refers all social needs outside the household to her natal family and home area. Likewise, for any assistance in either minor or major emergencies she would turn to her natal family at Ntuzuma. As with Barbara M, she attends church irregularly, and maintains that she has never had healing or any other form of help from her own or any other independent church.

These cases illustrate an apparent trend among younger female-headed urban households where the head is a single mother. In this type of household fission, the initial move is over a comparatively short distance and socioeconomic separation from the parent household remains incomplete for substantial periods. The persistence of partial affiliation to the parental household may partly obviate the need for a support network in the new area, and reduce the need for church support and backup. At the same time, church membership in the cases cited appears to represent in essence a strategy for maintaining the continuation of parental contact, affiliation and support. Both Barbara M and Thulisile N maintain minimal involvement in church activities and deny any knowledge of possible support: both may well drift away from independent church membership if their parents die or if they develop secular local networks in their new areas.

These disengaged or disenchanted young women's stories may also lend support to the proposition that the independent churches have the greatest meaning and offer the most effective help to rural-origin families moving into the urban environment, rather than to a better integrated, more experienced urban-born social fraction involved in intra-urban moves.

For such urban youth, the independent churches may not offer enough sophistication, glossy appeal or scope for youth initiative to catch their imagination. In consequence, young women with relatively undeveloped social networks may still prefer to ignore the possible opportunities provided by a familiar church movement which may strike them as rural in structure and rationale. However, it is difficult in these cases to disentangle the effects of urban experience from the concomitants of restricted opportunities for independent young women to attain church positions of respect and relative autonomy.

## CASE STUDY 4: MAKING A RURAL TO URBAN MOVE THROUGH A PIPELINE CONNECTION

> Mandla Z was born in a remote tribal district of KwaZulu, as was his father, the present head of household. Unemployed at age 28, he lives with his parents, his father's sister and three siblings aged 22, 18 and 11. With the mother ill and the father's sister unemployed, the father supports

the household. The three younger siblings are still in school. However, the household makes ends meet without outside support. All household members also belong to the independent church, whic they joined in Nkandla before the respondent was born.

The household head arrived in Durban in 1976 and brought his family in 1980, when Mandla Z first entered the urban area. The initial move to town took place through a migration pipeline connecting the home area at Nkandla with the urban base at Amatikwe in Inanda. This pipeline operates through both kinship and church connections which reinforce each other: the household head decided to move to the DFR because he got a job in the Durban area and was advised by Nkandla kin to contact 'other relatives who were living at Inanda' for a place to live. He brought his family from Nkandla four years later, when Mandla Z was 15. Since the Amatikwe church congregation is largely comprised of related people born in the same area at Nkandla and who joined the church there, the church affiliation depends on and reinforces kinship and home-community links.

On making contact with the Amatikwe relatives the head was informed of available space at Amatikwe where there were 'a lot of relatives living in this area'. He made the area his final choice because he knew of no alternatives and because he was in touch through the pipeline with people staying there 'who knew the area well' and who were relatives as well as co-church members. However, Mandla Z views the kinship connection as the leading consideration in the decision to move to Amatikwe.

Their independent church meets locally, but Mandla Z holds no offices and is not active in church organizations. He feels that the local church leadership is dynamic because 'the most important positions that help to keep the church surviving are occupied by people who are educated and committed members'. However, he feels that neither youth nor women have any significant voice in the church, other than in the case of women who are church committee members.

Mandla Z belongs to the local civic, which is not affiliated to the church but cooperates with it: 'if there is anything taking place at the church which will need community participation the church will inform the civic.' At the same time, the church provided Mandla Z with a network which expands his contacts with non-relatives as well, through unrelated members living in other parts of Inanda. The church is said to recruit 'relatives mostly', but also 'friends who happen to recruit each other', broadening the association base of a rural-born urban migrant significantly.

In spite of being rural-born, Mandla Z is well integrated into his urban informal area. He reports that he never felt threatened by invisible powers since arriving. Nor did he seek spiritual protection in the Inkatha/ANC clashes - instead, the local community was solid enough to organize a self-defense unit. In times of need he feels that 'there are neighbors and relatives and also church members that he can turn to', giving solid network support for the family and for him as an unemployed individual.

However, as he sees it, the church as an institution, apart from church members as individuals, has not yet given him any significant help. Related co-members provide money for transport and other minor emergencies on a fairly regular basis, and he chats with and visits them. He most regularly receives such help from 'some church members whom he met in church', and who appear to be non-relatives who have become members of his network. Defining assistance in entering a new area narrowly, Mandla Z notes that 'The churches help people if they need money, for instance. I have not heard of any help that the churches give to introduce people into the area'.

## CASE STUDY 5: CHURCH AS MEDIATING BODY FOR A RURAL-URBAN MIGRANT

Ezekiel S, 33, was born in a rural KwaZulu district and moved in 1986 to Inanda where he now lives with his wife and two children. He originally came to Durban with his uncle and an aunt who have since returned to their rural area, leaving Ezekiel S their house at Inanda. He first came

seeking to improve his education since facilities in Maphumulo were unsatisfactory, later remaining to stay. He and his aunt and uncle initially moved in with relatives at Inanda. He knew no one else in Durban at the time and was quickly persuaded by the relatives he was staying with to join their church.

Now integrated into the area, he still attends fairly often. He has never used the church network for tangible help, preferring to rely on his local relations, who regularly visit each other. He is unaware of any help that independent churches may give to people moving or in times of hardship, and has never received any healing or other service. He feels that youth have no say in the church and are just followers, while the church is run by older male members. When he was threatened by invisible powers invoked by the jealousy of workmates, he went to a local *inyanga* for help rather than to his church.

## CASE STUDY 6: TAKING OVER NETWORKS FROM A PARENT

Wanda B, 20, was left with her mother in Estcourt as a child when her father took his first polygynous wife's household to KwaNgele, a periurban area west of Durban, in the early 1970s, leaving the second wife's family behind. She rejoined her father's household in 1981 at the age of 12 when she moved to join the first wife, who had no girls in her family. Her father, originally a farmworker and now dead, was well known as an *inyanga* and traditional doctor but joined a Zionist church after arriving in KwaNgele and became an active Zionist healer. Wanda B used her church membership to become a known and accepted member of the neighborhood. Since her father's death the family has been supported by the widow, who has an informal business and receives a pension. The household's three youth members are all unemployed.

Although the family has some paternal relatives (also church members) staying in a nearby ward who are able to help in emergencies, the entire household continues to rely heavily on their church network. This network

links them to congregations in all seven wards of their tribal territory. The younger members also pray frequently with other local Zionist church congregations. Wanda B attends all church meetings, several times a week, and belongs to the church choir together with her two brothers' girlfriends. The choir is conducted by her elder brother. She also teaches Sunday school. In this capacity she organizes choir activities and youth outings. She does not belong to any other organizations.

Wanda B notes that girls of her own age and younger are often seen 'just sitting doing nothing', and she would like to see them use their time productively by joining her church and becoming active Christians. She notes that churchgoers have the highest standards of behavior in the neighborhood. Church youth who are not working try to fill in their time by holding youth meetings and outings to various local public places such as schools and water kiosks. The church tries to help in cases of death or hardship by taking up collections for the family. The church women's groups have organized a sewing club and has volunteers visiting the aged and cleaning their homes. They also assist the aged at pension gatherings.

## CASE STUDY 7: A WOMAN USING NETWORKS IN A SMALL COMMUNITY CHURCH

Sizakele M. is in the process of marriage. She has moved locally within Nyuswa to set up house on land she has bought from her maternal grandmother for R 350. She originally came from Nqetho, while her husband comes from Nyuswa. They have not settled on his parents' land because he has 'just gone out from his family.' Her husband is a diviner. They decided to take local land because they are somewhat conservative and do not want to leave their own area and be *izifiki* (seen as strangers) somewhere else.

Sizakele joined her present church last year after coming to the present area: originally like her parents she belonged to the Twelfth Apostolic Church. She was told by her ancestors in a dream to join this church or be

punished. This was after she had 'got sick, [and] then went to a Zionist who prophesied that my ancestors want me to become a *sangoma* and also a prophet, and I must do a ceremony for them, slaughtering a goat and fowls and offering Zulu beer. I did that, and became well. After that I obtained spirits enabling me to heal others, as I'm doing now. I have two capabilities, Zionist prophecy and traditional *sangoma* divination.' Earlier she had suffered from the *amandiki* hysteria, which was cured by an *inyanga* working in conjunction with her grandfather. She therefore joined her present church because she wanted to belong to a church that accepted ancestral beliefs and rituals, and 'that doesn't criticize the ancestors'. The powers of prophecy and of healing are also of importance to her. For these reasons she rejected her previous church membership and joined her present small congregation church.

This church, with an active congregation of thirty persons, travels all around on trips of up to 80 km. Sizakele is a minister and vice-secretary of the church, and also belongs to the mothers' group and the women's prayer union. The youth in her church have established a choir and a Sunday school group and are intending to form a study group, but she is not involved in these activities. Despite her age, she holds senior offices. Women in the church have their own groups and look after the young girls, but are also represented on the church committee. There is no mention of older male leadership.

She has never needed spiritual protection against threats of violence and feels safe in the present area, even though she did not choose to live in this place because of the church: she 'just liked it and knew about it already.' She uses the church network, though not necessarily as her first line of approach in case of difficulty; she takes emergencies both to her relatives and to the church committee. For example, when she lost her job in 1986 (at the age of 16) she went to her relatives. For help in house building, food, clothes at times she will also turn to her relatives. Her kin do not belong to the church, and she claims that no-one in the local area helps her, except for the grandmother that sold them the land. She does not specify which emergencies she does refer to the church.

She seems to have risen very rapidly in a small local church, using church as local network very heavily since she has hardly any kin in immediate local vicinity. In this sense she is in contrast with the urban born women who have stayed with their home church and who seem to have little local network of any kind.

## CASE STUDY 8: YOUTH VIEWS ON CHURCH POSITION

Born in Ladysmith, Zwelakhe M. is single, 28 years old, a COSATU shop steward who lives with two older brothers. His parents now live at Nkandla. The family had been forced to leave the Bhekithemba area in 1981 when that area was converted into a township development. The household was promised a new house in the township, but although Zwelakhe's father had been allocated a house number in a formal township, the family fell foul of an alleged racket organised by an *induna* and the township manager at the time. They were told that the file containing the details of the house allocated to them had been lost; this was 1987. Between that date and the end of 1988, they stayed in a hostel after their father had been boarded medically unfit to work. During this period their mother was already living at Nkandla. Some of their relatives suggested that they move into the area. Many hostel dwellers who had girlfriends had moved into this area and the work spread quickly around and about the area. In this area, some of their close relatives had informally bought some plots after fleeing the intermittent violence at Uganda. After settling, the advised the respondent's family to join them in the area.

Zwelakhe believes that it is important for the churches to encourage self-reliance and self-sufficiency among the youth. The youth should not be aloof from developments engulfing the country but they should also not involve themselves in marches and protest meetings. Sometimes he feels that 'the youth are ... thwarted by the [church] leadership which is not very much in favour of progressive thinking except in cases where such

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progressiveness affects the church. The leadership feels politics is for politicians and nobody else, and it's worse if politics involves the youth.' He feels however that the church, like politics, is about people.

He was baptised in the Full Gospel Church but later lost interest - it did not have the same meaning as the Zionists where grassroots membership is prominent. 'No one looks down upon another and there is a lot of brotherhood'. Zwelakhe was diagnosed with cancer as a child while his family belonged to the Full Gospel Church. He had to leave school and was given two years to live. Then a relative suggested that the family take him to the Zionists for healing. After this he recovered: the hospital which had made the diagnosis was shocked. He then joined the Zionists, who later also cured his father of arthritis, which they re-diagnosed (and treated as) *umeqo*, a sorcery-induced disease. Other forms of healing and support they have received include his brother being re-hired after being he was fired: the cause of this was diagnosed as 'neglect of ancestral obligations.' The family always relies on prophecy when they encounter problems. During violence in 1990, he escaped several times from ambushes, for which he thanks spiritual powers.

Often Zwelakhe has had to approach COSATU structures to resolve problems of the youth: he believes that many youthful fatalities in the violence can be attributed to a lack of strategy and lack of political education on behalf of the youth. He does not always feel safe in the area: sometimes he feels political tension 'whenever someone dies in the area, because he is politically active'. He reports instances where some vigilantes masqueraded as Zionists, making Zionist uniforms, so that many people were attacked and killed, and this reflected badly on the Zionists because they were then associated with vigilante attacks. Coupled with their traditional outlook they were then identified as vigilantes.'

His social network includes kin, friends, neighbors and of course, his church. He has lots of relatives in the area with whom he visits. Many of them also belong to his church. He feels closest to his fellow shop

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stewards, and also to a school friend who is newly returned from exile. Some church elders criticise this friend and claim that he is 'unChristian'.

Zwelakhe's position exemplifies the tension between the pressure to participate in political activities and the politically neutral stance of the Zionists.

## CASE STUDY 9: MOVING INTO PERIURBAN FROM A RURAL AREA AND GETTING HELP THROUGH MOTHER AS CHURCH MEMBER

Ndodana S, 26, was born in a rural tribal area on the Natal South Coast. He is single and unemployed, living with his mother, his unemployed older brother, a sister's young child and an unrelated young woman from Port Shepstone who lives with the family as paid domestic help. The family was abandoned by his father soon after he had brought them to live in their present peri-urban tribal district to the west of Durban, in the late 1970s. As a deserted wife, his mother is head of household and has built up a very profitable informal business, which enables her to support the household successfully without other wage income.

Ndodana S's father located their present home through contacts made at work after getting employment in the area. These workmates introduced him to a landholding family willing to sell them a residential site on informal tenure. The only church member in the household is the head, as Ndodana S notes that the rest of the family, himself included, enjoy drinking too much to become church congregants. The head originally belonged to the Roman Catholic church but joined her present Zionist congregation when she was healed from sickness soon after arriving in their present area. She now attends fairly regularly but holds her church attendance subordinate to business considerations.

Since the area has received large-scale in-migration since the 1970s, the church congregation includes a broad range of people from a number of places. While the head often uses her stokvel to provide emergency credit,

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the household is most often given help in minor emergencies by her network of church friends, which includes both old local families and new in-migrants. The family have no close relatives in the area, and visit their nearest kin in Clermont township irregularly.

Ndodana S himself does not associate with the church youth, and became a member of a local Comrades group around 1990. This group declined into lawless behavior and initiated a local reign of terror while fighting a brutal war with a taxi-related alliance of socially conservative residents in 1991-92. A large number of casualties were sustained on both sides and among the uninvolved community residents before the comtsotsi group was chased out of the area by an *impi* of local men in 1992. It is not clear whether or not the household head's church connections were instrumental in assisting Ndodana S to present himself as repentant and negotiate his way back into the community.

However, he was given critical assistance by the Zion congregants during the conflict when he was said to be targeted for assassination. The church defined the situation through prophecy and provided him as the child of a member with several forms of ritual protection, while strengthening the home against outside attack. The family was able to cope with the emergency, and today Ndodana S feels reasonably safe in the area.

## CASE STUDY 10: THE ROLE OF YOUTH IN AN AIC AS SEEN THROUGH THE EYES OF A YOUTH ORGANISER

Sanele L. grew up in a mainline church where he was a committed member of the choir. He was then living at Ndwedwe. At the age of 18, he was in Std 10 when he encountered a lot of problems with his studies. Suddenly, he lost concentration barely three months into the exam period. He consulted specialist doctors, and some of them found something wrong with his eyesight. After that his cousin took him to the Zionists, who pointed out that a close friend of his was at the same time very jealous of the respondent's progress and had bewitched the respondent's books near

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the time of the exam so he would lose concentration and fail matric. His eyesight was getting very bad each time he started reading and the words would be hazy, but with proper and strong spiritual power he was able to pass his matric. Their prayers also contributed a lot toward the respondent getting a job. He began having serious thoughts about joining the church. To him this action was to be a sign of thanksgiving to God, as well as meant to clear his conscience for his previously very strong anti-Zionist stand. He had always considered them to be lowly and not a proper church.

He also experienced *tikoloshe* and witchcraft problems from time to time, which were also solved by the Zionists. In addition he suffered from misunderstandings with ancestral powers. The Zionists would come and hold *ilati* candle vigils to supplicate the ancestors for providence and spiritual protection.

His church membership help both Sanele and his co-resident cousin to get settled in their present area of residence, as they were relatively new to Umlazi and did not know how to go about securing accommodation, especially in view of the ongoing violence. The church members sought accommodation for them until their present home was secured. It happened that one of the senior members of the church was also lodging there within the settlement and some members of the church suggested that they also move in so as to be closer to the senior member for more parental protection and guidance. In addition, the area was a bit more stable than Malukazi settlement, where he also considered settling, though there were outbreaks of violence here and there.

Sanele is the church youth organizer and belongs to the youth side of the community development committee. The development committee is community-based and is linked to the church by way of its being part of the community. As youth organiser, he offers spiritual and material guidance to the church youth. He organizes prayer meetings as well as visits to other Zionist churches where choral, acting and beauty

competitions are held. He advises youth on activities such as workshops where the youth learn or teach each other various skills such as craft work, or socially acceptable standards of behavior. In this way they are able to unite on a regular basis for a spiritually satisfying motive. The youth in this manner get to understand each other. The church youth have also launched their own stokvel.

As young members of the church, youth are always encouraged to be innovative and assertive, and to use their leadership potential to good effect. They are encouraged to put on plays that depict the life of the youth, the black community, and the social context, so that they can better understand their [urban] environment. Each and every conference is always attended by a youth delegate. This delegate is entrusted with conveying to the leadership the feelings and suggestions of the youth.

Coming as he does from within the established churches, Sanele urges youth to break out of their cocoon and realize their potential. They must not divorce themselves from issues affecting the community because they are the future leaders of the community.

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