

# CONVERSATIONS WITH TRADITION

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FAITH-BASED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT THROUGH  
THE EDEN NETWORK IN CAPE TOWN



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*DISSERTATIONS PRESENTED AS PART FULFILMENT  
OF THE DEGREE OF MASTERS OF CITY AND  
REGIONAL PLANNING  
in the  
SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND  
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# ABSTRACT

Community development is a tool in urban planning that, when used in contexts in the global South, can be used to perpetuate forms of “worlding” (Roy, 2011). “Worlding” tracks the way that urban models travel in asymmetrical ways from the global North to the global South. Christian Faith-Based Organisations (FBOs), in particular, are sites where this type of planning is done. The perpetuation of asymmetries between the global North and the global South lies, partially, in Christianity’s connection to iterations of urban citizenship. In the contemporary era, faith-based community development inhabits an ambivalent space, where it draws on Enlightenment traditions to legitimate action, while also invoking hope and conviviality in everyday local settings.

I investigate the work that FBOs do in community development through a case study of the Eden Project in Salt River, Cape Town. I use a combination of desktop research, unobtrusive observation and interview, which I analyse using discourse analysis. I also review literature related to FBO community development. Through a thorough review of the literature on FBOs, I establish a set of assessment criteria by which I assess the case study.

In the course of this research, I find that the Eden Network SA is an assemblage, which draws on global forms, or principles. These forms are assemblages because they adapt to the heterogeneous conditions of local areas. The Eden Network SA reiterates a version of “worlding”, while also subverting parochialisms. The Eden Network SA invokes hope in its capacity to hold the tension between systemic concerns, while also acting on possibilities in particularised settings. These possibilities frequently relate to welfare functions, which means that this network plays a governance function in the local area it locates in.

I suggest that FBOs are well-positioned for relational community development work. However, this work should be done in receptive, respectful ways that seek to join the daily life of the neighbourhood. This is the case because relationship-building is the primary foundation for participating in the life of an area. This requires a move away from goal-, or programme-led efforts to undertake community development, in favour of being in relationship with people, on their own terms.

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## A FEMINIST LORD'S PRAYER

Our Father, Mother, who are in the world and surpass  
the world,

Blessed be your presence,  
in us, in animals and flowers, in still air and wind.  
May justice and peace dwell among us, as you come to  
us.

Your will be our will;  
You will that we be sisters and brothers,  
as bread is bread,  
water is itself,  
For our hunger, for quenching of thirst.

Forgive us.  
We walk crookedly in the world,  
are perverse, and fail of our promise.

But we would be human,  
if only you consent to stir up our hearts.

Amen.

(Cleveland, 2017: online)

**CHAPTER ONE  
INTRODUCTION**

*Christ of my rising tide*

*Guide me in this sea*

*Of risings and of fallings*

*And unchartered territories*

Recessional, Ó Tuama, 2010

## **I.1. INTRODUCTION**

This dissertation investigates the role that Faith-Based Organisations play in community development, as enabled and articulated through “worlding” (Roy, 2011), with ambivalent results, which include iterations of hopeful conviviality. This chapter serves as an introduction to the issue at hand in this research, and seeks to establish the primary research question that this study asks. The chapter starts by providing some context, as well as an introduction and definitions for “worlding”, “community development” as well as “conviviality” and “hope”. After this, the chapter introduces the case study, the Eden Network SA. In section 1.3., I introduce the key intention for undertaking this research. After this, the discussion turns to the main research question. In section 1.6., the discussion turns to the research methods and techniques for this dissertation. Finally, this chapter provides a concise overview of the chapters in this dissertation.

## **I.2. STARTING A CONVERSATION**

### **I.2.1. Theoretical Troubling**

A starting point. Mbembe (2003: 13) argues that reason has become the paradigm by which “late-modern political criticism” has largely come to articulate politics, political subjects, the community, and morality. As such, the one who acts reasonably in public, is the differentiated, liberated subject. Baum (2015) makes a similar point about the enlightenment tradition, in its pursuit of rationalising errant modes of being. Furthermore, Baum (2015) points to the extent to which professional planners are trained to work through information systematically and reasonably and to assume that people are also this way inclined, and seek to achieve ends by means of resource-saving, and tactical means. However, he points to the extent to which other

professions, such as behavioural economics and legal professions have made forays into the emotional languages by which people seek to make themselves in the world. The current paradigm of rationality given to professional planners is deficient for working alongside or explaining the ways that humans organise, be and become (Baum, 2015).

This conception of humanity can be attributed to planning's liberal parentage (Winkler, 2012). As Sandercock (2006: 65) points out, in this paradigm, the "secular nation state" is separated from "religion", which is seen as "potentially divisive", and is thus "kept out of the realm of public policy and governance discourse". This division between different spheres is indicative of what Tippet (2016) calls "competing certainties" that we set up when we have political conversations. That is, planning is rooted in a liberal idea of the world that conceptualises humans as rational beings who are capable of separating different aspects of life into categories for the sake of inclusion, while these ways of approaching the world are not necessarily true of the ways that people navigate the world.

John O'Donohue (Tippet and O'Donohue, 2015: online) points to the fact that the blurs between work and faith are tricky and should be navigated with care. O'Donohue (Tippet and O'Donohue, 2015: online) says that, "I've always thought that tradition is to the community what memory is to the individual. And if you lose your memory, you wake up in the morning, you don't know where you are, who you are, what ground you're standing on. And if you lose your tradition, it's the same thing..." the conversation proceeds to the point that within both memory and tradition, there are "huge dark passages" and "dark zones of complete horror" ... "and there are also zones of great light and immense wells of refreshment and healing" ... and "it's a critical question in all of us, for somebody that wants to have a mature, open-ended, good hearted critical faith, to conduct the most vigorous and relentless conversation that you can have with your own tradition" (Tippet and O'Donohue, 2015:online).

As someone who is positioning myself to become a professional urban planner, I want to critically engage with some aspects of this tradition, while also keeping an eye to the tradition I emerge from and participate in as a Christian. Whether this corridor is one of darkness or light, or a dappled shadowing, is unsure, but this is intended as a conversation with traditions. I ask about "the community" and its traditions, as they emerge and are (re)formulated in new spaces and iterations.

Sandercock (2006), in conversing with the planning tradition, recognises that planning in its various shapes is underpinned by hope, or a structuring of hope. Solnit (2016: xiii – xiv) defines hope as “broad perspectives with specific possibilities, ones that invite or demand that we act [...] you could call it an account of complexities and uncertainties, with openings.” This definition considers the need for a framework that accounts for systemic issues. Simultaneously, this framework should have the capacity for specificity, which enables action. Hope, then, looks to the indefinite and tangled while also asking how it might unknot parts of the tangle. This is not a naïve way of looking at the world, which negates pain and damage. Nevertheless, it requires developing the capacity to ask, “where does it hurt?” (Tippett and Sales, 2017: online).

This conversational approach to traditions can also be seen in the context of “conviviality” (Hinchliffe and Whatmore, 2006; Nyamnjoh, 2015). Broadly, Hinchliffe and Whatmore (2006) understand conviviality as a politics that accommodates difference, while Nyamnjoh (2015) sees it as a way to negotiate incompleteness. This is particularly pertinent if we are to move beyond a paradigm of “competing certainties”. That is, if we are able to move through incompleteness, we might develop a political dispensation that encompasses recognition that we are not certain, nor are we ever singularly complete. Furthermore, encountering one another’s differences provides scope for recognising interdependency (Nyamnjoh, 2015). Nyamnjoh (2015: 12) points to the ways that conviviality is negotiated between communities at various scales by means of “tactical alliances” that arise out of the recognition of shared concerns and desires. He further posits that “frontier Africans” are capable of navigating the limits of mutuality with the state, and are positioned to formulate pathways that promote social encounter and collaboration (Nyamnjoh, 2015).

Burchardt (2013: 169) argues that religion also plays a role in allowing people to locate themselves in relation to networks in localised areas – by seeking belonging, rather than the pursuit of the more fixed “identity [or] community”. Furthermore, Lundby and Dayan (1999) suggest that religious association provides a way for people to delineate new positioning and ways of being in the context of transitioning publics. They provide a space for envisioning new selfhood and ways of belonging in political spaces in Africa. Envisioning, here, is part of a greater set of processes that allow for constantly moving, changing territorialisation within the given urban environment and in places outside it (Burchardt, 2013). In addition, Roy (2009:

821) argues, following Massey and Amin, that the “local”, can be understood as a domain of “agonistic engagement” that relates to a variety of “scales of politics/social action”. That is, religious affiliation is a site for creating new ways of becoming and kinship in local areas, which can be understood as spaces for engaging struggles for democratic ways of being, which carry traces of places and regions beyond the particularised local setting.

According to Burchardt (2013: 168), “South Africa is one of the most religious countries in the world when measured in terms of levels of religious belief, membership and participation”. These behaviours of belief manifest socially and spatially. In addition, these manifestations follow a historical trajectory. Under the colonial regime in South Africa, traditionalist resistance to colonial imposition and Christian mission work was often associated with rural areas (Burchardt, 2013). This resistance meant that Christianity was a more urban condition. In addition, this urbanity was the locus for the interfusion of modernity and Christianity (Burchardt, 2013). As such, historically, religious belief in Africa, and South Africa has been imbricated within colonial articulations of what it means to be urban and modern.

The ways that forms of Christian community come about can be seen as a form of “worlding” (Roy, 2011). Roy (2011) uses “worlding” as a theoretical tool to track and trace the variety of techniques and programmes used to construct urban environments in various parts of the world. Since Christianity, which has its roots in the colonial metropole, plays a role in the historical trajectory of political subject formation, worlding becomes a way to trace this particular technique and its spatial manifestations in urban spaces in South Africa. This notion of worlding ties into Roy’s (2015:205) claim that, “postcolonial theory is a way of inhabiting, rather than discarding, the epistemological problem that is Eurocentrism. Postcolonial theory is not so much a way of interpreting and narrating the postcolony as it is a method for interpreting and narrating the West.” In other words, worlding, used in the context of postcolonial theory, is a device for understanding the asymmetrical power dynamics that shape socio-spatial articulations between and within geopolitical spheres.

“Worlding” is a tool that assists a reading of broad structural power asymmetries. At the same time, the tools and techniques used to reconfigure urban patterns are never entirely replicable. For this reason, I draw on Ong and Collier’s (2005:4) idea of “global assemblage”. The “global” is transferrable. There are aspects of the global that can be rendered abstract and relocated to

diverse contexts. Nevertheless, contextual, local settings limit and change the manifestation of the global. These alterations to global forms are assemblages (McFarlane, 2009).

Community development, especially in the contexts of FBOs in South Africa, is a technique of urban governance that is a global assemblage. According to Gilchrist (2003), this form of development is, at its most basic level, about capacitating people to work collectively to address issues that arise in a local area. In most cases of community development, this work is done in areas that are defined as socio-economically deprived (Gilchrist, 2003; Wolf-Powers, 2014).

As such, there are instances within planning where people are understood beyond the rational. Simultaneously, social networks provide a way to navigate cosmopolitan settings. These networks that create new pathways for the sake of collective conviviality, can be found in both religious and planning discourse and practice. The convergence of these pathways creates a starting point for an uncertain conversation.

### **1.2.2. Introducing the Case Study: The Eden Project in Salt River**

A pinion. A missional outreach, called the Eden Project came to my attention at the end of 2016. It is the articulation of a partnering between The Message Trust and Jubilee Community Church, which is based in Observatory. This team was launched in Salt River in 2014. This partnership links into the Eden Network UK, which started in the Greater Manchester area in England. The Message Trust SA is the result of a collaboration with The Message Trust in the United Kingdom (UK). The Message UK started in Manchester approximately twenty-five years ago, through the work of a man called Anthony Hawthorne. There are presently 51 Eden Projects in operation (Join Eden, 2017: online). Given Cape Town's colonial history and the articulation of urbanity historically associated with Christianity, I am interested to know how it is that Cape Town became a location for an Eden Project. Furthermore, I want to know whether a model formulated in the global North is appropriate in the global South setting.

The vision statement for the Eden Project reads as follows:

Our vision is to mobilise a team of volunteers who will live long-term in the community in order to demonstrate the community of God in word and action. Serving under the leadership of Grant and Steph Porthen, Salt River Eden team will accomplish this vision

through sharing the joys and challenges of community life as they live as salt and light amongst the people. The team will have a particular calling to the youth of the area, recognising teenagers as a missional key to the whole community. Team members will develop relational activities to positively engage local young people with a holistic approach embracing their education, health and of course, their relationship with God (Jubilee Community Church, 2014: online).

This project highlights to me the fact that planning is not purely the domain of professional planners, but can be undertaken by a number of stakeholders, who may be community- or faith-based organisations. As such, the “domain that constitutes the field of city-building ... is also that form of collective action which we might call community building” (Sandercock, 1998: 39).

The fact that this group emerges out of a partnership and is undertaken by a “team of volunteers” who are “in the community” shows that this is a future-looking initiative that is orientated towards “collective action”. This project is also about ‘community-building’ in the sense that “sharing the joys and challenges of community life” from the starting point of developing “relational activities” with youth in the area. The project is orientated towards long-term, relationship building with people who live in Salt River.

The use of the word community in this vision statement is worth analysing. As Cohen and McCarthy (2015) point out, “community” is a smaller, more personal concept than society, and less centralised than the state. It is a “photo negative of the real world” that comes to stand in as the opposition to what is taken to be problematic (Cohen and McCarthy, 2015: 8). Community, subsequently, becomes a legitimising factor for processes of decentralisation. Another element of community is that they exist as the normalised foil to ecosystems, and indicate the assumption of a “discrete community that, in fact, may or may not exist” (Cohen and McCarthy, 2015:8). These two points about community indicate that when the notion of community is brought to the fore, it should not be treated as a neutral concept.

The extent to which the community (pre-existent or not) acts as a vehicle for decentralisation, highlights the nature of neoliberal governance and the condition of the political subject in this context. This idea follows in the tracks of Ong’s (2006: 499) argument that what constitutes citizenship has been re-defined in terms of “universalising criteria of neoliberalism and human

rights”, which congeal into “global assemblages” that render visible those terrains in which “political entitlements and claims” can be made. These terrains, rather than national territory, are the nexuses from which various ‘communities’ or gatherings mobilise politically.

The affiliation between the Eden Network in South Africa and that in the UK, highlights the extent to which this project might become a site from which contemporary articulations of citizenship are iterated. I suggest that drawing on “worlding” (Roy, 2011) discourse is a useful way of thinking through the ways that capital of various kinds flow through the local areas that the Eden Network SA is located in. This also highlights the presence of multiplicities of cores and peripheries within a region (Roy, 2009).

At the same time, the emphasis on education, and health, also ties into a developmental discourse that is related to the assurance of human rights that the neoliberal subject is supposed to have. The emphasis on education and health, is articulated by Lundby and Dayan (1999) as an advantage of modernity that was typically associated with church denominations when colonisers first arrived in Africa. It is interesting to see this rearticulated in the vision statement of a church in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. As such, it could be argued that the Eden project serves as a resource space that reformulates modernity in its entanglements with coloniality and religion in the South African urban environment.

### **1.3. IDENTIFYING THE ISSUE UNDER STUDY**

Planning’s liberal parentage has given rise to an articulation of planning as a rational endeavour, for rationally articulated citizens in a differentiated society. However, the discourses of community development and conviviality provide ways into understanding citizenship in more complex ways. Local Faith Based Organisations, which are linked to global flows, participate in planning as a form of “worlding”. This sets up global assemblages, which include articulations of neoliberal citizenship and reiterates imaginings of the city that draw on the Enlightenment tradition, while also providing spaces to navigate the limitations of state relationships in hopeful convivial ways. The Eden Project, situated in Salt River, provides a window into these conditions.

#### **I.4. ESTABLISHING THE AIM OF THE STUDY**

This research endeavour seeks to trace planning's liberal parentage in order to understand the emergence of the imaginaries it has established. This tracing is done in the interests of critiquing these formulations by means of the more complex ways that community development and conviviality might see political subject hood. Local faith-based organisations are imbricated in planning as worlding, to articulate neoliberal subjects, while reiterating Enlightenment-inspired imaginings of the city. Nevertheless, faith communities also provide spaces to navigate the limitations of state relationships in hopeful, convivial ways. This study aims to look at the Eden Project, situated in Salt River, as a window into these conditions.

#### **I.5. ESTABLISHING THE MAIN RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

What historical trajectories of “worlding” does the Eden Project in Salt River, Cape Town participate in and reiterate? How do these conditions enable community development initiatives? How does the Eden Network represent a form of “global assemblage” that indicates the shifting patterns of this terrain?

How does the Eden Network articulate Community Development?

What practices of conviviality and hope does the Eden Network imagine and enable?

#### **I.6. ESTABLISHING THE RESEARCH METHODS**

##### **I.6.1. RESEARCH METHODS**

###### **I.6.1.1. Case study**

I use case study method, by looking at the Eden Project, in Salt River, Cape Town as a nexus in which complex interrelationships arise and become visible – between the network of institutions that it is connected to, as well as the ‘community’ that the people connected to

this project live with. That is, in the specific context of Salt River, I tease out the values and complexities that underpin the way that this FBO becomes and functions (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011).

### **1.6.1.2. Discourse Analysis**

Discourse analysis is oriented towards a critical awareness of societal relations, which seek to highlight power structures, so that normative suggestions for moving towards social change can be made (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). Discourse analysis takes the starting point that language structures our perception of the world. That is, there is no pre-given reality, only the one made accessible to us through discourse. This is not an ideal claim, that denies materiality, but is a way of saying that language shapes peoples' perceptions of reality. (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). Subsequently, this method investigates language and texts to make sense of how texts imbue material instances and places with meaning. I use this method to conduct close readings of the language used around the themes of "worlding", "community development", "governance", "social capital" and faith-based organisations in my literature review in chapter three. In addition, I apply this method to texts published in various settings by the Eden Network. I also use this method to analyse the language used at The Message Trust's annual Proximity Conference, which is held in Cape Town on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of September 2017, as well as in personal interviews with key role players.

## **1.6.2. RESEARCH TECHNIQUES**

### **1.6.2.1. Desktop Research**

I collect several secondary sources from a variety of sources, such as books, journal articles, web pages, podcasts and pamphlets. I review these to establish research criteria, and in order to gain insight into the Eden Network SA and UK.

### **1.6.2.2. Unobtrusive Observation**

I spend time in various spaces linked to the Eden Network and The Message Trust SA. I take notes, videos and recordings in these spaces, in order to gain an insight into how the Eden Network SA operates. In this sense, I take note of the way that people interact, speak about relationships, the urban environment and the work that the Eden Network SA does.

### **1.6.2.3. Semi-Structured Interviews**

I conduct semi-structured interviews with Grant Porthen and Colin Banfield. Interviews serve as a way to interact with people and gain a deeper understanding of the way that they might experience an occurrence, phenomenon or place. While this is a time-consuming technique, it assists in showing a holistic stance on a situation. These interviews help me to verify information gathered by means of secondary sources.

## **1.7. STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION**

The Dissertation is structured as follows:

In this chapter, I introduce to the issue under investigation in this research work. In this chapter, I establish the main research questions. I also introduce the case study and the methods and techniques I use to investigate the case study.

Chapter Two outlines the qualitative research methods and techniques used to undertake this study. This chapter also encompasses discussions on conducting ethical research, in addition to discussions concerning the limitations of the methods and techniques used to collect data for this study. It concludes with a discussion on how the data will be analysed.

Chapter Three establishes the theoretical framework for analysing and exploring the values and meanings of faith-based community development in Cape Town. The theoretical framework is based on an in-depth review of the relevant literature. A review of the relevant literature also adds additional research questions for this study.

Chapter Four is a both/and chapter, in which I explore the notion of giving an account, in order to position myself in relation to this case study. I explore the role of storytelling in planning practice. This exploration extends into an interpretation of hope and conviviality. I analyse the Eden Network by means of these notions. This analysis entails an interpretation of how the Eden Network SA gives an account of Cape Town's urban environment in incomplete ways, but uses utopian pragmatism to inculcate civic identity and hope.

Chapter Five analyses the data collected using the assessment criteria established in Chapter Three. I use these criteria to explore and analyse the values and meanings of faith-based community development in the context of the Eden Network. In this chapter, I seek to unpack the work that the Eden Network SA does in the local area of Salt River in reference to the principles derived from the Eden Network UK. This is done using the idea of "global assemblage", to uncover how "worlding" operates between differing contexts.

Chapter Six begins by providing answers to the main and subsidiary research questions. In so doing, the research findings are synthesised. The chapter then goes on to present policy and other spatial planning recommendations for the purpose of addressing the problems identified in the study. In addition, I explore some vectors of complexity that this study encounters. I go on to suggest a few lines of inquiry for future studies about Faith-Based Organisations.

## CHAPTER TWO RESEARCH

## 2.1. INTRODUCTION

Knowledge is caught up within normative, power-laden hierarchies (Nyamnjoh, 2015). These ordering elements determine the nature of the knowledge that is constructed and re-constructed. Subsequently, knowledge that emerges from within a specific order perpetuates given social configurations. In particular, in the context of universities, Nyamnjoh (2015: 16) points to the fact that these arrangements mean that there is a lack of “convivial scholarship”. This lack of conviviality can be linked to the academic disposition, which is oriented towards “critique”, which Scott (2017) suggests requires reformulation. Critique, even when it seeks to indicate its normative basis, tends to position itself with “the overbearing conceits of omniscience” (Scott, 2017: 5). It is this requirement that the academic research project calls me into that I struggle with. And it is an ethical concern, since critique allows the one critiquing to “stand, knowing and aloof, outside the community for whom it claims to speak, needing from its object of scrutiny nothing more than a passive, mute acquiescence” (Scott, 2017:5). While the work that follows is concerned with critical engagement, I want to flag my ambivalence here, in that I find it too easy to slip into this language and approach of being “aloof,” when engaging critically. Perhaps this is an indication of the way that language acts upon the subject, which suggests a need to pay careful attention to the ways that we participate in the life-world of language (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002).

Nyamnjoh (2015) suggests a counterpoint to this kind of critique leaning into pretenses at omniscience. He calls for convivial scholarship, which seeks to hold the intricacy of the world and knowledge about it (Nyamnjoh, 2015). As such, convivial scholarship does not align itself with one viewpoint to the exclusion of all others. Nevertheless, it is grounded in an ethic of working systematically in a way that contests inequitable and unjust societal relationships. This contestation should cultivate narratives of what a good life might entail. These narratives should not, however, be foisted upon all people as *the* good life. Rather, since people inhabit diverse worldviews, the multiplicity of what a good life might mean for various people should be acknowledged. These multiple versions mark the point at which local habits and encounters engage with global forms. These encounters are open-ended and should not be hemmed into binary conceptions of the world (Nyamnjoh, 2015).

In this research, I seek to align myself with Nyamnjoh’s (2015) call for conviviality in knowledge production. The methods and techniques used in this project are tailored to the specific line of

inquiry that this research follows. This line of inquiry is set up through the main and subsidiary research questions, explored in chapters one and three. The aim of this work is, firstly, to investigate the historical trajectories of “worlding” that the Eden Project in Salt River, Cape Town participates in and reiterates, in order to enable community development initiatives. Secondly, this ties into the emergent conditions of “community”, becoming-together, and contemporary politics of subject-formation that the Eden Network participates in. Thirdly, this research looks at the practices of conviviality and hope that the Eden Network imagines and enables. I use qualitative methods and techniques to investigate these questions. This chapter entails a discussion of these different methods and techniques.

This discussion looks at the thinking that informs choices for using specific methods, while it also addresses the practical ‘how-to’ of conducting research in the field. The chapter follows in this order: the chapter begins with a discussion on methods used in this research. These methods are case study method and discourse analysis. The discussion in this section centres primarily on the (philosophical and theoretical) reasons that these methods have been chosen for this study. In addition, the strengths of both these methods, as well as their limitations, and how these might be overcome are also discussed in this section. The chapter then turns to the techniques for working through these methods. These techniques include desktop analysis, semi-structured interviews and unobtrusive observation. The chapter ends with a section on ethical considerations and how to address them. It is to a discussion of the research methods that the chapter now turns.

## **2.2. RESEARCH METHODS**

### **2.2.1. Case Study Method**

This research project uses case study to gain a deeper understanding of the way that community and community development is mediated in and by the Eden Project and its affiliated network. As a research method, the case study emerges out of a “constructivist paradigm” (Baxter and Jack, 2008: 545). This paradigm recognises that a variety of perspectives exist. These perspectives, in turn, play a role in shaping social reality. While this view does not completely refuse the potential for objective investigation or truth, it seeks to understand the value-laden dynamic from which phenomena or “quasi-objects” arise. I follow Latour in articulating the world in terms of “quasi-objects”. That is, Latour sees the world as full of quasi-

objects, which are “socio-natural” phenomena (Swyngedouw, 2011: 73) that go beyond the standard binary conceptions used to differentiate phenomena from one another. Rather, discursive fields have led to this way of seeing and creating the world. The world is full of fluid “nature-culture hybrids” that exist in a spectrum (Swyngedouw, 2011: 73). The push that emerges from this approach resonates with the discussion above, which recognises that there are a variety of ways of “knowing” that are privileged in various ways. Case study highlights this ambiguity in that research participants have the potential to actively shape the data and its subsequent outcomes, instead of being acted upon. At the same time, in the spirit of “critique” elucidated above, and given the limited time-scale within which this project is conducted, I, as a researcher might take on the “aloof” and seemingly distanced perspectives that come with the territory of writing out of the academy. Flyvbjerg (2006) argues that case study presents a method for cultivating in-depth understandings of reality. Case studies validate contingent, context-bound ways of knowing. He goes on to posit that when seeking to understand social scenes, these forms of knowing are the only way that one can approach sociality. That is, developing theoretical frameworks for the terrain of human affairs is a redundant activity.

### **2.2.1.3. Type of Case Study**

Stake (1995) and Yin (2003) have both developed case study classification systems. These systems are complementary. Stake (1995) classifies case studies as either “intrinsic” or “instrumental”. Intrinsic cases seek to investigate an occurrence for its own sake, because the details of the case are in and of themselves interesting. Instrumental cases are more concerned with how the case might contribute to theory. This type of case study is designed to help the researcher pursue or deepen an understanding of an interest that lies beyond the case itself. That is, the case is investigated critically and holistically so that something that it might be part of can be understood better. In Yin’s (2003) classification, the types that are most applicable to qualitative data are “exploratory” and “descriptive”. Exploratory case study seeks to investigate an occurrence for its own sake, since it might not have any clearly designated intention or output. Descriptive case study, on the other hand, is designed to explore an event within its actual environment. As this research project aims to generate policy recommendations, the case study is not exploratory or intrinsic. Rather, this case study is descriptive and instrumental.

This is a singular case study. It is often thought that it is preferable to develop a case study with multiple cases, in order to corroborate data more thoroughly. Flyvbjerg (2006) refutes this view by pointing to the way that deep examination can yield ways of knowing that might statistical, large studies cannot. Each approach has its own value, and should be used with discernment in specific instances, depending on the topic at hand (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Another aspect of the fallacy that singular case studies do not adequately contribute to scientific knowledge lies in a privileging of the capacity to generalise. However, there are multiple tools for attaining new knowledge, and generalisation is merely one tool in this repertoire (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 10). In fact, as Flyvbjerg does, working through fallacious ways of knowing constitutes a method for progressing knowledge (Solnit, 2006). Indeed, as Solnit (2006: 163) points out, it is also important to map the places of the unknown. That is, greeting the unknown constitutes knowledge, which singular case study allows for.

#### **2.2.1.2. Defining and Limiting the Case**

This rejoinder to see the unknown is part of what makes case study an apt method for exploring contextually embedded everyday phenomena (David and Sutton, 2011). A case study is conducted primarily in order to record an actually existing occurrence within the environment that it arises from. This method offers a holistic view of a situation, and is particularly useful when it is not easy to differentiate between an environment and the events that occur within it (David and Sutton, 2011). The case study is a useful research method because it facilitated in-depth investigation that is able to relate the intricacy that inheres to the actual world, while also seeking to explain the causal chains that exist within this sphere (David and Sutton, 2011). In addition, this method is particularly suited to answering the 'how' and 'why' questions about 'worlding' processes in the FBO community development in the course of the introductory and literature review chapters. In addition, this method allows for a range of different investigative techniques. This range of techniques allows for flexibility during the course of research, as data may alter perceptions and approaches required.

However, as Baxter and Jack (2008) note, there are limits to what the case study can be used for. Baxter and Jack (2008) offer a number of tips for ensuring that researchers do not try to make the case study do more work than it needs to. For instance, by asking a question that is too broad, for instance, by asking about how globalisation operates, without providing a context for this question. I can limit the case study according to time and place, by time and

activity, or by definition and context. I think about the Eden Project affiliated to Jubilee Community Church, in relation to place, that is, Salt River. However, the Eden Project is enmeshed into the network of relations that it is affiliated to, which leads me to investigate the nature of relational networks and the ideas they share across space and time as “global assemblage”. The scope of this research, then, while located in the local area, Salt River, is contingent to other areas in Cape Town and in the UK, where the Eden Network operates. In other words, the context is mediated across a spatially dispersed network. In addition, because this research project is a time-bound activity, the fieldwork is undertaken in a relatively short period of time.

### **2.2.2. Discourse Analysis**

Discourse analysis, like case study, does not take knowledge, and particularly, the enactment of language, as an impartial area. Instead, it sees reality, social spheres and ways of identifying as inter-constitutive, dynamic zones of knowing (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). There are a variety of approaches to discourse analysis, which take different lines on theory and methodology. Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) provide an overview of three types of discourse analysis – namely, Laclau and Mouffe’s stream of discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, and discursive psychology – that share common threads, which I will now explore, before investigating the benefits of discourse analysis in urban studies.

The types outlined by Jørgensen and Phillips (2002: 2) conceive of specific units such as “subject” and “language” in similar ways. Furthermore, discourse analysis is oriented towards a critical awareness of societal relations, which seek to highlight societal power structures, so that normative suggestions for moving towards social change can be made (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). This is similar to Nyamnjoh’s (2015) vision of convivial scholarship, which seeks to mine narratives of how people conceive of the good. It is important to recognise that discourse analysis itself inhabits a specific view and that the vision of change presented when using this method is one amongst multiple versions of what could be a good social process or outcome.

Discourse analysis fits into a social constructivist paradigm. Broadly, discourse analysis adheres to four principles (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). Firstly, discourse analysis is critical of commonly accepted understanding. This view sees knowledge as partial and located, rather

than neutral. The world is not understood as given, but is mediated by the views we have, or discourses through which it is conveyed. Secondly, these mediating factors are historical and cultural in nature. The place we live in and the time in which we live implicates us in particular outlooks and approaches. Third, these historical moments are built through social interaction. Societal norms have an effect on what and how one knows, and since society is made up of various actors, the appropriateness of these ways of knowing are contested. Fourth, ways of knowing that are deemed acceptable in certain spheres determine the practices, habits and behaviour in that setting. Subsequently, some behaviours might be acceptable in some social settings, but taboo in others (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002).

### **2.2.2.1. Discourse Analysis in Urban Studies**

Discourse Analysis is as an attractive direction to take in urban policy research because conventional analysis tends to focus on the processes for decision-making, without reflecting on the power dynamics that mediate them (Jacobs, 2006). Subsequently, discourse analysis provides a way to think about how power relations and differences of opinion or outlook influence policy procedures (Jacobs, 2006). In addition, discourse analysis aligns with recognition that language is vital to policy development (Jacobs, 2006). Discourse analysis engages with language as a device that might be used to serve particular agendas. Additionally, interpretation is also a consideration for policy arenas. In other words, the way that individuals and organisations choose to signify their actions and arrangements are as important as the actions and arrangements themselves. This can be said because the moments of signifying can produce future imaginaries and new realms of discourse (Jacobs, 2006: 40).

According to Jacobs (2006), influences upon discourse analysis include thinkers such as Wittgenstein and Winch, who view the content of words as inherent to the moments of utterance. That is, the formal logic of words is not different in kind to what the word signifies. Since this is the case, for these thinkers, it is important to take note of language so as to understand the way that one can make sense of the intricacies of the reading that people make of their surroundings. Within the political realm, this has led to an interpretation that sees language as a performative political activity, rather than a mere formal carrier for ideology.

Jacobs (2006: 41) holds that one particularly influential figure within this realm of analysis has been Foucault, who maintains that language plays a vital role in setting up “regimes of truth”.

These “regimes” are structures that decide how social concerns are articulated and resolved. In this outlook, power inheres to linked systems of connection, rather than lying in particular moments of atomised force. By not taking a reductionist view of power, this view also sees language and power in an iterative relation, not a linear causal relation. That is, language and power relations are co-constitutive. One does not presuppose the other. Genealogy is frequently used to trace the incongruities inherent to iterative presentations of texts. Watson (2006) explains genealogy, briefly, as a method for locating the source and pathway from which ways of thinking emerge. This is done in order to uncover the extent to which patterns of thought depend on the socio-cultural settings, mediated as they are by political concerns and language. That is, genealogy is a way of locating thought as contingent and contextual.

My interest in faith-based organisations (FBOs) arises from the way that these organisations play a role in articulating ways of knowing the world and the impact that this has on social life. At the same time, in alignment with Foucault (1980: 119), I see the appeal in recognising power as a “productive network that runs through the whole social body, much more than a negative instance whose function is repression.” This is not to negate the instances in which powerful systems are oppressive. Indeed, as Kaomea (2003) argues, there is a need to uncover the silences and erasures that arise from power-laden narratives. And that particularly in postcolonial settings, it is imperative that scholarship becomes flexible enough to defamiliarise and unearth what is covered up in the processes of creating dominant stories. There are multiple factors and actors that mediate power, which emerges in the midst of relationships. This means that power is contingent to the circumstances of the participants, and has the potential to have negative and positive effects.

Texts should not be understood as purely ideal, but instead arise from the interaction between values and actualities. Researchers who seek to use discourse analysis look to the moments of contestation over meaning and the power dynamics that inhere to these contestations. Discourse in this convention is seen as the plurality of differing beliefs and allegories that are found in both textual and everyday realms (Jacobs, 2006: 44).

#### **2.2.2.2. Addressing the Limitations of Discourse Analysis**

Jacobs (2006) goes on to address some of the critiques levelled at discourse analysis within the urban policy realm. The primary concern about discourse analysis relates to whether it is

practically applicable or not. Jacobs responds by pointing to the way that discourse analysis seeks to engage contemporary policy development, especially in relation to the way that language shapes this terrain. Another concern lies in the fact that discourse analysis might be too ideal and attempt to claim that ‘everything is discourse’. However, to make this critique is to not recognise that discourse manifests materially and plays a role in how people relate to actuality. Another major concern around this method lies in the fact that power relations might be seen at too fine a scale, at the expense of more structural mediating factors. Discourse analysis that seeks to contextualise fine-scale analysis, such that socio-economic and political factors are not elided during analysis. As in all research, it is possible for bias to affect what data is highlighted. In this case, it is important for the researcher to guard for this, by being clear about what criteria are being used to select and highlight data. The final critical comment on discourse analysis is that ‘discourse’ is subject to multiple interpretations. In order to clear up confusion on this front, the researcher should define ‘discourse’ and ‘discourse analysis’ and use this criteria throughout analysis. For instance, ‘discourse’ can be read as “language use”, while “discourse analysis” refers to a “study of talk and text in context” (Jacobs, 2006: 47).

## **2.3. RESEARCH TECHNIQUES**

I undertake this research through a number of techniques, and engage with primary and secondary sources. I use desktop research to investigate and collate resources made available by the Eden Network and its affiliated institutions. I undertake primary research by conducting semi-structured interviews, as well as through observations when attending a conference hosted by Eden SA, as well as a workshop and a few church services. The following provides an overview of these various techniques.

### **2.3.1. Desktop research**

I investigate FBOs and the Eden Network UK and SA through a number of secondary data sources, such as journal articles, web pages, podcasts, and books. I investigate governance configurations in the form of community development. These manifest in a variety of ways over time, in the global north, which travels to the global South. In particular, I look at these governance arrangements in relation to FBOs. This investigation is presented in chapter three. The purpose of this investigation is to establish assessment criteria for the case. This literature

review subsequently provides a framework for approaching the phenomenon of faith-based organisations. I present the case – the Eden Network SA – in chapters four and five. These chapters draw on a variety of secondary sources, such as pamphlets, web pages and podcasts. These sources provide an overview of the principles that the Eden Network considers important for community development. It also provides a temporal sequence of how the project has unfolded in Cape Town since 2014. These sources indicate some of the ways that ideas travel, and are altered when they manifest in local areas.

### **2.3.1. Unobtrusive observation**

According to Auriocombe (2007), unobtrusive investigation seeks to inquire into societal conduct without having an impact on it, or seeking a direct response. The Message Trust has a coffee shop that I visit. In addition, I visit a few services conducted by Jubilee church. Visiting these spaces locates the Eden Network in its affiliated network.

#### **2.3.1.1. Advantages and Disadvantages**

Auriocombe (2007) notes that unobtrusive investigation is an effective technique because one person can do it easily. While this is not a particularly difficult method to utilise, it must be noted that people are not always aware that they are being observed. As such, this is an ethically tricky terrain to navigate. I address this and other ethical considerations in section 2.6.

It also allows one to track a phenomenon over a period, without changing the way that the phenomenon occurs in the world. The fact that the subject under study manifests materially makes it possible to note and track themes. The subject under study does not adjust itself to the researcher's gaze. At the same time, available data might be limited, and there might be gaps in the data. In addition, the data available in the public domain might not correspond to the research project. Some data will not be available and might exhibit partiality towards the institution from which it emanates.

### **2.3.2. Semi-structured Interviews**

Semi-structured interviews follow an interview schedule, but questions are asked open-endedly. This means that respondents have the opportunity to answer, which then determines which question is asked next. In this way, interviews are responsive, but retain a level of coherence across a data set. That is, because the same set of questions is used, albeit in

variable order (Dearnley, 2005). Semi-structured interviews are useful for investigating nuanced issues and the way that people relate to them. That is, because the interviewer can explore answers further through follow up questions, it is possible to receive clarification about answers that may initially be a little opaque. In addition, semi-structured interviews are adaptable enough to allow for interviewers to adapt their questions to people who might come from a variety of backgrounds (While and Barribal, 1994).

### **2.3.2.1. Advantages of interviews**

Kvale (2006) argues that the research interview is a valid and constructive technique of inquiry. While and Barribal (1994) resonate with this view, when they argue that interviews are an advantageous means for gathering data. First, interviews elicit responses. This is in contrast to questionnaires, which have a low success rate on receiving answers. Second, interviews are suitable for finding out about the way that people perceive and make value-judgements in their lives. Third, interviews increase the scope for observation. That is, it is possible to read non-verbal cues during this process. Fourth, interviewers can facilitate the corroboration of data across participants. This is done by ensuring that interviewees answer the same questions. Fifth, the responses that are given during an interview are the respondent's own. That is, another person cannot interfere with the respondents' answer (While and Barribal, 1994).

Words can have different meanings for different people. As such, should a participant require clarification on what is being asked during an interview, the interviewer can adapt the question to make it clearer, while retaining the question's intention. In instances such as this, the reliability, or the capacity to cross-check information does not lie in standardisation, but rather in the ability to recognise that answers might have the same significance (While and Barribal, 1994).

According to While and Barribal (1994) it is important that questions in an interview adhere to three principles. These are "specification, division and tacit assumption" (While and Barribal, 1994: 331). "Specification" is concerned with the emphasis that each question highlights. "Division" relates to the ordering and word choice for each question. "Tacit assumption" means seeking to clarify the deeper implications of what participants might say. Essentially, this can mean that sometimes a participant might say something that might be somewhat unclear, or might mean more than what is initially perceptible in their choice of words.

While and Barribal (1994) suggest that probing is an appropriate approach in such instances. Interviewers probe by asking questions to clarify what a respondent is saying during the interview. This can result in exploring a theme that emerges in the interview. Probing is a vital tool during interviews. Through probing, interviewers can seek elucidation on points that are pertinent to the research topic. There are also times when interviews might touch on complex points. Probing also means that answers can be explored more fully than if they were approached in a rigid fashion, if the interview is conversational. Finally, if a participant is trying to remember something, probing can sometimes help with recall (While and Barribal, 1994).

### **2.3.2.2. Interviews and Power**

The interview can be put to use as a means for side-stepping critique, whilst “practicing discerning and engaged thinking-with-others” (Scott, 2017: 5). This is enabled by the simultaneous motion interview makes towards enactment and reflection. As a form, this is brought about through the dialogic structuring of this medium. That is, by reaching out through questions and answers, interviews represent voices, unfolding over time through conversation. This means that interviews proceed in a manner that is “more tentatively exploratory, clarifying, and reconstructive than explicitly critical or even analytical” (Scott, 2017: 5). This means that interviews, even if unevenly, embody voice that unfolds in a multiple, mutual way (Scott, 2017). Kvale (2006) argues that this uneven nature of interviews arises because the interviewer has a particular agenda and directs the conversation to gather data. The qualitative interview also emerges as a response of sorts to the problem of objectifying people in the process of positivist research inquiries (Kvale, 2006). However, just because the participant is no longer objectified in this way, it does not mean that the interview space is a neutral, ‘safe’ space. As such, Kvale (2006) problematises the preferential treatment of qualitative interviewing as an egalitarian, collaboration-based exchange, free from coercion.

Kvale (2006) argues that there are five primary ways that interviewers dominate the interview space. First, the interviewer goes to an interview with a specific purpose that is informed by the research that they are doing. As such, the research project places a limit on the scope of the interview space. Second, the interview is not a reciprocal space. That is, the interviewee is asked a number of questions and rarely asks their own (Kvale, 2006). The researcher can mitigate this through informed consent and by encouraging the respondent to ask any questions they might have. Third, the interview is conducted for a specific purpose, such that

it is a vehicle for data collection, rather than a free-ranging conversation (Kvale, 2006). Semi-structured interviews allow for a more conversational approach to interview, which limits the extent to which the interview space might be a space that is determined by the need to collect data only. Fourth, it is possible that the interview space might be quite calculated and that the researcher might be less-than-clear on their research agenda. Informed consent is a vital aspect of this element of the research project. I introduce myself through by emailing a cover letter explaining my work before the interview. I also talk about what I am researching with the interviewee, so that there is clarity on what the research at hand is. Fifth, the interviewer ultimately has the final say on how the interview is represented and analysed. While the interview space does allow for a greater fleshing out of the participants' voice, this is still subject to the researcher's determinations. Interviewers sometimes try to limit this primacy of interpretation by asking participants to review the interpretation that they might have made, which creates a space where the knowledge creation process is legitimated through an approval mechanism. In addition, while the interviewer will typically be the more dominant mediator of power relations in an interview situation, this does not mean that the interviewee is without agency. There are instances where participants might counter researchers' inquiries by asking the researcher questions of their own, answering in an unrelated manner, or providing an answer that is thought to be appropriate, rather than necessarily representative of a situation (Kvale, 2006).

Kvale (2006: 485) thus deduces that "a research interview is not an open and dominance-free dialogue between egalitarian partners, but a specific hierarchical and instrumental form of conversation, where the interviewer sets the stage and scripts in accord with her or his research interests." Kvale (2006) also points to the way that interviews are frequently conflated with dialogues, even though these two interactions are quite different. Interviews are a formal space in which one person meets with another to reach a particular objective. Dialogue, however, is more often perceived as a mutual undertaking between equals who look to flesh out truths, in the pursuit of knowledge. A critical appreciation of power dynamics is, therefore, vital to the validity of this approach and the data that arises from it.

## **2.4. DATA ANALYSIS**

David and Sutton (2011) suggest that it can be difficult to distinguish between stages of data collection and data analysis during the qualitative research process. This blurriness can be

attributed to the iterative nature of the data gathering process. Critically engaging with a theoretical framework before working in the field guides the process of gathering primary data. The findings in the field also alter and refine my perception of the theory that I engage with, which I discuss in chapter four. In a more technical sense, discourse analysis assists me in classing my findings to ensure a systematic analysis of the raw data from the field.

The analysis phase involves transcribing interviews, classing the data thematically, and writing and analysing the findings. David and Sutton (2011) warn that while doing interviews, recordings are a vital part of the process and that one should be careful to keep track of which recordings are which. In addition, transcribing is a detailed and laborious exercise, which needs enough time. An important guide during this phase will also be the subsidiary research questions derived from the literature review, which will assist me in grouping data thematically. Grouping data according to themes should increase the reliability of data. That is, by seeing if the data from different sources answers the same question, I will be able to notice discrepancies in the data, which may require further investigation. In addition, thematic coding will help me to make decisions about how I will tell the story that emerges from these findings.

## **2.5. RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY**

As in all research, it is possible for bias to have an effect on what data is highlighted, and what is left out. In this case, it is important for the researched to guard for this, by being clear about what criteria are being used to select and highlight data. I establish these criteria in chapter three, through my subsidiary research questions. See table 3.1.

## **2.6. ETHICS**

This discussion foregrounds the need to ensure that research endeavours are ethical. Interviews are personal conversations that are supposed to be shared. In the interpersonal sphere, this relates to the ambiguities that arise between being personable while also undertaking a conversation for a specific purpose, as well as the fact that the interviewer is embedded into the work by participating in the interview. The need to be personable can lead to a situation where the interviewer infringes upon the participant's personal life, so that they might extract information from the interviewee for work. A perception of interview as dialogue may also serve to elide some of the differences that might arise during the interview. Given

that this work is also being done from within the realm of a liberal institution, the role that academic social science plays in extracting and using empirical data should be trod quite carefully (Kvale, 2006: 497).

One way that I hope to address the power dynamic that might emerge during the interview process is through intersectionality, that is, the theoretical positioning that various identities overlap or “intersect at the micro level of individual experience to reflect multiple interlocking systems of privilege and oppression at the macro, social-structural level” (Bowleg, 2012: 1267). I say this because in drawing out the multitude of experiences that may emerge from this research; I hope to reflect on the societal logics that underpin these experiences. In other words, in acknowledging my own positionality, I hope to highlight the extent to which knowledge emerges from a complex entanglement of social and power relations.

More generally, research work should respect the dignity of participants and do no harm. For instance, pseudonyms should be used to protect the interests of participants. Research Participation should be based on informed consent, as highlighted in section 2.3.2.2. If information that makes a participant vulnerable is disclosed, I should provide a pseudonym, in order to protect the participant. Participants should be notified about the information and findings that emerge from research in the form most appropriate to them (Anthropology Southern Africa, 2004: online).

## **2.6. CONCLUSION**

This chapter has outlined the methods and techniques that are used to conduct this study. The chapter begins by introducing and examining the research methods, case study and discourse analysis. It then turns to the techniques used to enact these methods. These are desktop research, which makes use of secondary sources to establish a framework for analysing primary sources. The primary gathering of data is done through unobtrusive observations and semi-structured interviews. This chapter also sketches the approach that I take to analysing data. The following chapter will put some of these methods to work, as I will recount the case and analyse my findings. The next chapter presents a review of the literature that pertains to the role that FBOs have to play in community development as a form of governance.

**CHAPTER THREE  
LITERATURE REVIEW**

**DIALOGUE I**

### **3.1. INTRODUCTION**

This chapter provides an overview of the literature that relates to the ways that religious practices and identities constitute and shape urban spheres and their social realities. This discussion presents a dialogue on the complex historical trajectories through which political identities configure in South Africa. In doing so, it points to the urban policy agendas that allow Faith Based Organisations (FBOs) to take on governance functions in the contemporary order. In particular, it looks at the community development work that FBOs take on, in an incarnational, missional way. This approach arises from movements in the global North, which given South Africa's colonial past, raises questions about the role that Christianity has to play in public life. I suggest that it is an ambiguous space, given the propensity that these organisations might have to take a proselytising stance on the work that they do. This stance may prove to be exclusionary. At the same time, a holistic, "faith-by-praxis" approach provides one avenue for thinking about the appropriateness of these forms of intervention.

### **3.2. WORLDING: NAVIGATING THE NORTH-SOUTH NEXUS**

The way that forms of Christian community come about can be seen as a form of "worlding" (Roy, 2011). Roy (2011) puts the notion of "worlding" to work in order to track and trace the variety of techniques and programmes employed in urban environments in various parts of the world, by various actors. Since Christianity, which has its roots in the colonial metropole, plays a role in the historical trajectory of political subject formation, worlding becomes a way to trace this particular technique in South Africa. This notion of worlding ties into Roy's (2015:205) claim that, "postcolonial theory is a way of inhabiting, rather than discarding, the epistemological problem that is Eurocentrism. Postcolonial theory is not so much a way of interpreting and narrating the postcolony as it is a method for interpreting and narrating the West." In other words, worlding, which occurs in the context of postcolonial theory, is a device for understanding the dynamics that shape socio-spatial articulations between and within geopolitical spheres.

Consequently, "worlding" is a mechanism for understanding the asymmetries between territories in the contemporary era. For the purposes of this research a particularly important asymmetry (but not the only asymmetry) is that between the global North and the global South, such that the global South can be characterised as being "caught in the underside of

the global North” (Hantel, 2012). South Africa is no exception. One way that worlding has manifested in urban contexts in South Africa in the post-1994 period has been through the adoption of Integrated Development Plans (IDP). IDP has been adopted as a form of policy-making for decentralised developmental local government (Harrison, 2006). This planning tool falls broadly within the ambit of New Public Management and Third Way politics employed by the United Kingdom (UK) and United States of America (USA). The decision to adopt this planning tool has been mediated by the “enormous pressure” placed on the African National Congress (ANC). Actors that have placed pressure on the ANC include “western governments and international development agencies, as well as [...] private capital” (Harrison, 2006: 193). These approaches have been adopted in the midst of attempts to move towards more inclusionary governance, while also participating in “global capitalism” (Harrison, 2006: 194).

This attempt to strike a balance between different considerations highlights the fact that Third Way politics, which emerged in western European leftist governments in the 1990s, is a hybrid, multifaceted form of governance. This approach accepts some central tenets of 1980s neoliberal politics, such as “conservative fiscal and monetary policies, the welfare-to-work approach, and a commitment to privatisation”, while also seeking to achieve “progressive ideals such as building community, inclusion, participation, poverty alleviation and integration” (Harrison, 2006: 189). The extent to which relationships with the global North have mediated policy positions in South Africa highlights the extent to which the contemporary political era is characterised by “globalisation”. Globalisation is “the brutal imposition of the unified world market that threatens all local ethnic traditions, including the very form of the nation state” (Žižek, 2008: 9). External factors and bodies that have played a role in shaping South Africa’s contemporary political culture highlight the fact that South Africa, as a nation state, has not been allowed to exert its sovereignty within its own territory. This shift in the role of government can partially be attributed to the New Public Management (NPM) approach to governance. This approach includes devolution, denationalisation, separation of functions and a move towards a more consultative form of governance, in which partnerships are established between state and private actors. These configurations mean that governance is more uneven and complicated than before. (Harrison, 2006).

### 3.3. FAITH-AFFILIATION, URBANITY AND POLITICAL IDENTITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Religion has been integral to forming political, spatial and racial dynamics in South Africa throughout its “colonial and post-imperial” periods (Landau, 2014: 293). Furthermore, these configurations – both in their inclusionary and exclusionary forms – are related to land entitlements, work, and sociality. They have been mediated by religious affiliations of various kinds in South Africa over time. Under colonial rule, mission work was an incentive to bring people from Europe to the South African colony. Thereafter, when apartheid was in full swing, the Dutch Reformed Church played a crucial role in justifying the apartheid project. As such, religion articulates and reiterates urban configurations as processes of “worlding” in South Africa (Landau, 2014; Roy, 2011).

The commemorations that occur on the 16th of December illustrates the extent to which religion has played a role in various kinds of political subject making in South Africa. I trace these commemorations back in time as a way of thinking myth-making that is connected to this historical moment. The attempt to annexe land, which was part of Zulu territory, made by the Voortrekkers in 1838, led to the Battle of Blood River. This battle was initiated by a desire for independence from the British colonial order. The Voortrekkers, took an oath to God in preparation for battle. This oath was to build a church and to commemorate this day with thanksgiving, should they come through the battle victorious. This vow has slowly been transformed into a ritual act. This day takes on national significance when the empire shifts and South Africa as a colonial project turns into a project of apartheid. Referred to as the ‘Day of the Vow’ by the descendants of the Voortrekkers, this day becomes a holiday and commemorative moment under this regime. Additionally, under apartheid, this day accrues new significance when the African National Congress initiates Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) on the 16<sup>th</sup> of December in 1961. The impetus for the militarisation of this political movement arises from the Sharpeville massacre in 1960. Throughout the struggle against apartheid, this day has held significance for people oppressed by and excluded by the dominant political order (Republic of South Africa [RSA], 2013: online).

This moment of vow taking turns into a crucible for state formation that excludes people from the new configurations of state power under the National Party. Here, an historical moment with transcendent implications transforms in order to justify racially based oppression. But, it

also carries undertones of resilience in the face of oppression. It is for this reason that the first democratically-elected government in South Africa, which is assigned the responsibility of “promoting reconciliation and national unity”, subsequently renamed this day into the “Day of Reconciliation” (RSA, 2013:online). Here, too, a Christian theme is overtly linked with state formation as a nationalist agenda. Nevertheless, South Africa is politically secular. The country has seen a shift in the pre-1994 political language, which has been overtly religious. The political language has mostly been replaced with “a language of racial reconciliation and liberation from material deprivation” in the post-1994 political order (Landau, 2014: 296). However, since the governmental arrangements in this context have been identified as a formation that allows for elements of governance-beyond-the-state, it is possible that there are still elements of overly religious political discourse that remain in religious spheres.

The 16<sup>th</sup> of December signifies the extent to which religion has been a crucible for articulating state configurations in South Africa. The Dutch Reformed Church is the primary instigator of a “state theology”. Other churches have been rendered private and, in the process, depoliticised and complicit with the apartheid socio-political order (Landau, 2014). As a response to this oppressive regime, some churches and networks of churches have taken a more liberation-orientated stance on theology and religious association. This stance tends to run along racial lines. It is important to note that Islam has also played a vital role in the formation of religious identity, which resists the state (Landau, 2014).

The discussion thus far shows that various approaches to religion, have facilitated the articulation of varying political outlooks. These varied political articulations mean that religiously affiliated people in this country tend to live in separate shards of sociality and belief. Interaction across these political and religious affiliations has tended to take place in secular spaces, such as the market or state. In light of this, I seek to explore, *whether the Eden Network exists as a set of loose affiliations, or does it overcome fragmentation? If so, how?*

While Landau (2014) notes that institutional religion has been a mechanism for domination and defiance, it is worth remarking that religion has a “legacy [...] of evasion, of creating autonomous space beyond the immediate reach (but in reaction to) the state” (Landau, 2014: 295). I note it because, if faith organisations in South Africa are reactionary spaces that exist somewhere beyond the state, and they are involved with communities in community development, then they constitute a form of “governance-beyond-the-state” (Swyngedouw,

2005). When the state is a limited entity that does not necessarily meet the needs of all those who have franchise within its terrain, then a population might begin to turn to one another or networks of affiliation (such as FBOs) to meet their needs. Nyamnjoh (2015) recognises people who acknowledge the circumstances of their lives and the limits of the state. He calls such people “frontier Africans”. Frontier Africans work within the web of affiliations they find themselves in to strengthen and facilitate connections that may work favourably to meet their needs. In addition, frontier Africans see that webs of connection sustain conviviality. These webs are vital for sustaining relationships in highly fluid and diverse settings (Nyamnjoh, 2015).

In Cape Town, an occurrence of this sort takes place in the Bay Community Church (Nyamnjoh, 2015). This church is a site in which people with different national identities are able to negotiate perceptions of difference during and by means of the animated, free-style worship in church services. Furthermore, by pointing to affiliations within “one Kingdom”, this religious space becomes a point at which migrants in particular are able to connect to “transnational and local networks” in order to “draw on [...] social and spiritual capital” through “a shared Christian identity and habitus” (Hay, 2014: 61). While I discuss social and spiritual capital in more detail in section 3.4.3. of this chapter, this point in the discussion leads me to ask: *does the Eden Project and its network exist as a result of recognition of the limitations of the state?*

There are a variety of ways to navigate interdependencies and difference in the context of state limitations. One aspect of the configuration of the limited state leads Rose (1999) to posit “community” as a “third sector” of governance. Primarily, community is a relational space set into a moral background. Community is a set of personal relationships that exist between people, which are mutually constituted. It is also marked by ties to a set, or sets, of values or principles that are defined in terms of personal and social history and culture (Rose, 1999: 172). When one claims membership or affiliation to a community, this acts as a pivot for personal identification. This pivot is aligned to a set of vectors, such as proximity, and normalcy, as opposed to notions of distance and artificiality that are linked to the structuring of society (Cohen and McCarthy, 2015). Community, then, is the web of connections by which one distinguishes oneself, in an emergent fashion that may be personally, historically, or ontologically important (Rose, 1999). In the context of the Bay church, this means that people are bound together in a Christian ‘community’. The term ‘community’ in this instance is defined in terms of a moral field that mediates relationships. In addition, these relationships emerge

out of a shared identity as Christians who participate in “one kingdom”, which assists people in navigating spaces where personal histories might be quite varied (Nyamnjoh, 2015: 14).

Religion and religious moments have played a role in shaping urban environments in South Africa. As formulations of government have changed, so have ideas about political identity, which are partially mediated by religious ties. As such, faith affiliation plays a role in constituting and articulating the types of relationships that occur in community. While people in South Africa remain quite divided, faith affiliations also provide opportunities to articulate forms of citizenship that breach differences. The

discussion turns to the ways that these historical patterns of shaping societal relationships are a result of “worlding”. It will then look at the ways that “worlding” influences urban policy in South Africa’s contemporary political culture, which leaves South Africa “ambivalently secular” (Landau, 2014: 296).

### **3.3.1. Heterogeneous globalisation and an “ambivalently secular” South Africa**

The governance arrangements discussed above highlight the fact that contemporary globalisation is heterogeneous, entangled, and disjointed. In this outlook, there are “certain fundamental disjunctures between economy, culture, and politics” (Appadurai, 1996: 32). This arrangement spurs Ong and Collier (2005:4) to theorise about the “global assemblage”. In this conceptualisation, the “global” is positioned as that which is transferrable. It is possible to abstract the global so that it can be disassembled and reassembled in different places, irrespective of the socio-cultural features of those places. At the same time, these places and their material realities – in their heterogeneity – curb the extent to which the global can manifest. This restriction indicates the extent to which global types are disputable. It is at these points of restriction and disputation that assemblages develop (McFarlane, 2009). “Global assemblage” subsequently provides a way of thinking about the ways in which policy from the global North might travel to the global South, but manifest in diverse ways in these ‘new’

## **SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

Does the Eden Network exist as a set of loose affiliations, or does it overcome fragmentation? If so, how?

Does the Eden Project and its network exist as a result of recognition of the limitations of the state?

contexts. I subsequently ask: *whether principles, or “global forms” from the Eden Network in the UK are disassembled and reassembled in SA, and how they are limited and disputed. In other words, how does the Eden network across the UK and SA constitute a “global assemblage”?*

At the same time, it should be acknowledged that one of the reasons that the complexities of globalisation require uncovering lies in the extent to which economics determine the course of governance. This economic determinism has, to a greater or lesser extent, shifted the terrain of political action into the private arena. One consequence of this shift has been a critical awareness of the limitations of liberal secularism, or “what Habermas calls a ‘conversion of reason by reason’” (Clope and Beaumont, 2013: 37). In other words, the elision of the political nature of public life leads people to reflect on the roots of liberal thinking and ways of being, to find that liberalism has limitations. Beyond these limits there are a variety of ways to order knowledge and reason, which comprise among others, religious traditions (Clope and Beaumont, 2013).

“South Africa is only ‘ambivalently secular’ at best” (Landau, 2014: 296). He maintains this position because, while the state machinery has distanced itself from religion, many people in South Africa are still quite religious. According to the 2001 census, 83% of people in South Africa consider themselves religious, with 79,8% of those affiliates maintaining that they adhere to Christianity. 17% of the population identified as having no specific affiliation, or other (van Niekerk, 2012: 11). Nonetheless, there is a certain amount of overlap between faith-based morality and ritual and the secular realm. Moreover, the language of reconciliation that has dominated the political landscape for a period, is embedded within redemptive themes that are overtly Christian. Nonetheless, the religious sphere remains primarily private and carries a legacy of division across identity categories, even though religion has potential reservoirs for facilitating more integrative practices for being together. *This raises the question as to whether the Eden Project might also be understood as an “ambivalently secular” experience” (or entity or agency).*

One aspect of South Africa’s urban policy positions that Harrison (2006) finds particularly remarkable is the similarity between the IDP process and Community Strategies in the UK. He links this similarity to “the historic connection between the ANC and the Labour Party” (Harrison 2006: 197). He notes that in both contexts, national bodies have been established to enable and support the devolution of governmental functions. In addition, both processes

emphasise “integrated planning, community participation, performance management and service delivery partnerships” (Harrison, 2006: 197). The fact that these policies encourage civil participatory processes, opens up space to think about the role that religion and faith-based organisations play in mediating governance processes. Cloke and Beaumont (2013) note that these forms of governance in the UK, where service delivery is open to being contracted out, provides opportunities for FBOs to participate in secular governance. This opening creates permeability between different faiths as well as between the secular and the religious. At the same time, however, if FBOs retain a strongly proselytising stance within the work that they do, it then stands to question how accessible these facilities or services might be to people.

“Worlding” provides urban theorists with a tool for articulating the historical pathways that shape asymmetrical geo-political relationships in the contemporary era. This is especially clear in that forms of urban policy in South Africa’s post-1994 period have been influenced by policy from the UK and USA. Even though South Africa’s political culture is more secular than before, there are elements of this form of policy that leave South Africa “ambivalently secular” (Landau, 2014: 296). I now turn to theory on governmentality and governance to unpack the places in which, and ways that FBOs articulate and participate in community development.

## SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Has the language used by the Eden Network has also shifted to racial reconciliation and/or liberation? If so, why? If not, why not?

Have principles, or “global forms” from the Eden Network in the UK are disassembled and reassembled in SA, and how they are limited and disputed. In other words, how does the Eden network across the UK and SA constitute a “global assemblage”?

Might the Eden Network also be understood as an “ambivalently secular” experience” (or entity or agency)?

## 3.4. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORK BY FAITH-BASED ORGANISATIONS: A FORM OF GOVERNANCE

### 3.4.1. Governmentality and Governance

The concept of governmentality defines government as attempts to “shape, guide, [and] direct the actions of others” across all spheres of life (Rose, 1999: 3). Swyngedouw (2005) works with Foucault’s ideas about governmentality when he argues that a shift to “governance-beyond-the-state” has taken place. This shift is characterised by a policy-writing focus that is not only state-centred. Planning, as read by Roy (2008: 94) is “the deliberate organisation of society and space, ranging from forms of regulation to utopian interventions.” Planning is, consequently, a form of governmentality. Planning and governance aim to articulate ways that people might live, with a particular focus on spatial intervention and regulation. Since governmentality may take place “beyond-the-state”, and planning is a form of governmentality, then planning can take place “beyond-the-state”.

Bertolini (2013) argues that planning should take place “beyond-the-state” because the everyday as a political concept is a field that planning is deeply concerned with. Planning is integral to structuring the configurations of daily life. That is, planning can play a role in foregrounding the types of behaviours that take place in the physical world. As such, decisions to make planning interventions are always ethical ones. The decisions that people make in daily life also carry political and ethical weight. Therefore, according to Bertolini (2013), for planning to be appropriate, it is important that it engage politically with the everyday. This is the case because planning plays a role in the unfurling of daily life through interventions into the spatial configuration of the environment.

As seen in the foregoing discussion on NPM, this shift in emphasis has resulted in more participatory and inclusive policy positions. These positions have the potential to recalibrate democracy. Nonetheless, because of the neoliberal agendas that these kinds of policy represent, the capacity to attain democratic process is fraught. That is, the contemporary political era represents a contradictory relationship between state and citizen. These contradictory relationships have profound ramifications for what citizenship and concomitantly, democracy, mean. In other words, government is now being thought about in terms of “governance”, which is associated with new practices for governing. This results in

new articulations of democracy, which might further striate already complex socio-political relations (Swyngedouw, 2005: 1991).

Governance, according to Swyngedouw (2005) involves the emergence of different action-orientated arrangements in which participants who engage in the social field from different standpoints – such as state, market and civil society – seek to shape the way that actions unfold. In other words, varieties of perspectives, in collaborative or agonistic arrangements, seek to play a role in implementation of visions for society. The concept of community has been sociologically defined in terms of cultural connections and local areas, which are seen to bind people and provide preconditions for civic order. In this set of configurations, the individual can be rendered comprehensible in terms of participation in and adherence to “community” principles (Rose, 1999: 175). This process of intellectual charting, has, in turn, led to a state of affairs in which “community” has been incorporated into governance. This is the case because “community” exists as a less-formalised space or scale than those defined within the sphere of governmental process. As such, it often constitutes an appropriate mechanism for processes of decentralisation, or power transfer (Cohen and McCarthy, 2015). That is, as a convention of governance, community provides a trajectory along which new agendas can be encoded for people to make one’s self, learn to take responsibility for themselves, and co-develop ethics by which to live.

### **3.4.2. Community Development**

One way that governance is defined in terms of community is through the field of community development. Community development initiatives take place as a result of the heterogeneous nature of urban environments. In any given urban space, some areas are wealthier and better provisioned than others (Wolf-Powers, 2014). The work that community developers do is focussed on a variety of measures that might “mitigate the consequences of historic patterns of uneven private and public investment” (Wolf-Powers, 2014: 203). The community development field seeks to enable these mitigation measures such that people living in a localised area can take responsibility for issues that arise in an area and affect certain parties (Gilchrist, 2003).

Efforts to recalibrate distorted urban patterning means that planners in the field of community development tend to work in deprived areas (Gilchrist, 2003; Wolf-Powers, 2014). Deprived

areas are often neighbourhoods where the housing stock tends to be of a low quality and infrastructure provision is inadequate. In addition, delinquency and mediocre shopping and entertainment choices tend to prevail. These features of these neighbourhoods in turn impinge on peoples' daily social and economic lives (Wolf-Powers, 2014). Work opportunities for people in these areas tend to be unsatisfying or poorly paid, if they are available at all. Furthermore, these areas tend to go unacknowledged, which constrains peoples' capacity to participate in public life as full citizens (Wolf-Powers, 2014). Subsequently, community development is aimed at providing better quality environments, which mitigate the effects of crime and are more politically inclusionary.

The practical work that goes into these efforts include public space design interventions of various kinds, land development endeavours, leadership development and improvement district formation. Importantly, this work is centred on people. That is, community developers seek to assist residents in neighbourhoods gain access to accommodation, crèches and schools as well as work prospects. The hope in facilitating access to these features is to enhance peoples' total biophysical environments and financial security (Wolf-Powers, 2014). It follows from this list that I ask: *what forms of community development, if any, does the Eden network engage in?*

The focus on neighbourhood level interventions that community development articulates helps one to think about what Amin (2002: 959) calls "local micropublics." Local micropublics represent the capacity that people who live in the same area have to navigate difference in their ordinary lives. This capacity ensures that the environment that people in a local area live in accommodates those who live there. At some level, this implies that a given environment's socio-spatial ordering gives rise to an ethics that emerges in patterned ways. That is, amicable sociality emerges in a more or less spontaneous manner – shaped by spatial arrangements – rather than a deliberate one. Subsequently, the tenets by which people live together are routine, both in their emergence and in their mutability. This suggests, then, that the work that community development planners engage in is concerned with the everyday happenings of peoples' lives. This is a domain that Bertolini (2013) recognises as important for planning. The discussion now turns to the role that FBOs play in community development, and concerns about an emphasis on developing social capital.

### 3.4.3. FBOs in Community Development

Smith (2002: 169) argues that concerns about “democratic deficit” and “participation in development” have mobilised state officials and bodies such as the World Bank to promote community development. This promotion work has taken effect in the UK in recent years, where community development has provided an opportunity for devolution of welfare governance. That is, the welfare aspect of governance has largely been transferred from state bodies to a variety of non-state actors, some of which are faith-based. FBOs have subsequently become a feature of governance arrangements in the UK. This arrangement is one of utility, where FBOs fulfil state functions in locations where the government is repealing its role in providing welfare services (Cloke and Beaumont, 2013).

In consequence, there are sentiments that FBOs are “mere puppets of governance” (Cloke and Beaumont, 2013: 40). One element of the way that FBOs are seen as a positive component of governance lies in their capacity to foster “social capital” (Smith, 2002; Swart, 2005). Smith (2002) points out that critics see this form of development as a thrifty solution to welfare concerns at worst, and a mechanism for generating “norms of trust and reciprocity” and a support network that is not entirely dominated by market logic (Smith, 2002: 169).

For Montemaggi (2010: 70), the policy that encourages social capitalism is platitudinous, and social capital is defined as the “social glue” that allows various entities to work together for a common goal, which advances the interests of those who are involved. For Montemaggi (2010), government has taken on the concept of social capital in an uncritical manner. This is the case because government recognises that partnerships are a useful way to develop governance mechanisms. “Networked community governance” has been promoted in the UK under the cheery guise of “neighbourliness, civic participation and shared values” (Montemaggi, 2010: 70). FBOs have been recognised by government as a vital player in the community development field. This is because they facilitate webs of connection, have structures that are resource and capacity-replete, and can mobilise volunteers in local areas. The need for such social capital stems from a recognition that economies perform better when people have well-developed social capital. In this outlook, the market is best suited to responding to economic scarcity, but the market needs sociality, which community development facilitates (Smith, 2002).

These articulations of community development have travelled. Swart (2005) critiques the changes that have taken place in South Africa's ecumenical movement. He highlights the fact that churches have played an important role in the resistance movement under apartheid. Further, during the transition phase in the 1990s, a few conferences engaged critically with development discourses, and recognised the need for an emancipatory movement in working with people. Disappointingly, this movement has subsequently taken on the state's language of 'social capital' and social development, in the interests of political expediency. This has resulted in a practice that is not reflexive enough to maintain that critical distance afforded by early discussions in this movement, and has meant that opportunities to move towards a more liberation-orientated stance have been missed. It also highlights the extent to which international ideas travel and gain traction in the ways that social interactions are conducted. *Does the Eden Network encourage self-empowerment through social capital?* I now explore FBOs missional approach to community development and what this might mean for accessibility to diverse actors. FBOs take different approaches to mission, some of which might prove exclusionary. At the same time, questions of accessibility also give rise to holistic, praxis-oriented forms of missional work.

#### **3.4.4. Missional Approaches to Community Development**

There is a movement within the Christian faith to embrace the call to engage with peoples' everyday lives. That is, there are people who feel compelled to relocate to deprived areas, so that they participate in the unfolding life of that neighbourhood on a long-term basis. This approach sees "local presence" as an important factor for connecting with particular issues that arise in specific localities (Thomas, 2012:249). This stance is frequently called an "incarnational" witness. This type of community development represents a critique of contemporary church structures. People who engage in "incarnational" community development see churches as being disconnected from the lives and realities that people in economically stressed areas encounter. This critique is grounded in a theology that looks to Jesus' teachings and interactions with marginalised people in society (Thomas, 2012). Put differently, this form of community development represents a shift towards a praxis-oriented faith (Cloke and Beaumont, 2013).

Whilst this stance seeks to move away from agonistic politics, it would be naïve to think that democracy is the necessary correlate to FBO governance work. In fact, localised

organisations—like FBOs, for example—may frequently be ill-suited to carrying extra responsibilities, due to under-resourcing or incapacity. This raises a few issues such as whose voices and needs are heard (and thus addressed), as well as the ways that “democracy, justice, and redistribution” should be thought through and actualised (Cohen and McCarthy, 2015: 7). These questions are especially pertinent in the context of FBOs. It is possible that religious conviction – as with all conviction – might give rise to “lovers of the impossible, capable of spilling out their passion into situations of social, economic and political need” (Thomas, 2012: 255). Equally, it might also lead some people to “confuse themselves with God” and impose themselves on people who do not hold the same convictions as they do (Thomas, 2012: 255).

These different outlooks are exemplified by two cases of FBO intervention in the Netherlands. The Oudewijken Pastoraat (OWP) attempts to take part in the life of the neighbourhoods that they live in. On the other hand, the House of Hope tries to reshape and formulate what community means in the area they work in. This second organisation is overtly neoliberal in its approach, which presupposes that the work done by the FBO can be done without truly involving residents (Beaumont and Dias, 2008).<sup>1</sup> It bears mentioning overtly that FBOs participate in a political landscape characterised by neoliberalism. Watson (2006) argues that the neoliberal order is a set of elements in which the social order is subsumed by market logic.

FBOs’ strength lies in an awareness of local context, with skills and adaptability in their approach to working with people located in deprived neighbourhoods. More than this, FBOs

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<sup>1</sup> The OWP arises from a move in the Reformed Church in the Netherlands during the 1960s and 1970s. This form of engagement stands as a counterpoint to “formal missionary thinking” that sees structures in the church as the starting point for engagement. Rather, this stance recognises the importance of working with people in deprived areas, in the midst of ordinary life (Beaumont and Dias, 2008:387). This organisation seeks to alert the relevant government agencies that are responsible for social service provisions of various kinds about the way that specific social issues might arise in these areas. This network seeks to foster cohesion amongst people from varying backgrounds, and proselytization is not an objective for this group (Beaumont and Dias, 2008). The House of Hope, on the other hand, is modelled on a more overtly “missional” approach that takes its cue from Timothy Keller, a prominent author who pastors Redeemer Presbyterian Church in Manhattan in New York. This organisation’s objectives relate to the principles of “piety, evangelistic outreach and missions of mercy” (Beaumont and Dias, 2008: 388). In other words, this approach sees itself as responsible for peoples’ faith, while participating in activities that might work for the people in the area.

provide a philosophical and theological basis for why they do what they do. This basis then plays a role in how “charity, volunteering and active community participation” unfold (Cloke and Beaumont, 2013: 4). These foundations suggest that Christian virtue-ethics present the possibility of providing people with motivation, in the sense that networks of faith affiliation might be mobilised to action, while seeking to embody certain moral ideals. This virtue ethics seeks to resist “agonistic difference”, in favour of “love and friendship as a creative gift practiced in relational service” instead of seeking to convert people (Cloke and Beaumont, 2013: 43).

One concern with FBOs is that the generally conservative outlook that inheres to most church congregations might result in tensions between a more liberation-oriented view that tends to prevail in community development (Smith, 2002). In addition, teaching in churches might mean that services offered by an FBO may not be equally available to all members of the population. This problem is less likely to arise in secular settings. Cloke and Beaumont (2013) thus argue for a form of religious positioning that values difference in ways that it has not before. This shift enables a form of “faith-by-praxis” (embodied in some respects by the OWP) that serves, but does not attempt to convert (Cloke and Beaumont, 2013; Beaumont and Dias, 2008). This is a similar position to that maintained by Nyamnjoh (2015:6), when he speaks of frontier Africans who “are interested in conversations not conversions”. Thomas (2012) maintains that the need for these shifts arises from an understanding of “mission” as being primarily focused on converting people to the creedal Christian belief system. However, he argues for an interpretation of mission that is more holistic. For Thomas (2012: 254), mission “is an enactment and lived participation in a particular set of theological narratives, seeking to see the material and spiritual transformation of present contexts and geographies, not simply converts.” *Does the Eden Network provide access to all people who might require its services or facilities? In other words, does it engage conversational holistic mission, or does the mission work it engages with seek to proselytise people?*

This more public positioning is facilitated, in part, by a shift towards a “faith-by-praxis” rather than a “faith-by-dogma” paradigm within Christianity (Cloke and Beaumont, 2013: 44). A concern for praxis arises from the intrinsic relationship between a faith-based interest in the unseen, and ethical behaviours. There Christians who maintain that without a practical outworking, faith and theological dogma are removed from reality (Cloke and Beaumont,

2013). One way of looking at this arises in the Netherlands, where expressions of religious commitments have turned “into the ethics of engagement” (Beaumont and Dias, 2008:387). In this country, church attendance and other “traditional” religious demonstrations are moving into the “religious periphery”, where people “engage the world on its own terms” (Beaumont and Dias, 2008: 44). In other words, rather than creating prescriptive religious spaces for people to come into, this form of religious expression seeks a more diffuse approach to engaging people. In some respects, this means engaging secular spaces in the public realm. That is, while both humanist and faith-based work might engage practically with similar ethical terrain, the motivation for doing this work might vary (Cloke and Beaumont, 2013: 44).

## SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

What forms of community development, if any, does the Eden network engage in?

Does the Eden Network encourage self-empowerment through social capital?

Does the Eden Network provide access to all people who might require its services or facilities? In other words, does it engage conversational holistic mission, or does the mission work it engages with seek to proselytise people?

This discussion outlines the missional approach to community development that FBOs tend to take. Some FBOs take the importance of peoples’ ordinary lives in local settings seriously enough to relocate to areas that are socioeconomically deprived. There are a variety of approaches to missional work. Some can be exclusionary to some residents in the areas in which these organisations locate themselves. At the same time, some other practices give rise to holistic, praxis-oriented forms of missional work.

### 3.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter investigates the literature on the role that religious practices and identities play in shaping urban spheres and their social realities. It presents a discussion about the complex historical pathways that constitute political identities in South Africa. In doing so, it points to the urban policy agendas that allow Faith Based Organisations (FBOs) to take on governance

functions in the contemporary order. In particular, it looks at community development work that FBOs take on, in an incarnational, missional way. This approach arises from movements in the global North, which given South Africa's colonial past, raises questions about the role that Christianity has to play in public life. I suggest that it is an ambiguous space, given the propensity that these organisations might have to take a proselytising stance on the work that they do, which may prove exclusionary. At the same time, a holistic, "faith-by-praxis" approach provides one avenue for thinking about the appropriateness of these forms of intervention. In the following chapter, I discuss hope and conviviality, as well as the ways that stories play a role in community development planning.

Table 3.1. Assessment Criteria and Subsidiary Research Questions

OVERARCHING CRITERIA FOR "WORLDING" IN THE EDEN NETWORK	ASSESSMENT CRITERIA DERIVED FROM LITERATURE	SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS DERIVED FROM ASSESSMENT CRITERIA
Devolution of governance functions	State Limitations	Does the Eden Project and its network exist as a recognition of the limitations of the state?
Conversation rather than conversion	Volunteerism	Is volunteerism a feature of Eden and dit creates conditions for exploitation, state or church-bound?
Policy's capacity to "travel" and adapt to different contexts	Universal or limited access	Does the Eden Network provide access to all people who might require its services or facilities? In other words, does it engage conversational holistic mission, or does the mission work it engages with seek to proselytise people?
OVERARCHING CRITERIA FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN THE EDEN NETWORK	Holistic approach	Can the Eden Project be understood as an "ambivalently secular" experience" (or entirety, or agency)?
Relationships set into a moral field	"Global Assemblage"	Do principles, or "global forms" from the Eden Network in the UK disassemble and reassemble in SA, and how are they limited and disputed? In other words, I ask how does the Eden network across the UK and SA constitute a "global assemblages"?
Articulations of Citizenship	Strong set of relational ties	Does the Eden Network exist as a set of loose affiliations, or does it overcome fragmentation? If so, how?
Community Developers	Racial reconciliation and liberation	Has the language used by the Eden Network shifted to racial reconciliation and/or liberation? If so, why? If not, why not?
Capacity to self-govern	Eden as Community Development Planners	What forms of community development, if any, does the Eden network engage in?
	Social Capital	Does the Eden Network encourage self-empowerment through social capital?

## CHAPTER FOUR BOTH/AND

*Then Jesus asked, “What is the kingdom of God like? To what can I compare it? It is like a grain of mustard seed that someone took and sowed in their garden, and it grew and became a tree, and the birds of the air made nests in its branches.”*

(Luke 13: 18 – 19, English Standard Version)

*“Hope locates itself in the premises that we don’t know what will happen and that in the spaciousness of uncertainty is room to act” (Solnit, 2016: xiv).*

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#### 4.1. GIVING AN ACCOUNT

This chapter represents an attempt to give an account of myself (Butler, 2005). I say this because this research work has represented a threshold for me; I have moved from one “territory of spirit” to another (Tippett and O’Donohue, 2015: online). At the time that I wrote my literature review (chapter three) I was in a difficult space, and I struggled to position myself within the theory. As I have entered the field, and have encountered the work done by the Eden network, this struggle has persisted, but the way I approach where I might be, both theoretically and spiritually, has changed. This evokes Ó Tuama’s (Tippet and Ó Tuama, 2017: online) invocation of the poem that goes, “Wherever you are is here, and you must treat it as a powerful stranger.” I have been uncertain throughout this process and have had to be respectful of this entanglement, while also seeking a way to carry on writing. This is a “both/and chapter”, in which I seek to explore the role of affect and story in my own communal life and in community development planning in the Eden Network.

The movement between territories of spirit represents the move that the “I” makes when it becomes a “social theorist” (Butler, 2005:8). That is, the “I” that occurs in this dissertation is one that does not occur in a vacuum. Rather, this “I” surfaces within a social field. This social field contains moral orders that the “I” takes on and makes habitual (Butler, 2005: 7). As such, this “I”, me, has no static identity. Butler (2005: 7 – 8) says:

When the “I” seeks to give an account of itself, it can start with itself, but will find that this self is already implicated in a social temporality that exceeds its own capacities for narration; indeed, when the “I” seeks to give an account of itself, an account that must include the conditions of its own emergence, it must, as a matter of necessity, become a social theorist.

In this chapter, I am giving an account of myself. I participate in an activity at which I have already and always will fail to do. The narrative exists in time, which has already passed, but is stylised into the amber of the present tense. Despite this, I seek to explain where I come from and how I – this dynamic “I” – continue to emerge through this research process. This momentary landing represents a bridge between the quiet hours through which chapters three and five have been written. I also contemplate the way that I resonate with Augustine’s, “Quaestio mihi factus sum” or “I have been made a question unto myself” (Caputo, 2001: 18).

I want to uncover a couple of aspects that have led to how I have “been made a question unto myself” (Caputo, 2001: 18). Caputo (2001) writes about God in relation to conditions of the impossible. He says that there are aspects of the future that we can and should plan for. He terms these the “future present”; however, there exists, too, the “absolute future” (Caputo, 2001: 7). This is the future that arrives that we could not have predicted. In these moments, God exists; God is the “becoming possible of the impossible” (Caputo, 2001: 10). His argument, which entails an exegesis of the Annunciation<sup>2</sup>, is more elegant than what I have traced here. Nonetheless, I understand what he means. The moment when the impossible becomes possible hold the potential for uncertainty, particularly about ourselves. It reads, when the impossible becomes possible, I am made a question unto myself.

Over the course of this year, two conditions have thrown me into the absolute future. A man in a leadership position at my church has is facing allegations of abuse. While these allegations relate to places he has been in the past, he ran a men’s ministry at the time. This was a devastating reality to confront. Another condition that I could not have predicted is my mother’s diagnosis with breast cancer. I have stepped into the absolute future, sunblind and full of tears. I felt assaulted by the unknowable, and unpredictable. What a stranger “here” can be. Yet, “I” am “here” now, too. I have encountered forms of collective being that have made it possible to countenance these “absolutes”.

I have left my church. I do not see this as a crisis of faith, but rather as an openness to exploring alternatives to the boundedness that the church I have been attending has represented to me. At present, I meet with a small group of people once a week, to have dinner together and tell stories, which we then discuss. This collection of people resembles something that one might call community, which despite, or perhaps because of, the lengthy conversation with this concept in my literature review, is a word I am quite shy of claiming.

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<sup>2</sup> The Annunciation, which is found in the Gospel of Luke 1:26 – 38, is the moment at which Mary is told by the Angel Gabriel that she will give birth to a child. In this moment, she asks, “How will this be, since I am a virgin?” to which the angel replies, “...nothing will be impossible with God”. See also Marie Howe’s poem *The Annunciation*.

One of the stories told in this group that has resonated with me over the course of the year is about a woman who births a stillborn baby. She is so aggrieved that she asks people around her if there is a way to bring the baby back to life. The people in her village direct her to visit a seer, who is some days' journey away from her village. She straps the baby to her back and undertakes a long journey to find the seer. She comes to the place where she is told the seer will be, and she finds the seer. She asks the seer what she should do to bring her baby back to life. The seer directs her to return to her village and ask each household for a mustard seed. Once she has gathered these seeds, she should return to the seer, and she will be able to bring her baby back to life. The woman returns the way she has come, still carrying the baby on her back. When she arrives, she goes to the various households in her village. At each house, she tells the story of her baby and her visit to the seer. When she tells her story, people give her a mustard seed. They also share their own stories of suffering and loss. After she has visited all the houses in the village, she goes to the burial ground, where she buries her baby. It has taken me quite some time to be able to talk about my mother's illness. I have found that each time that I tell the story, people have their own mustard seeds and stories to share.

Mustard seeds have sacred significance for me, because that is how Jesus describes the kingdom<sup>3</sup> of heaven, in Luke 13.

I encountered it in the midst of my fieldwork. An interesting harvest. Porthen (personal interview, 2017, September 14), who lost his mother to cancer in the past year, has given me mustard seeds and stories. Not only that, he draws on the mustard seed metaphor, to describe the way he sees the work done by the Eden network SA. That is, the mustard seed grows into a large tree, and provides branches for birds to nest in. On some level, the intention for this faith-based work is to plant mustard seeds, so that there will be branches for birds to nest in.

#### 4.2. HOPE AND CONVIVIALITY

Somehow, these stories have grown into me. I consider them to be "odd brilliant disturbances" (Caputo, 2006: 291) that are helping me navigate being while writing. They are, perhaps, "grounds for hope" (Solnit, 2016). Solnit (2016: xiii – xiv) suggests the need to acknowledge that "grief and hope can coexist." Solnit (2016: xiii – xiv) defines hope as "broad perspectives

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<sup>3</sup> I use the expression "kin-dom", in keeping with the feminist Christian stance that calls for an anti-imperialist conception of the kingdom of heaven, which although started as an anti-imperialist call in the midst of the Roman Empire, has over time grown into a patriarchal, colonial concept (Halteman Finger, 2013: online).

with specific possibilities, ones that invite or demand that we act [...] you could call it an account of complexities and uncertainties, with openings.” In this conception of hope, she points to the need for viewpoints that are open and able to take in systemic concerns. At the same time, these outlooks must recognise particularities in order to initiate action. Hope, then, looks to the indefinite and tangled while also asking how it might unknot parts of the tangle. This is not a naïve way of looking at the world, which negates pain and damage. Nevertheless, it requires developing the capacity to ask, “where does it hurt?” (Tippett and Sales, 2017: online).

Hope requires a both/and disposition of those who would experiment with it. In order to hold the complex, and at times contradictory, it is important for me to recognise the need for a little bit of incoherence. This requirement frustrates attempts to choose one direction over another amidst the contradictory (Solnit, 2016: 97). Conviviality requires a similar sort of recognition (Noble, 2013). At its simplest, conviviality is concerned with the notion of “living together” (Noble, 2013: 166). This concept is frequently used to describe situations in which people who come from diverse backgrounds and beliefs negotiate sharing spaces, which necessitates contact with one another. These spaces wherein differences rub against one another can cause uncertainty, inconsistency and disagreement. Nonetheless, conviviality seeks to explore the places where everyday habits and routines might create mutuality. The everyday also requires people who live together to be considerate of one another (Nyamnjoh, 2015). This means something along the lines of the Proverbs 25:17, which says, “Let your foot be seldom in your neighbour’s house, lest he have his fill of you and hate you” (English Standard Version). This is just to say that sharing spaces with people requires an understanding of the complexities of relationships. We might not always agree, but that this does not mean that we never agree. We need to be close to people, but sometimes we need to withdraw. And we should be respectful of the people we live with, in all of these instances and needs.

#### **4.3. THE ROLE OF AFFECT IN MY FIELDWORK – AFFECTIVE REGISTERS OF BEING A PARTICIPANT-OBSERVER**

Dwyer (2016: 760) suggests that ideas about “ordinary affects” in the midst of researching religion and religious dispositions are important. Pieterse (2011: 5) also recognises the place

and importance of “ordinary urbanism,” in which people who live in deprived areas<sup>4</sup>, seek to articulate forms of meaning linked to their social lives, means of making a living, ambitions and sensibilities. The ordinary requires a fine-grained analysis of particularities in these places.

One way that ordinary affects manifest in the midst of Eden’s community development work can be seen in Thomas’s (2012) description of the Eden Hilltop team in Manchester. Thomas (2012) talks about the way people in this team are “affected” by the people and conditions they encounter when they move into an area to participate in an Eden team. These lived realities work upon people and change their outlook. I would say that in a similar way, meeting people who work with and in Eden in South Africa has had a similar effect on me. Similarly, Pieterse (2011:12) points to the ways that “affect-abounding representations of contemporary urban life” stand as a viable addition and resistance to a “developmentalist mindset” that focuses on quantifiable, systemic factors. This positioning does not negate this viewpoint, but calls for a broader range of outlooks to play a role in the “African urban knowledge project” (Pieterse, 2011: 12).

Bateson (Tippett and Bateson, 2017: online) claims that being a participant observer is an enriching space to inhabit. Some people only observe, and in that way do not engage with people. Others only engage, without paying attention to what is happening. When one chooses to be a participant observer, one has “to go back and forth between — or simultaneously be learning, observing, but at the same time be fully present — [...] a marvellous thing to learn. And it’s a marvellous way to live, actually” (Tippett and Bateson, 2017: online). This research endeavour has involved the arduous work of learning to become something of a participant-observer. I am uncertain about how well I have done, but this represents a shift in my being and thinking, where I have become more comfortable with the way that uncertainty sits me.

Now, I briefly reflect on the way that I started my fieldwork. One of our family friends is a pastor at church in Rondebosch. My mother bumped into him and told him about my research. He was not only interested in my work, but also knew some people involved at The Message Trust SA. He offered to introduce me. He emailed a group of people, one of whom was Grant

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<sup>4</sup> Deprived areas are prone to mutability (Pieterse, 2011).

Porthen, who is the team leader for Eden Salt River was able to meet with me. It was also through this introduction that I received an invitation to the Proximity Conference, an information session about Eden in South Africa. This conference shed light on the way that Eden operates in this country and in the UK.

I also visited Jubilee Community Church, which partners with the Eden Salt River team. These visits have been with my friend and her family, who have been attending this church for several years. These visits have been comfortable spaces for me, as I was accustomed to the style of worship, and the structure of this type of service was like the church I attended for a few years. I have found that the people who preach at this church express an awareness of being in Cape Town in a way that my home church has not. For instance, the student body have had the opportunity to attend a “Reimagining the City” workshop aimed at engaging District Six’s history, on the same Saturday as Proximity Conference. Jubilee also hosted a series of evenings, one of which involves the screening of a documentary about District Six, with the opportunity to discuss the documentary with the director.

My fieldwork also comprised an interview with a family friend, Colin Banfield. Banfield has been involved with a ministry called “Crowded House”, also based in the UK. This ministry takes a similar stance to Eden in that it looks to meet people in deprived neighbourhoods on their own terms, instead of in the form of church meetings. He has also done a little work in Salt River, mostly in the form of creating a space for stories over dinner. He says to me that “it’s amazing, the power of stories” (Personal Interview, 2017, August 28). He invited me to a ‘Justice and Theology Workshop’ at Hope City Presbyterian church, which took place on the 4<sup>th</sup> of September. This workshop explored the issue of land in South Africa by means of the story of Naboth’s Vineyard, which is found in 1 Kings 21. This workshop was facilitated by someone from the Warehouse, an organisation that is affiliated to an Anglican parish in Cape Town<sup>5</sup>. We role-played this story in order to open up a discussion about land issues and injustice in South Africa.

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<sup>5</sup> St John’s Parish, Wynberg (The Warehouse, n.d.)

#### **4.4. STORYTELLING AS A PLANNING TOOL**

These various visits play a role in helping me to understand the setting within which the Eden Network SA operates. What particularly stands out for me is the extent to which stories play a role in shaping the way that space and peoples' relation to it is enacted through story. Story, according to Sandercock (2003), is a vehicle that planning uses in order to imagine the future and actualise that imagination. What this suggests then, is that when faith affiliation networks or assemblages play a role in constructing narratives about urbanity they take on a role in planning. I say this because these narratives play a role in what the relational spaces of the city-to-come might look like. Sandercock (2003: 18) argues that "organising of hope" through narrative is an undertaking that planners should engage with. This is especially the case because in the midst of urban development there are occasions when "success stories" arise, and being able to tell these stories well is vital.

The role that story has to play in planning ties into Baum's (2015) tracing of planners' efforts to find and work in the seams of emotive and involuntary action. In particular, practices of storytelling, which centre on key issues, are encouraged. This locates these practices within a communicative paradigm. These practices are collaborative ones in which complex, often divergent views are held together. This capacity to hold contradictory positions recognises that relational approaches can be more constructive than emotionally distanced, technically-driven approaches. That is, relational approaches foster collaborative practices in which complex, often divergent views are held together. To participate in these practices, planners are required to be perceptive of people they are working with, as well as their own intuitive, emotional responses to situations (Baum, 2015). In the next section, I look at some of the ways that the Eden Network SA engages emotive vocabularies, while also using more traditionally Euclidian versions of space, to think about what the urban environment, or city means, and what role Christians, and more specifically, Eden has to play in bringing new possibilities into fruition. This means that the Eden Network plays a role in articulating what civic duties might be for people who hold to a Christian belief system.

#### **4.5. MOVING INTO A NEW SPIRIT: OPENING UP TO NEW POSSIBILITIES**

As a form of community development planning, the Eden Network participates in shaping the urban environment at a local level. This work is, however, motivated by a broader view of the structures that bring about the variable nature of the urban environment. This structural view

of the way that the urban environment manifests, together with participation in neighbourhood-based links to the way that Solnit (2016) articulates “hope”, as explored above. What I mean is that the Eden Network sees broad realities, while looking for possibilities in a tangible, everyday sense. Subsequently, I argue that the Eden Network looks to foster hope. This network does this in a convivial fashion, in their neighbourhood-based work, which I explore more extensively in chapter five. At the same time, the Eden Network SA also plays a role in constructing and participating in a public discourse. This discourse represents a “utopian-pragmatist” viewpoint (Pieterse, 2011: 20). That is, it seeks to envision a utopian future, along the lines of the becoming possible of the impossible (Caputo, 2001). At the same time, the Eden Network participates in daily practices of urban living too. By weaving between these spheres, the Eden Network engages and opens to hope. The following relates to the more utopian aspects of this network.

The Eden Network plays a role in constructing a narrative about the city. Specifically, Pringle (2017)<sup>6</sup> suggests that FBOs can help people to make sense of South Africa’s political and urban landscape, which he sees as an intertwined narrative. He tells a story about Cape Town that is future-oriented. He sees the need to move out of the current paradigm into a “new spirit” or imagination for the future. He suggests that generating new vision for the future unfolds in the following way:

We need to pray. I think from a lifestyle point of view, is to first understand what is happening. And then, because it's sad. It's this horrible thing that has happened. And I think that is something that we have to mourn. For that loss. And from there, I think that we need to open ourselves up to new possibilities. And I think that is through things like reading the Bible, or praying with people who move differently to yourself. Or being in spaces that are uncomfortable. Or joining an Eden team. The possibilities are different when you really understand the reality with the 'least of these', the poorest of the poor. I think the paradigm shifts and what's possible changes.

(Otoo-Anakwa, Pringle, Porthen, Tucker & Ward, 2017)<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Tristan Pringle delivers a Keynote Address at The Message Trust SA’s annual Proximity conference on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of September 2017. I draw on this address to unpack some of the ways that the Eden Network tells the story of Cape Town in this chapter.

<sup>7</sup> This comment arises in response to a question asked during a panel discussion that takes place at The Message Trust SA’s annual Proximity Conference, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of September 2017.

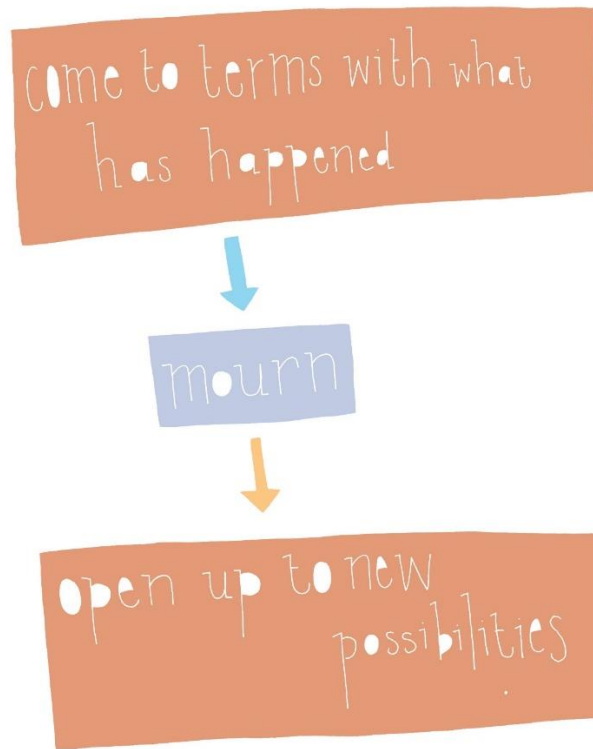


Figure 4.1. Process of Entering a 'New Spirit'

#### 4.5.1. Accepting What Has Happened: Developing Critical Awareness about the Everyday Reality of the Segregated City

Approaching a “new spirit” entails making sense of what is. One way that I have seen faith assemblages do this is through the Naboth’s Vineyard role-play, or through the ‘Reimagining the City’ workshops on District Six. Pringle (2017) uses Frith’s (2011) dot density maps to illustrate South Africa’s urban realities. These maps are an adaptation of the 2011 census data, to show the distribution of race and household income in Cape Town (see figures 4.2. and 4.3. below). He emphasises the fact that these patterns are the result of intentional designs and that this configuration of socio-spatial relations means that “you can see the segregated nature of this city” (Pringle, 2017). He further emphasises that the correlation between these two maps means that “rich people are white people in the [inner] city” (Pringle, 2017). This is a direct reference to the economic and social legacies of apartheid.

Pringle (2017) goes on to stress that these intentional designs have led to a state where:

Here in Cape Town, South Africa, we have become stuck. Our imagination has become undone. We have come to believe that our current reality is the only one possible. If

we just look at the design of our city and where people live, it will tell you something we have accepted since the dawning of our democracy. We accept that rich people should live in one part of the city, and poor people should live in the other. We have non-poor areas, where taxis can't even reach.

By referring to “our” and “us” in relation to “democracy”, he recognises that “the design of our city” should be an inclusionary process that does not condone living in separate areas because of one’s income. Nevertheless, as “community” is a binding word that might elide divergences between opinions, “us” has the potential to do the same.<sup>8</sup> The above reading of the city, which refuses the status quo, aligns with a vision for a more equitable city. Nevertheless, by speaking in this way about the city, Pringle does not voice the agential variety that inheres to the urban environment. In doing so, he sutures the agonistic nature of politics, and indeed, democracy. This indicates the inadequacy of the language that we have to describe African cities (Pieterse, 2011). That is, while this account is one version of Cape Town’s urban environment, it is not the only one, and the urban sphere remains “an edge, a site of danger, for there are impossibly many dimensions to grasp at once” (Pieterse, 2011: 20).

Nevertheless, Pringle draws a connection between the apartheid system and the current city pattern. Pringle’s call to “not allow this to happen” and that “we must do better” invokes a form of “government through community” that I have discussed in chapter three (Rose, 1999: 176). This means that people are able to take responsibility and co-develop an ethics by which to live. Pringle (2017) directs his attention to people who have a choice in how and where they live, to say that Christians have a responsibility to people in their community, and to change the spaces of the city. These changes are essential to ensuring that areas are not exclusive and dangerous. This urge to take responsibility stems from a Christian theology that should speak to locatedness. Pringle is saying that Christians in community and through community have a

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<sup>8</sup> For instance, the Reclaim the City movement has played an important role in resisting the current patterning of affordable housing in Cape Town. After much activism, research and engagement, their work has played a role in moving the City of Cape Town to support transitional housing in areas such as Woodstock and Salt River, which are nearer to the Central City, rather than relocating people to Wolwerivier, 25 km outside of the city (Ndifuna Ukwazi, 2017; Villette, 2017). This particular example demonstrates that not all members of Cape Town’s population “stuck” in their vision for the city. Furthermore, it shows that differences in opinion in the body politic is important, and that these agonistic positions have the potential to effect change in the urban environment.

responsibility to their city, to ensure that the apartheid patterning of the city is not perpetuated.

The “we” Pringle (2017) addresses are those people who accept the conditions of exclusion that he describes as “normal.” This statement illustrates Smith’s (2002) observation that community developers tend to inhabit a more radical outlook than church congregants do. So, the “we”, here, are Christians in relatively wealthy circumstances, who have not necessarily engaged with the concerns of the apartheid city and its redress. Subsequently, this speech registers as a form of conscientisation. That is, he uses maps, statistics and poetry to bring people to a critical awareness of the quotidian features of a segregated city. The aim of this critical awareness is to encourage those who can to actively engage with ways to alter these realities. Pringle (2017) further underscores this heterogeneity by means of safety statistics, which I will now look at.

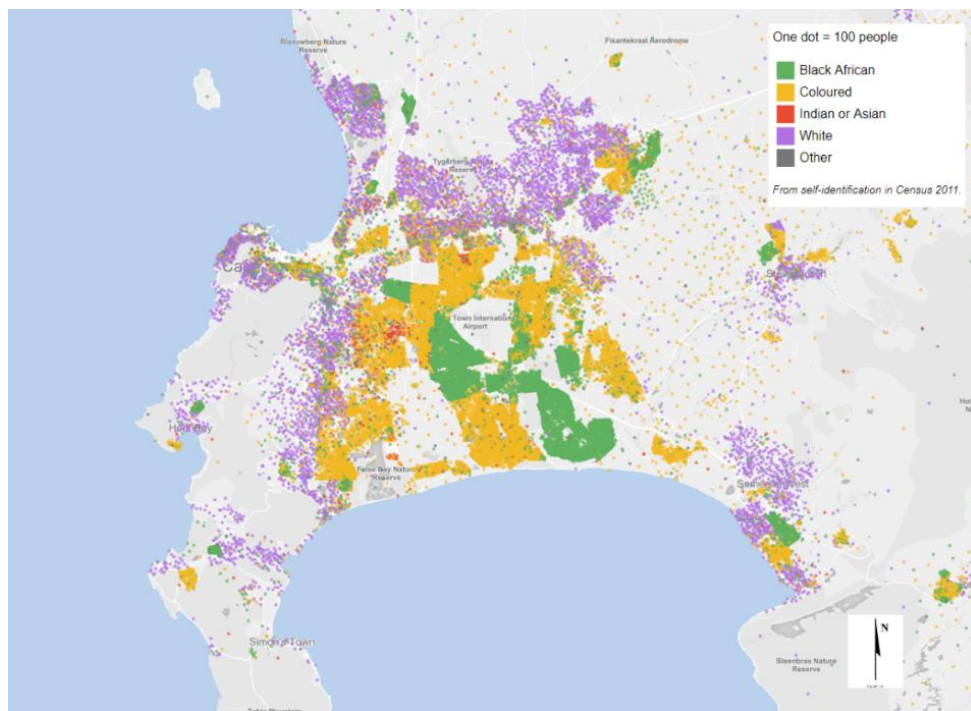


Figure 4.2.: Distribution of Racial Demographics in Cape Town (Adapted from Adrian Frith, 2011)

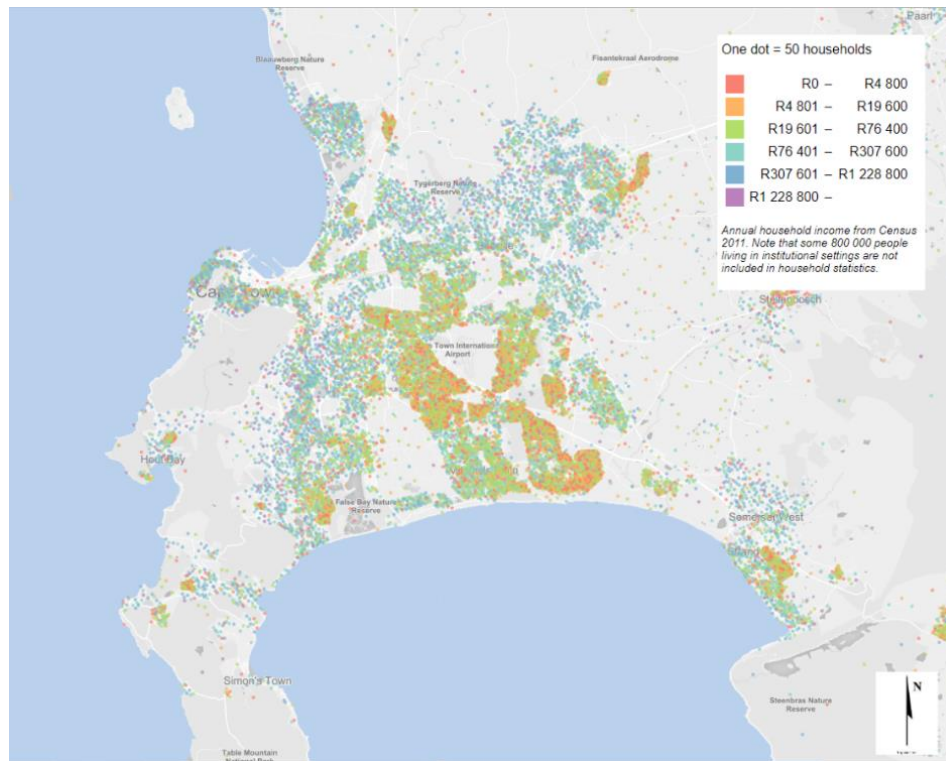


Figure 4.3.: Household Income Distribution in Cape Town (Adapted from Adrian Frith, 2011)

#### 4.5.1.1. Relational concerns about safety

Pringle’s narrative about Cape Town as a segregated city also points to an analysis of peoples’ access to safety and the police force. He points to the murder rate and the number of police stations found in different parts of the city and noting that:

“[T]he safer areas have more police resources assigned than poorer areas [...] And it could be easy to talk numbers and just move one, but we have an Eden team in Nyanga, and so this must hit home for us. How much longer can we allow that to happen? Each of those represents someone personal, who have a sister, mother, someone created in the image of God.”

(Pringle, 2017)

This part of his narrative turns the statistical, rational aspect of planning into a relational issue. He stresses it in relation to the group of people who are located in the room, by pointing out that “we have an Eden team in Nyanga” and then draws it out into a more general relational field of family attachments and intrinsic value in that people are “created in the image of God”. Pringle (2017) goes on to alter the course of a rational-technical approach to understanding

urbanity by citing some lines from Ingrid Jonker's 1963 poem *The Child is not Dead*. Pringle (2017) points out that there are parallels between the poem written under apartheid and the current city patterns. He says:

*The Child is not Dead* is a statement of resilience. Saying, we must do better. In a city where the neighbourhood where you live is a matter of life and death, we must do better. And here's where the rubber hits the road for Christians. Eugene Peterson says, "All theology is rooted in geography".

(Pringle, 2017)

The use of safety statistics together with a poem about death, and the subsequent observation that location dictates mortality, calls up terror. Mbembe (2003: 19) argues that terror is a way of "marking aberration in the body politic." That is, the extent to which peoples' lives are at risk is also an indicator of departure from governance by the socio-political order. Mbembe (2003) argues that the body politic is defined by reason, which seeks to decrease transgression so that truth may prevail. He reads this as a utopian confidence in rationality, which links to ways of knowing rooted in the Enlightenment tradition. This confidence is also frequently attached to discourses "of mastery and emancipation" (Mbembe, 2003: 19). Another way to read "mastery" is as governance, which "community" is a mechanism of.

The field of relations Pringle explores highlights a couple of aspects of the nature of community I have explored, following Rose, in chapter two. Firstly, community is an ethical bond (Rose, 1999). Peoples' lack of safety, especially in relation to the historical trajectory that perpetuates these conditions, becomes an ethical question. This ethical questions circles around an impetus to not "allow that to happen", or "do better". In this instance, the terror of apartheid and murder rates now, points to the places where both the state fails, or is limited. Under apartheid, this points to an ethical failure on behalf of the state, where the state is responsible for death and terror. Under the new political disposition, this limit is marked by state absence, where the police are not present, which allows people to depart from the body politic, or order, by murdering others. Terror also inheres to the capacity to be an apathetic bystander. That is, an aberration in the body politic also exists at the point of inaction. Concomitantly, the ethical impetus for the "community" evoked here, is to intervene, (master?) and emancipate. Doing "better" is a way of incorporating people into the body politic. That is, Pringle requires a

lessening of terror. This means that people should take their civic duty more seriously. In the context of Eden, this means participating as a Christian volunteer, in order to prevent the perpetuation of terror, which is linked to deeper systemic pressures. In this order, reason prevails, which moves people into action. It is in this sense, that people might come to terms with what has happened.

#### **4.5.2. Mourning and Faith-Based Affect**

Another aspect of acknowledging South Africa's reality lies in the capacity to mourn is integral to coming together. Pringle (2017) argues that when people can acknowledge apartheid as "this horrible thing that has happened [...] that we have to mourn." Stanescu (2012) asserts that to recognise this, to mourn, is to come into vulnerability, which forges relationships. Butler (2003: 468) argues that "a certain sense of community" arises from coming together in the midst of loss. This sense of community is dependent on that loss for its sustenance. In this sense, sorrow is not a place from which nothing can come. It is, rather, an interval with generative potential. Vulnerability allows for an acknowledgment of interdependency, which leads to the formation of collectivity (Stanescu, 2012). Community thus emerges from realising that people are vulnerable and that terror that arises from apartheid manifests in a variety of forms. While the way that this device operates is rooted in Enlightenment thinking, the gesture towards mourning subverts this origin to some extent.

The potential to subvert the prizing the rational too much lies in the fact that mourning has been consigned to the private, feminine realm. Stanescu (2012) argues that mourning has the potential to enact revolutionary change, which is why it tends to be more private. The private, or domestic realm also has a variety of forms of labour that are crucial to generative aspects of work, such as those associated with food preparation, clothing creation and repair, as well as child care. These types of labour are frequently not seen. Consequently, the politics inherent to these forms of work are not easily recognised within the public domain. This is the place that mourning tends to remain, since it can disturb the veneer of "civic order" (Stanescu, 2012: 578). With the move towards a recognition of the politics of the everyday (Rose, 1999; Bertolini, 2013), however, there is now greater scope for seeing mourning as a political activity. This requires seeing that human life encompasses a broad range of activities. Furthermore, these often ignored, seemingly mundane repositories of the ordinary may open up spaces for the possible, and bring hope.

Spaces of mourning open “generative potential” (Butler, 2003). That is, in coming to terms with loss, people may begin to have the capacity to “open [themselves] up to new possibilities” (Pringle, 2017). Pringle’s suggestion here is for people who consider themselves Christians

And I think that [...] through things like reading the Bible, or praying with people who move differently to yourself. Or being in spaces that are uncomfortable. Or joining an Eden team. The possibilities are different when you really understand the reality with the “least of these”, the poorest of the poor. I think the paradigm shifts and what's possible changes.

This range of activities is one such repository of ordinary life that helps Christians navigate the terrain of possibility. It takes religious texts and activities seriously, as well as the opportunities to act on these more ephemerally oriented dispositions. These are some of the “affective registers” that “move [people of faith] to action” (Dwyer, 2016:759).

#### **4.5.3. Generative potential: imagining the possible**

I now turn to an instance in which Pringle (2017) participates in these “affective registers” to urge people who participate in this faith tradition to enact responses in the urban sphere. The first lies in what Pringle calls “a prophetic catalytic contribution”:

[I]t is in that restructuring that we need to unlock the imagination. That's exactly where we need to step into the prophetic. And Eden is just that. It is a prophetic statement that demolishes the lie that we need to live apart, with racial boundaries in the city. It is saying to all people that their lives matter. And that they are worth it. Eden is about proposing contrary and opposing future alternatives. Alternatives to racism, oppression, gangsterism, crime, unemployment, inequality and poverty. This is the catalytic prophetic statement that Cape Town needs. We must start envisioning an alternative to the city that has become. And our protest must become the prophetic rebuilding of our city.

(Pringle, 2017)

Pringle envisions possibility in terms of the prophetic. This call against various ills in the city, in favour of alternative futures, aligns Pringle with the liberal utopian vision of the secular city, in which church, or FBOs act against repressive elements (Beaumont and Baker, 2011: 2). It is

insufficient to accept Cape Town's current trajectory, as it has been shaped by the legacy of apartheid. Not only that, but that this trajectory is "the lie that we need to live apart." By calling the current state of being a "lie", Pringle evokes requiring truth, which positions him within an Enlightenment tradition of thinking (Mbembe, 2003). He is thus suggesting that "contrary and opposing future alternatives" to are a form of telling the truth, for searching for a truer way to live. Another way to think about this is as a vision of a good life. While it is important to countenance peoples' visions of a good life, it is also important to acknowledge the potential damage that utopian thinking can bring about. That is, utopias have the quality of the spectacular, which can easily inspire people, but also fizzle out, not realise its promises, and so disappoint, which can break trust (Angel et al., 2011).

For this reason, I argue, along with Nyamnjoh (2015), that it is important to recognise that this is one vision of a good life, and should be open to other versions of what this might mean for various people. This follows along with Solnit's (2016: xiii) definition of hope as "broad perspectives with specific possibilities." Utopian vision has the potential to carry people into new possibilities. It lies somewhere together with the "odd brilliant disturbances" and "becoming possible of the impossible" (Caputo, 2001; 2006). At the same time, utopian thinking should be counter-balanced by an engagement with the political nature of everyday reality. Hope is sustained in this way. That is, by seeing that something else might be possible, everyday life does not remain as a static end-point. At the same time, the utopian vision is measured against daily life and can be adapted to changing reality. In this way, it is acknowledged as a purview, rather than a totalising factor that drowns out living reality.

Pringle not only provides a critical, negative vision of what the city is, but should not be. One element of this utopian discourse that is linked to political everyday concerns in Cape Town, is visible in Pringle's (2017) revision of a poem from Isaiah for Cape Town:

Be glad and rejoice forever in what will be created.

We will recreate the community to be a light and its people a joy.

We will rejoice over Cape Town.

The city will take delight in its people.

They will model the renewal of the ruined city of Cape Town,

That has been devastated for generations.

[...]

The gentrifier and the gentrified will eat at the same table.

Developers will put people before profit.

The gangsters will become community builders.

This poem navigates the terrain between the city and the possibility of what “community” could be in this setting. It presents the vision that the community could be “a light and its people a joy”, which means that people who inhabit worldviews that are at odds with one another can look for ways to “live together” (Noble, 2013). That is, it offers up the possibility for developing habits, such as sharing meals that will redefine relationships between people. It calls for a conviviality that requires people to inhabit their differences and allow them to rub against one another can cause uncertainty, inconsistency and disagreement. Nonetheless, conviviality seeks to explore the places where everyday habits and routines might create mutuality. The everyday also requires people who live together to be considerate of one another (Nyamnjoh, 2015). It also offers a view of [property] developers that calls for a stance that does not align with neoliberal market logic (Watson, 2006). Rather, it presents reconciliatory tones that countenance the possibility of speaking across the fragmented identities that people in South Africa inhabit, as discussed in relation to Landau’s (2014) work.

This poem also represents a version of storytelling as a catalyst for change (Sandercock, 2003: 18). In other words, constructing narratives and speaking them provides occasion to envision new possibilities (Sandercock, 2003). It is important to acknowledge that these stories and the possibilities they present align with a disposition that is open to something Ó Tuama describes in his poem, *Narrative Theology* (2010):

the answer’s in the living not the knowing

the answer’s in the telling of the story

in half forgotten memory

and all unfinished stories

## 4.5. CONCLUSION

I have sought, in this chapter, to demonstrate the role that storytelling has to play in community development as a form of planning. I have explored the role of ordinary affect in articulating faith affiliation, and the potential that this has to open people up to conviviality and hope. These concepts require that one embrace complexity while also resolving to act in the midst of it. I explore the way that story in my fieldwork has affected me. And go on to explore a method for constructing narratives and opening up to new imagination and possibilities that the Eden Network suggests for the City of Cape Town. These narratives present one version of a way that a good life might unfold in the urban context. These narratives cannot embrace the full complexity of living in the urban environment. Nevertheless, the utopian tones of this discourse provide grounds for action in the political sphere – both in the public and private spheres. These utopian tones, should, however, look to the everyday nature of urban settings. Working between these scales provides ways of navigating conviviality in a hopeful manner. In the next chapter, I turn to a further exploration of the Eden Network. In this chapter, I look to the practical unfolding of Eden in Cape Town. This practical aspect engages the everyday more fully, which indicates the ways that Eden as an FBO articulates hope in the urban environment.

**CHAPTER FIVE  
FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS**

**DIALOGUE II**

## 5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter engages the work done by the Eden Network in South Africa. It assesses the manifestation of this faith-based community development in terms of “global assemblage” (Ong and Collier, 2005). That is, in this chapter I seek to understand the ways that abstract principles from the Eden Network UK are assembled in the local context of Salt River, Cape Town, through the community transformation work done by the Eden Network SA. I explore the limits of these principles, which adapt to heterogeneous localities that are a result of geopolitical relationships through time, or worlding. By doing this, I assess, against the criteria established in chapter three, the way that this faith-based form of community development correlates with, departs from, and contests the theory around this type of work.

The discussion begins by contextualising the Eden Network SA in relation to The Message Trust in the UK and SA. Thereafter, the discussion turns to where and how Eden Network is located in Cape Town. The discussion then turns to an analysis of the ways in which the Eden Team in Salt River contextualises and adapts principles established by the Eden Network in the UK.

## 5.2. THE CASE: THE EDEN NETWORK SA

The Salt River Eden group is a team of 14 people who collaborate with Jubilee Community Church, which is based in Observatory. This team was mobilised in 2014. After that, another two teams have been formed. The team formed after the Salt River team is in Pelican Park. This team is connected to Cape Gateway International church. Another team has been launched in Nyanga, in association with New Crossroads Baptist Church. The Message Trust SA is presently in the process of meeting with people in the interest of initiating a fourth Eden Team with Khanyisa Church in Tambo Village in Gugulethu (Slessenger and Pretorius, 2015: online; Join Eden, 2017: online).

Figure 5.1. below illustrates where the Eden Network and their partner churches are all located in Cape Town. The Eden Network undertakes work in “forgotten neighbourhoods” (which I explore more extensively in section 5.2.2.). Nyanga and Gugulethu are two of the oldest ‘townships’ in Cape Town, and the socio-economic deprivations experienced in these areas are a direct result of socio-spatial segregation and influx control under apartheid. While Salt River is an inner-city industrial area, it is changing rapidly, as a result of gentrification. This means that the Eden Network SA works in idiosyncratic areas, which face different realities.

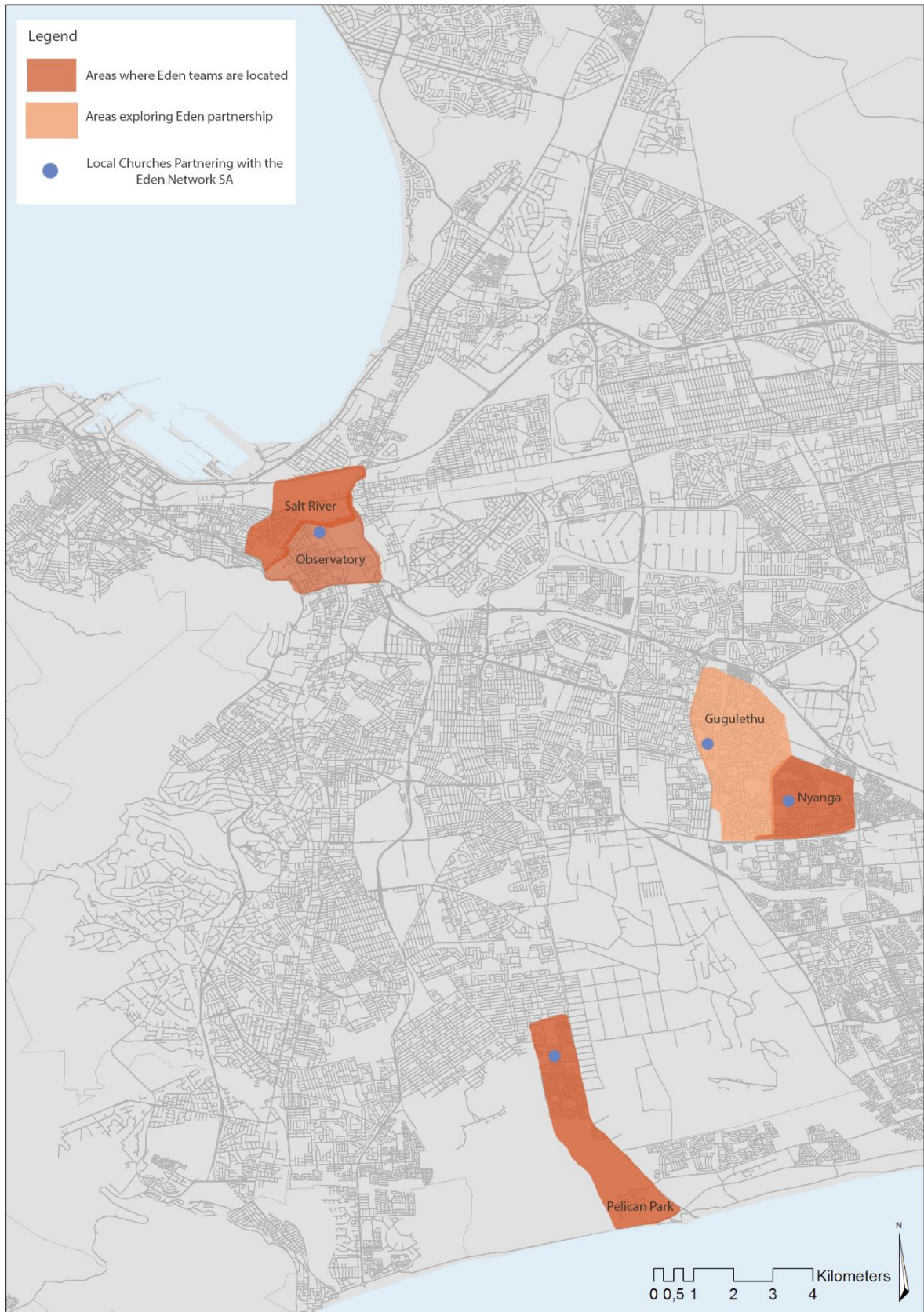


Figure 5.1.: Location of Eden Projects and Partner Churches in Cape Town, South Africa (Source: City of Cape Town GIS, Join Eden Online).

### 5.2.1. The Message Trust: Eden in Context

The Eden Network is a stream within the work that The Message Trust South Africa (SA) has been doing in Cape Town since 2014. The Message Trust SA is the result of a collaboration with The Message Trust in the United Kingdom (UK). The Message UK started in Manchester approximately twenty-five years ago, through the work of a man called Anthony Hawthorne. There are presently 51 Eden Projects in operation (Join Eden, 2017: online). Recently, a group of “executive members” visited South Africa, in order to meet with various churches and associations in the area (Slessenger and Pretorius, 2015: online). Slessenger (Slessenger and Pretorius, 2015: online) says that they, “[R]eally just explored [whether or not] ‘what was happening in the UK, some of the models, could it be of use here in Cape Town, if it was contextualised and working alongside local churches?’” The group of executives are the ones who decided that these models would work in this context. These models include ministry and life skills development in prisons, as well community development through Eden Projects. The discussion on models is continued at greater length in section 5.4.1.

In the time since that first exploratory endeavour in 2014, The Message Trust SA, has sought to develop a number of different outreach approaches. Slessenger and Pretorius (2015: online) say:

[R]ight at the beginning, when we started praying, we knew the vision. We knew that we wanted to be in prisons, we wanted to be in schools, we wanted to mobilise a team to reach the hardest to reach youth in Cape Town [...] We have teams going into prisons, going into schools, working with churches.

This statement demonstrates what The Message SA does. It has four main outreach programmes, or “streams”: the ‘Message Enterprise Programme’ (MEP); ‘Gangstar Enterprises’; ‘Creative Mission’ and the ‘Eden Network’, or “community transformation work” (Message Trust South Africa [MTSA], 2016: online). The MEP is described as “a holistic intensive prison programme that develops every student in business, emotional, social and spiritual support” (MTSA, 2016). This programme feeds into the work that The Message Trust SA does with ‘Gangstar Enterprises’, which provides “employment opportunities, mentorship and entrepreneurial support” to youth who have been through the MEP programme (MTSA, 2016). The Message Trust SA also runs a ‘Creative Mission’, through a band called ‘Kinetic IV’,

and partners with local churches to connect with people who live near to, or attend these churches. This stream focusses predominantly on making contact with youth in schools and churches in Cape Town to run “life-skills and educational workshops” (MTSA, 2016). Finally, Eden is “community transformation” work. This stream “is a partnership between local churches and teams of dedicated youth workers, committed to making a difference to the places where they live.” (MTSA, 2016). As explored in the foregoing chapter, this transformation relates to a move away from a racially and economically segregated society, guided by a Christian worldview. I now discuss the Eden Network in more detail, in the UK and SA contexts.

### 5.2.2. The Eden Network: Community Development in “Tough Neighbourhoods”

The Eden Project, which in terms used by The Message Trust SA is a form of “Community Transformation”, collaborates with local churches in specific “tough neighbourhoods” to take cognisance of the area and the people, or “community” in that neighbourhood (MTSA, 2016). In the UK, these “tough neighbourhoods” are identified in terms of “multiple deprivations – such as high crime, poor health, low educational achievement, dilapidated environments, broken families and few opportunities for young people” (Eden Network UK [ENUK], n.d.: 2). The Eden SA “teams move into forgotten neighbourhoods [sic] where crime and antisocial behaviour are the norm, bringing the

### ASSESSING THE EDEN NETWORK: STATE LIMITATIONS

The Eden Network locates in areas where the state is unable to fulfil welfare functions. Subsequently, it exists as a recognition of the limitations of the state.

Third Way articulations of urban policy play a role in producing circumstances in which governance functions are fulfilled by entities beyond the state.

These interventions are enabled by the heterogeneity of the urban environment. This heterogeneity arises from the historical patterns of colonial and apartheid government.

The Eden Network perpetuates “worlding” in that it intervenes in areas that result from colonial patterns, using governance tools that arise from the global North. These tools, nevertheless, help entities to recognise state limitations.

love of Jesus and the hope of transformation” (MTSA, 2016). These attributes mirror features of community development described by Gilchrist (2003) and Wolf-Powers (2014). There are parallels between the criteria laid out by the Eden Networks in the UK and SA. This illustrates that these principles have been abstracted and travelled from the UK to SA. Subsequently, the Eden Network SA engages in a form of community development, which focusses on deprived areas.

The term “forgotten neighbourhoods” suggests a narrative of exclusion in which state or governance structures have failed to provide adequately for citizens, or to inculcate societal ideals, and so “crime and antisocial behaviour are the norm” (MTSA, 2016). The narrative of forgotten neighbourhoods recognises the disparate heterogeneity of the urban environment, in which some areas are provisioned and others are “deprived” (Wolf-Powers, 2014). This disparity cannot be fully addressed by the state, which is a limited entity (Nyamnjoh, 2015). Subsequently, because the state cannot provide people with what they need, behaviours that are characteristic of deprived neighbourhoods, such as crime, arise. This limited state entity, which “forgets” neighbourhoods, provides grounds for community developers, in the form of Eden teams, who embody a form of devolved “governance-beyond-the-state” (Swyngedouw, 2005), to intervene and take on governance responsibilities.

These responsibilities are described as “bringing the love of Jesus and the hope of transformation” (MTSA, 2016). These two concepts reveal the moral grounding for the concept of community in Eden’s paradigm. That is, if community is a set of relationships that are bound by a moral field (Rose, 1999), then this community is premised on the “love of Jesus.” A Christian belief system links the people who participate in this form of community development. This has an impact on who may volunteer for this type of work, and may have an impact on residents’ perceptions of what these teams do. The concept of “postsecular rapprochement” (Cloke and Beaumont, 2013), which seeks the places where secular and religious ideas and practices imbricate, stands as a counterpoint to these exclusionary practices and potential perceptions. That is, as religion re-emerges (if it has ever disappeared) into the public sphere, it has a multiplicity of positions and articulations to explore (Cloke, Sutherland and Williams, 2015). A volunteer base that is centred around rational belief claims shuts down the space for this dialogue. Furthermore, even if people do not consciously recognise it, it may prevent people from seeking assistance from this organisation.

## 5.4. WORLDING IN ACTION: THE EDEN NETWORK AS “GLOBAL ASSEMBLAGE”

The criterion for policy’s capacity to “travel” and adapt to different contexts is global assemblage.

### 5.4.1. Global Assemblage

The Eden Network has been in operation in the UK for 19 years (Join Eden, 2017). The work that is being done by the Eden Network in South Africa, while adapted to this context, learns from the UK network. In this sense, the Eden model represents an idea, or set of knowledge and skills is transferable. However, since the United Kingdom and South Africa are vastly different settings, it is not possible to simply replicate the approach that The Message Trust and by extension the Eden Network, takes in the UK. Rather, this FBO must adapt to the context in which it finds itself.

One way that The Message Trust SA has done this has been through the Mess Café, located in Mowbray, Cape Town. This café is linked to a bookshop and has facilities where people can work and study. In addition, it is overtly linked to ‘Gangstar Enterprises’ and employs ex-offenders in the coffee shop (MTSA, 2017). This differs from the Mess Café model in the UK, which has a catering service and facilities for hosting events. In addition, it describes itself as a “socially-responsible business”, which does not indicate the exact nature of who and why this business provides employment to the people who work there (The Mess Manchester, 2017).

This relates to the notion of “global assemblage” posited by Ong and Collier (2005), which explains how ideas can travel between contexts, but are subject to change in local settings. The changes that takes place in a new context exemplify a willingness, on the side of The Message Trust SA, to adapt and “contextualise” to the heterogeneous conditions in Cape Town. That is, contextualisation is brought about by means of horizontal relationships, by “coming alongside” local churches. In the case of the Eden Network, this means that teams attend and participate in the life of a local church in the area that they live in. This adaptability illustrates a recognition by The Message Trust that models, particularly those developed in the global North, cannot simply be replicated in contexts of the global South. The language of exploration, and a recognition that the work needs to be adapted to the context (by affiliation with local churches) illustrates that this global form is an assemblage.

I posit that the work and learning that takes place between these places exhibits characteristics of “global assemblage.” They illustrate the ways that urban policy in South Africa mirrors that in the UK, to bring about forms of governance that allow FBOs to participate in the governance terrain, through community development initiatives (Swyngedouw, 2005; Harrison, 2006; McFarlane, 2009; Cloke and Beaumont, 2013).

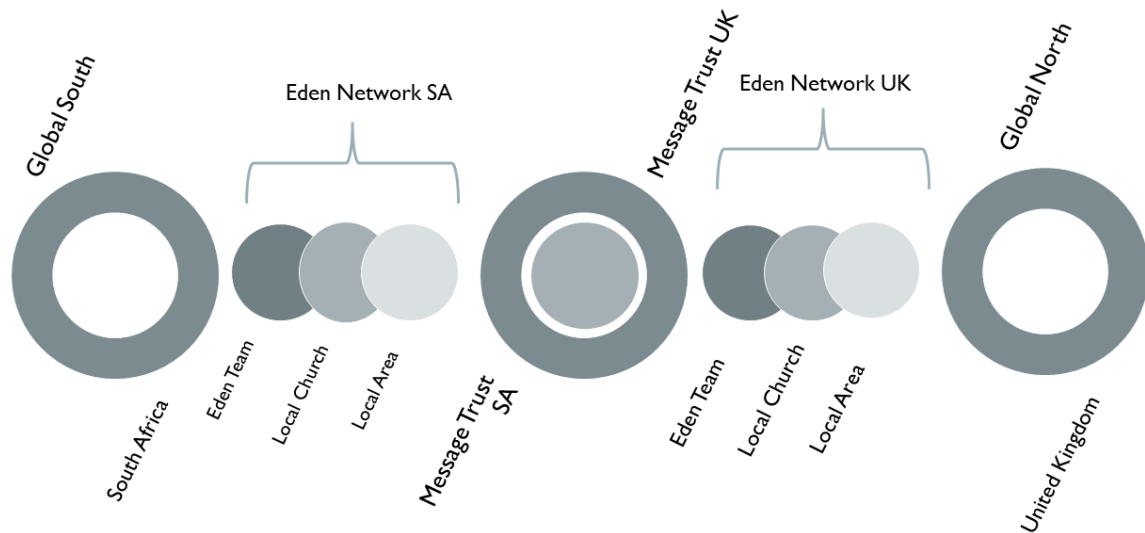


Figure 5.2. Diagram of the Eden Network: A Global Assemblage (Source: Author)

The Eden Network SA takes part in a form of incarnational relational community development (Thomas, 2012; Wolf-Powers, 2014). This type of community development emphasises presence and building “norms of trust and reciprocity” (Smith, 2002: 169). Because norms have an ethical foundation, they are a feature (or the appearance thereof) of what binds community (Rose, 1999; McCarthy and Cohen, 2015). The normative nature of community has the potential to inculcate ways of being that motivate people to act in ways that citizens might – both in providing services, as well as in establishing a framework for how to relate to one another. As such, this FBO participates in a form of governance through community (Swyngedouw, 2005; Rose, 1999). The move towards incarnational community development, as well as the welfare aspect of governance arises from a move in areas of the global North towards these approaches to citizenship and faith.

The heterogeneity with which these forms land demonstrate the historical patterns that allow for these models to be transferred. That is, it helps me to investigate how extensively the Eden network perpetuates “worlding” processes, which see experiments with new forms of urban models imported from the global North to the global South, and follow historical patterns along these geopolitical fault lines (Roy, 2011; 2015). I suggest that the features of the contemporary political order that alter these trajectories have ambiguous outcomes.

In the following section, I unpack the work that the Eden Network SA does in relation to a set of distinctives, (or principles) that arise from the Eden Network in the UK. These distinctives relate to the forms of incarnational relational community development discussed above. I analyse these principles in the context of the Salt River team in Cape Town. The extent to which they hold or are altered reflects the type of global assemblage that the Eden Network UK and SA is.

The distinctives that Eden UK hold to are (ENUK, n.d.):

Being Incarnational

Being Relational

Being Purposeful

Being Countercultural

Being Holistic

Each of these is discussed in turn below.

#### **5.4.1.1. Being Incarnational<sup>9</sup>**

The first point that I want to draw from this set of “distinctives” relates to that the fact that the word “being” carries through all of them. This word emphasises an ongoing presence. The decision to relocate recognises that coming alongside people on a long-term basis is important. The Eden Network terms this proximity, an “incarnational approach”. This move towards “incarnational” living fits into a broader movement within Christianity. In this movement, FBOs

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<sup>9</sup> “We are devoted to the communities that we have adopted as home. We have a sense of the calling and commitment to live long-term as salt and light, fleshing out the grace of God in a way that is relevant and relatable to our neighbours” (ENUK, n.d.).

undertake to live in deprived areas. This form of community development represents a critique of contemporary church structures. People who engage in “incarnational” community development see churches as disconnected from the realities that people in deprived areas encounter. This critique is grounded in a theology that looks to Jesus’ teachings and interactions with marginalised people in society (Thomas, 2012). Differently put, this form of community development represents a shift towards a praxis-oriented faith (Cloke and Beaumont, 2013).

For Porthen (Personal Interview, 2017, September 14), this critique of the current church model has raised a number of questions for him since he has come to faith. He says that he came to faith:

I attended a church in the suburbs. Because my mom, she'd been attending there for years, and so, naturally, I just went with her. And, I just knew that this would never work where I was from [Athlone] [...] The model of church would never work, never, never, never. Because the model of church generally says, ‘I'm going to create this space for you to come in, and for an hour, an hour and a half...’ [...] Whereas, Jesus would call discipleship, ‘Hey, come hang out at my house. Hey, come follow me, I'm going to go here, do this thing, let's go on mission together. Let's eat together’, that's actually what he would call discipleship.

(Porthen, personal interview, 2017, September 14).

Porthen also views the church as disengaged from the concerns of peoples’ day-to-day lives. That is, it is more concerned with bringing people into spaces that are concerned with overt teaching about this faith. On the other hand, when one looks to Jesus’ teaching - as suggested by other adherents to incarnational ministry (Thomas, 2012) – then there is a call to be with people, as Jesus was when he was on earth. That is, Jesus’ incarnation is the cue for approaching people. This means that the approach that Jesus takes to being with people sets the approach for people who undertake to be part of Eden. This incarnational approach also aligns with a movement in planning, which calls for an engagement with everyday lives (Bertolini, 2013). Subsequently, the incarnational aspect of this form of community development stands as a critique of church models, and lines up with an urge to recognise planning’s engagement with the quotidian. Solnit (2016: 80 – 81), proposes that this is the way that activism comes into being in the contemporary era. She speaks of the “politics of

prefiguration”, which has parallels to the concept of incarnational witness (Thomas, 2012). That is, in choosing to “embody what you aspire to, you have already succeeded” (Solnit, 2016: 80). What I mean here is that the Eden Network SA stands as a call to revisit the perceptions that we have of living in the city day-to-day.

In addition, the Eden Network SA exists as a critique of local iterations of church that result from the heterogeneous arrangements of Cape Town. That is, churches in the suburbs, which are affluent, former white areas, present expressions of church that Porthen sees as inappropriate places similar to the place that Porthen is from, or ‘tough’ areas. This position represents a tension such as the one highlighted by Burchardt (2013), when he talks about the cultural differences between areas in Cape Town. The Eden Network, then, as “global” model from another context, when it lands in a new context, has the potential to subvert norms that might not be serving people. That is, a “global form” may disrupt the parochialism of a local context and broach cultural differences (Collier and Ong, 2005; Solnit, 2016).

Buchanan (Pretorius, Tucker, Buchanan and Flandor, 2016: online) elucidates what this praxis-oriented approach means for the Salt River Eden Team in the following way:

And of course, in line with the whole incarnational theme, it is so crucial that these Eden team members do what they have been doing, which is have open homes in that area. And it’s quite a limited area, it’s about less than a square kilometre, they’re all living in that same area, and so the focus is so that the young people can go into their homes, and see by their lifestyles, by the way that they treat one another in the home, the family relationships, that young people can see role models, again, that demonstrate, not only by words, but by their lifestyle what they are speaking about. And so, this is a crucial aspect, this relationship building, in the area. And the fact that each team member has got to commit to living in that area for at least five years means that it’s not a sort of hit-and-run thing. That this is a lasting, relationship-building initiative.

The team members live near to one another, which demonstrates that the sense of community that this team itself fosters is linked to geography (Rose, 1999). At the same time, this geographically and morally bound community that the team becomes is embedded within the greater neighbourhood. This sense of community is a form of performative relationship

building. Importantly, this means that the teams' sense of community is tied to mechanisms of accountability. That is, accountability means that people in Eden teams are bound according to "governance by community" (Rose, 1999). The fact that households are "open" and there is a demonstrative aspect to peoples' "lifestyles", in that teams become "role models" to young people. That is, in welcoming people, and especially young people into their homes, members of the team take responsibility for themselves and the way that they conduct their relationships. This self-reflexive responsibility is a feature of Rose's (1999) conception of citizenship. Subsequently, the Eden Network SA constitutes a realm that shapes what it means for team members to be citizens. Ethical terrain is relationally defined (Butler, 2005). Eden acknowledges this in that building relationships is vital, which ties into another of the Eden Network's distinctives – being relational.

#### **5.4.1.2. Being Relational<sup>10</sup>**

The emphasis on being in an area is primarily for the sake of building relationships with the people who live in a neighbourhood. As elucidated in chapter three, Wolf-Powers (2014) emphasises that community development work can be oriented around relational concerns. This frequently means assisting people with education, health and employment opportunities. Building relationships with people and earning their trust is essential to the Eden Network. Porthen (personal interview, 2017, September 14) expresses the fact that the team has sought to establish a "missional strategy", and that in the first year, this has been oriented towards cultivating relationships. This moment expresses an ambivalent mixture of agenda setting and the intangible, inestimable state of having relationships with people. As such, this suggests that this FBO embodies, to some extent, the uneasy conceptual field that is Third Way politics (Harrison, 2006; Smith, 2002; Cloke and Beaumont, 2013). The goal-setting, measurable element indicates a rationalised version of participating in the public realm (Mbembe, 2003; Baum, 2015; Beaumont and Dias, 2008). At the same time, as Cloke and Beaumont (2013) and Smith (2002) suggest, there are aspects of this work that is more oriented towards building trust and mutuality. This means that while it is possible for FBOs to inhabit aspects of a more neoliberal approach to governance, there are aspects of the philosophy by which they live and work that extend beyond these concerns.

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<sup>10</sup> "We choose to lead an authentic, open life within an accountable team dynamic. Relationships are the currency of our lives and the primary route through which transformation takes place" (ENUK, n.d.).

One instance of this relates to the fact the team has taken the time to join the activities that take place in the neighbourhood (Porthen, personal interview, 2017, September 14). In addition, Porthen speaks about the extent to which they have had to first learn the rhythms of daily life in Salt River. This means that people in the Eden team have chosen to integrate their lives into their local area. This integration takes place at the micro level of decisions about where to exercise and shop. For instance, Porthen assists with soccer coaching at one of the local clubs, and he says that he joined slowly. After having lived in the area for about three years, the Eden team now considers itself part of the community. Porthen (personal interview, 2017, September 14) tells me that he buys milk at the local shop, and that there is a man there who he talks to every time he goes. And that this exchange is about more than the milk. The man wants to know, “How is your girl?” and offers “pieces of fatherly advice”. What this means then, is that people choose to be present where they live, and build two-way relationships. Porthen (personal interview, 2017, September 14) says that he has learnt that “[t]he process is the goal”. This recognition indicates that the Eden Project in Salt River is oriented around conviviality that can generate reciprocity (Nyamnjoh, 2015). That is, looking to build good relationships is the process, which is also the goal. This relational commitment leaves the work open-ended. Nevertheless, since volunteers are only contracted in for five years at a time, there is an element of short-term obligation. This means that time plays a role in how this community development initiative

## ASSESSING THE EDEN NETWORK: VOLUNTEERISM

The Eden Network is mostly made up of volunteers. These volunteers are financially independent. This means that Eden Projects are relatively inexpensive (Eden Partner Guide, n.d.). The recruitment process for joining Eden is rigorous, and contractual (Pretorius *et al.*, 2016). This contractual relationship protects parties who are brought together in this process. This minimises the possibility that people might be exploited by the institutional structures they participate in. It also means that organisations are less likely to be abused by members. In addition, because Eden teams are linked to multiple organisations, there is greater accountability about the treatment of volunteers.

unfolds. That is, since systemic change takes a long time, it is not certain that Eden Projects are well-suited to effecting long-lasting change.

#### ***5.4.1.2.1. Belonging to a Broader Relational Network***

Another element of the value that the Eden Network places in being relational, ties into the fact that teams are connected to broader networks. Eden Projects see fitting into a broader network of relationships as important for community development. This means that people who are involved in this type of work meet at regular intervals to engage with one another about their work and to share stories, which relate the various facets of the work that they undertake (ENUK, n.d.). Sandercock (2003) argues that stories have an important role to play in ensuring that people engaged in activism and community-based initiatives collaborate. People who work in community development can tend to engage intensely with particular local areas. This focus can limit community developers from realising that people in different parts of the urban environment might be engaging similar concerns. Subsequently, valuing participation in a greater network might assist Eden Teams in different areas to learn from one another. These teams can also be encouraged by people doing similar work.

Something that might add to the value of these collaborative endeavours lies in the fact that the three Eden projects that are currently active in Cape Town are not all part of the same denomination. These different backgrounds, represent an openness to variability within the tradition. However, they are limited to members of the same belief system. In addition, the issues that these teams confront in the different areas vary. For instance, Pringle (2017), who is a church liaison on behalf of the Salt River team, expresses concern about displacement resulting from gentrification. On the other hand, Pelican Park, which is an area that has recently seen 3200 new mixed residential units built, faces different concerns, such as providing people with ways to build new networks, when moving from different areas (Pretorius *et al.*, 2016). This suggests that conviviality operates in this broader network, in that meetings offer spaces for these teams to work through variability in order to enhance commonality across different parts of the urban environment. Alliances of this sort are important for sustaining members of these teams in their work. It also provides space for broaching divisions that have arisen between different identity categories within Christianity that have been the result of apartheid politics (Landau, 2014).

#### 5.4.1.2.2. *Rooted in a Local Church*

One way that Eden Networks participate in a broader relational network is by “being rooted in a local church” (ENUK, n.d.). Ward (Otoo-Anakwa, Pringle, Porthen, Tucker & Ward, 2017)<sup>11</sup> makes it clear that this is important because:

Local church is the key thing for us. Why is that? Because they are located in neighbourhoods. Located in a serious approach to finding people in the neighbourhoods that they devote themselves to. And so, local church is key for us, definitely. When someone chooses to join Eden, it is essential that they join the partner church that Eden is partnered with [...] Why is that important to us? Well, we think that Eden will last for a season. We want that season to last as long as possible. But it might last five or ten years, we're hoping that the local church will be there for a hundred years. So, Eden is all about blessing those who are in the local church, and giving them responsibility, and giving them a ministry

According to Buchanan (Pretorius *et al.*, 2016), partnership between Eden Salt River and Jubilee Community church for the pioneer Eden team has been particularly advantageous because Jubilee is a long-established church in the area. Jubilee Community Church has:

established a good reputation, they've built up over the years, ministering to children in the kid's club, the moms and tots, they've got a clinic, they've got free legal advice, so they have also demonstrated a real love for that community.

(Pretorius *et al.*, 2016).

The range of activities listed above serves to illustrate the extent to which, firstly, Jubilee steps in to fulfil several welfare functions. These services vary in their accessibility. For instance, the Jubilee Health Clinic is open to patients from various backgrounds, but volunteers should be Christians (Jubilee Community Church [JCC], n.d. online). As explored in section 5.2.2., it is possible that this moral foundation for this work might deter some people from using these facilities. For instance, an unmarried pregnant woman might feel uncomfortable going into this space, since evangelical Christianity promotes norms of heterosexual marriage. Perceptions

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<sup>11</sup>This comment arises in response to a question asked during a panel discussion that takes place at The Message Trust SA's annual Proximity Conference, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of September 2017.

about this norm might make a woman fear judgement and thus seek services elsewhere. As with The Message Trust SA's range of activities, this variety of roles that Jubilee participates in shows that the Eden Salt River Project is one amongst several activities that take place in this local church. These various endeavours play a role in constituting the way that Eden unfolds in Salt River. These services are part of what Buchanan (Pretorius *et al.*, 2016: online) means when he says, "they have demonstrated a real love for the community." This indicates that relationships are also a vital part of Jubilee's values (Pretorius *et al.*, 2016). Furthermore, the decision to deploy an Eden team in Salt River follows on from work that Jubilee Community Church has been doing in Salt River. That is, Jubilee has run children's outreach programmes in Salt River for about a decade. The decision to work through Eden arose from a desire to "go deeper" with the people in the area (Porthen, personal interview, 2017, September 14). The Eden Project in Salt River is thus an iteration of the welfare work that Jubilee Community Church participates in.

It is possible to think of the Eden Project Salt River in a nested fashion. Eden is a project that is both part of The Message Trust's initiatives and the work being done by Jubilee Community Church. In addition, the people who volunteer to be part of Eden are also part of the local church that the team collaborates with. More than that, when this team moves into an area, they also become part of the community in that neighbourhood. Subsequently, there is an overlap as well as an excess when one positions oneself in an Eden Team. Those who choose to join Eden do so for the church, as well as the 'community' in the neighbourhood they live

## ASSESSING THE EDEN NETWORK: STRONG SET OF RELATIONAL TIES

The Eden Network SA is affiliated to a range of organisations and denominations, which provide support and accountability for members of Eden teams. In addition, this network attempts to subvert segregation through teams made up of different races.

However, the fact that the motivation for participating in this network is faith-based means that voluntary participation is not open to all citizens. In this sense, the Eden Network SA does not easily engage secular, or interfaith articulations of citizenship.

in. Subsequently, Eden participates in and serves various kinds of communities. That is, they are part of a church community, which is joined by means of a faith bond, and adherence to that church's creed. This commonality resonates with the way that community is a binding word, as posited by Cohen and McCarthy (2015). Similarly, affiliation to The Message Trust is a bond of this type. However, there are more formalised sets of ties within this relationship, since Eden Teams go through a recruitment process and sign partnership agreements, which are binding for a minimum of five years (Slessenger and Pretorius, 2015: online). Further, when one joins an Eden Team, one lives communally with that team. This communal living relates to the proximity to one another. This proximity flows over into the extent to which Eden team members are part of the community in the neighbourhood that they move into.

#### **5.4.1.3. Being Purposeful<sup>12</sup>**

The Eden team seeks to participate in Salt River's life as a neighbourhood. Initially, this has unfolded through joining in with activities and becoming familiar with people over time. After about three years, the team now feels integrated into the life of the neighbourhood. The team now seeks to initiate small projects. Most of these activities are oriented towards working with youth, as focussing on young people is one of Eden's mandates (ENUK, n.d.). Further, these activities emerge from the relationships that the Eden team have taken time to build. For instance, one team member runs an adventure club. The team has also initiated a literacy programme at the local primary school. This endeavour has arisen out of relationships established with children at the local soccer club. Porthen coaches at a local club. Through this work, he has met parents, who have put him in touch with the primary school, which has allowed him to play a role in initiating this programme. Nevertheless, Eden does not run the initiative. Instead, the Eden Project has introduced another organisation to the school. Other youth-related activities are a dance club, called Genetik, arts and crafts days and a carpentry workshop in Salt River (Proximity Conference, 2017).

These activities are beginning to emerge into novel ideas. Porthen (personal interview, 2017, September 14) tells me that the Eden Team in Salt River is beginning to engage with small businesses in the area. (Porthen, personal interview, 2017, September 14) says:

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<sup>12</sup> "We live in our communities to be a deliberate witness of Jesus Christ. We make plans, set goals, structure our diaries and hold one another accountable. We do this recognising the synergy between who we are and what we do. In times of excitement and times of endurance we will retain our redemptive intent" (ENUK, n.d.).

So now, what we're trying to think about, is who are the key people in community, who have small businesses. Maybe we can do a similar thing, maybe provide some business skills, maybe create a forum. So we're putting some material together, we're using this material called "Paradigm Shift" which teaches people business skills. With biblical principles as well. So, we have seven people at the moment. And we're wanting a group of ten [...]

## ASSESSING THE EDEN NETWORK: SOCIAL CAPITAL

The Eden Network recognises that people are capable of engaging one another in order to fulfil their own needs, in some respects. However, at another level, Eden also intervenes to fulfil governance functions related to youth development and economic development. These endeavours constitute a partial recognition that working with a few people ties into a broader network to enact change over time.

As discussed in relation to Wolf-Powers (2014) and Gilchrist (2003), an emphasis on economic development looks to assist people in alleviating the way that the heterogeneity of the urban environment manifests. This centres around a small group of people, who may or may not choose to adhere to the biblical aspects of this business training. The focus on a small group of people exists as a recognition not only that states are limited entities, but also that any kind of governance – especially the kind grounded in a belief system – has a limited ambit (Nyamnjoh, 2015; Rose, 1999). At the same time, this organisation hopes that these people will, in turn, reach out to people in their networks. This approach resonates with the view that Pringle (Otoo-Anakwa *et al.*, 2017) posits about peoples' capacity to resolve issues for themselves. Pringle (Otoo-Anakwa *et al.*, 2017) says:

I think that this is about agency [...] that some of the solutions to these problems are actually within the community. So, we need tap into some of that [...] I don't know if this is a cut and paste thing. But I do think that, for unlocking what people themselves can do, but also coming alongside people who are involved [...] I think that the church has a gap that it can move into there.

In saying that this is not “a cut and paste thing”, Pringle highlights the fact that there is no ideal model that is going to solve the set of issues that any given group of people faces. That is, he recognises that working in local areas require adaptation of global forms, so that they are contextually appropriate. Pringle (2017) sees people as agential, and able to address their own “problems”. The role of the church, or more specifically Eden team members seems to lie more in “coming alongside” both people in the community in order to “[unlock] what people themselves can do”. Hence, this is an attempt to address local, day-to-day concerns through relationships that empower, such that people are able to take responsibility for issues in an area (Smith, 2002; Bertolini, 2013). This is not to say that people are not already taking responsibility for issues in their areas. However, because the Eden team actively seeks to undertake community development, it might facilitate connections and catalyse activities that were perhaps not present before.

At the same time, there are concerns about emphasising the extent to which people have the capacity to undertake governance functions. In addition, when FBOs have previously involved themselves in projects to extend peoples’ social capital (a nebulous concept), they have been given to being co-opted by narrowly developmentalist frameworks (Swart, 2005; Montemaggi, 2010). In this respect, if the Eden network emphasises this element of governance too strongly over time, it is possible that they may become “mere puppets of governance” (Cloke and Beaumont, 2013: 40). That is, it is possible that political agendas for each area have a strong role to play in the way that this network’s work unfolds over time. Certain aspects of this team’s vocabulary – such as social assets and goal-setting – indicate the presence of neoliberal aspects to this form of governance. A strong emphasis on people doing it themselves perpetuates the asymmetries of the structural power relations that allow some geopolitical spaces to dominate others.

#### **5.4.1.4. Being Countercultural<sup>13</sup>**

One way that the Eden Network articulates what it means to be countercultural is particularly oriented towards the lifestyle choices that people engaged in this FBO make. The first aspect,

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<sup>13</sup> “Whilst acknowledging the importance of embracing the culture we live in we retain a deliberately different stance on issues of integrity and morality as Jesus has taught us. We expect challenges as we model sacrificial living as urban missionaries who desire to know Jesus and make him known” (ENUK, n.d.).

discussed above, relates to the decision to relocate. The second aspect of lifestyle I touch on centres on the way that family is articulated in this network.

Eden teams are people who choose to live in areas so that they can do community development work, or urban mission. The discussion around what this means “is directed at those of us who can decide where we want to live” (Pringle, 2017). Tucker (Otoo-Anakwa *et al.*, 2017) adds to this when he says, “The cultural bias is that we use our logic for where we're going to live, rather than our spiritual understanding.” The challenge to this “cultural bias” lies in an ethic that prioritises “spiritual understanding” and “[seeing] God's kingdom come” (Otoo-Anakwa *et al.*, 2017). Underpinning these challenges lies a desire to orchestrate more convivial relationships in the city that are linked to visions of a kingdom or citizenship status that goes beyond the contemporary state configuration. This suggests that the Eden Network articulates a citizenship status, and subsequent form of governance that is connected to a set of beliefs about the way the world should be. That is, the Eden Network participates in putting normative constraints on relatively wealthy people who could pursue self-interested, market-directed lifestyles that perpetuate inequalities. It requires, instead, that people who have benefitted from inequitable histories, consider how their actions going forward might perpetuate or undermine these systemic concerns that determine the nature of one's everyday life. These normative positions about the types of self-responsibility that wealthy people, or people with choice, can take suggests that community as a moral field that determines peoples' decisions can work in a way that seeks to pursue justice and more equitable forms of living together (Rose, 1999; Noble, 2013).

This urge to take responsibility for where one lives raises issues about *how* one takes responsibility. When one considers Nyamnjoh's (2012) critique of the education system in African contexts, where young people are stripped of their language and heritage through this system, it is possible to understand the grave consequences that might arise from people with wealth entering areas that are less wealthy. The correlate to this ethical drive is that when people act on it, there are varying results. While Eden centres on relationships, it is important to ask what the nature of these relationships are. In particular, since the people who are urged to participate in forms of community development tend to be resourced, inasmuch as religious ethics provide grounding for people to act in compassionate and justice-oriented ways, it is

also possible for some people of this disposition to “confuse themselves with God” and impose themselves on people who do not hold the same convictions as they do (Thomas, 2012: 255).

Porthen (personal interview, 2017, September 14) says of this latter positioning that, “I think when you have some training, or think that you're moving in as the answer, you don't listen.” According to Porthen (personal interview, 2017, September 14), this can make it appear that you think that you are superior to people who live in the area. In this context, Porthen recognises the importance for a “conversational” approach to working with people who live in an area (Nyamnjoh, 2015).

#### 5.4.1.5. Being Holistic<sup>14</sup>

The extent to which people might arrogantly impose their views onto a group of people in a neighbourhood emphasises the extent to which approaching people who live in an area without the sole intention of conversion is important. Subsequently, as Thomas (2012: 254) defines “holistic mission” as “an enactment and lived participation in a particular set of theological narratives, seeking to see the material and spiritual transformation of present contexts and geographies, not simply converts.” Eden Salt

River approaches community development in this holistic manner. The team is motivated to do what they do out of a conviction that arises from their belief system and community. In addition, they live in the area and so perform “lived participation”. This decision to live in this way centres on a desire to see apartheid socio-spatial configurations changed. At the same time, Porthen (personal interview, 2017, September 14) recognises that this is only one vehicle amongst many that will bring about this change.

#### ASSESSING THE EDEN NETWORK: HOLISTIC MISSIONAL APPROACH

A holistic approach to community development indicates an openness to conversation, rather than conversion.

While the Eden network focuses on discipleship and is overtly Christian, the team members are neighbourly.

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<sup>14</sup> “Our conviction is that God cares for whole people – not just souls. We see clearly in the Bible that the people of God are expected to play an active role in his grand restoration plan. In practice this will mean that we will develop innovative responses meeting a wide range of relational, recreational, educational and spiritual needs” (ENUK, n.d.).

## 5.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented the findings and analyses from the Eden Team in Salt River. In particular it has looked at the ways that the principles from the global North context of the UK have travelled to a South African setting. This discussion demonstrates that there are aspects of the ideas from different contexts that can contest parochial cultural heterogeneity in local settings. In addition, this FBO represents a form of governance that indicates the limitations of the state. Nevertheless, decentralised governance apparatus is itself limited. In an FBO, this can be because of beliefs. Despite this, Eden Salt River seeks convivial reciprocity. However, the reciprocal everyday conviviality that this team fosters suggests that this work presents an admixture of political mores, which are characteristic of the Third Way politics that enables FBOs to participate in the governance terrain.

Table 5.1. Assessment of the Eden Network

OVERARCHING CRITERIA FOR "WORLDING" IN THE EDEN NETWORK	Assessment Criteria Derived from Literature	SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS DERIVED FROM ASSESSMENT CRITERIA	ASSESSMENT OF EDEN NETWORK SA
<p>Devolution of governance functions</p> <p>Conversation rather than conversion</p> <p>Policy's capacity to "travel" and adapt to different contexts</p>	<p>State Limitations</p> <p>Volunteerism</p> <p>Universal or limited access</p> <p>Holistic missional approach</p> <p>"Global Assemblage"</p>	<p>Does the Eden Project and its network exist as a recognition of the limitations of the state?</p> <p>Is volunteerism is a feature of Eden and whether it creates conditions for exploitation, state or church-bound?</p> <p>Does the Eden Network provide access to all people who might require its services or facilities? In other words, does it engage conversational holistic mission, or does the mission work it engages with seek to proselytise people?</p> <p>Can the Eden Project be understood as an "ambivalently secular" experience" (or entirety, or agency)?</p> <p>Do principles, or "global forms" from the Eden Network in the UK disassemble and reassemble in SA, and how are they limited and disputed? In other words, I ask how does the Eden network across the UK and SA constitute a "global assemblages"?</p>	<p>The Eden Network provides welfare functions linked to governance functions.</p> <p>Is enabled by historical trajectories and by articulations of Third Sector governance.</p> <p>Most team members are volunteers and work. This makes the Eden model financially lightweight.</p> <p>Recruitment is rigorous and contractual, which limits the possibility of exploitation.</p> <p>Eden centres on discipleship – which limits access.</p> <p>Simultaneously, because the work they do frequently connects to activities in the area they engage with, these are open to those who wish to participate.</p> <p>Some activities are overtly linked to Christian teaching. Others are more open.</p> <p>This leads to the fact that Eden is 'ambivalently secular' – team members participate in secular spaces, but also adhere to Christian doctrine.</p> <p>Eden adheres to principles articulated in the context of the UK.</p> <p>Incarnational living means a responsiveness in practical outworking of these principles.</p>
OVERARCHING CRITERIA FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN THE EDEN NETWORK			
<p>Relationships set into a moral field</p> <p>Articulations of Citizenship</p> <p>Community Developers</p> <p>Capacity to self-govern</p>	<p>Strong set of relational ties</p> <p>Racial reconciliation and liberation</p> <p>Eden as Community Development Planners</p> <p>Social Capital</p>	<p>Does the Eden Network exist as a set of loose affiliations, or does it overcome fragmentation? If so, how?</p> <p>Has the language used by the Eden Network shifted to racial reconciliation and/or liberation? If so, why? If not, why not?</p> <p>What forms of community development, if any, does the Eden network engage in?</p> <p>Does the Eden Network encourage self-empowerment through social capital?</p>	<p>Connected to Eden UK.</p> <p>Eden Salt River is connected to Jubilee Community Church.</p> <p>Eden Network SA connects across a range of areas and denominations.</p> <p>Part of the Message Trust.</p> <p>Part of the community in their neighbourhood.</p> <p>Areas in the city that are not for everyone – countering the apartheid city.</p> <p>Eden as a 'redistribution of relationships'</p> <p>Relational Community Development</p> <p>Youth and local economic development</p> <p>Connection to Jubilee and the Message, which fulfil welfare roles</p> <p>Yes, but simultaneously a highlights agency and 'Frontier Africanism'</p>

**CHAPTER SIX  
CONCLUSIONS AND  
RECOMMENDATIONS**

## 6.1. INTRODUCTION

In this dissertation, I have investigated the role that Faith-Based Organisations play in community development, as enabled and articulated through “worlding” (Roy, 2011), with ambivalent results, which include iterations of hopeful conviviality. I started this research with a view to critically engaging with how Christianity relates to contemporary debates around identity and social justice. Another starting point was the extent to which identity is conceived of as rational in politics and planning. As such, I have been investigating the points at which territories of spirit overlap with politics. This represents a blurring between the public and the private, which characterises most contemporary politics.

This chapter presents a synthesis of the ideas explored during this research endeavour by answering the main and subsidiary research questions established in chapters one and three. It goes on to present recommendations for FBOs that might wish to undertake community development initiatives. I then look at the limitations of this research project. The discussion then turns to potential avenues for future research.

### MAIN RESEARCH QUESTIONS

What historical trajectories of “worlding” does the Eden Project in Salt River, Cape Town participate in and reiterate? How do these conditions enable community development initiatives? How does the Eden Network represent a form of “global assemblage” that indicates the shifting patterns of this terrain?

How does the Eden Network articulate Community Development?

What practices of conviviality and hope does the Eden Network imagine and enable?

## 6.2. SYNTHESIS: ANSWERING THE MAIN RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In the following section, I answer the main research questions, in order to draw the lines of inquiry that I have followed over the course of this research project, together. In doing this, I fulfil the research aim of this project.

**6.2.1. What historical trajectories of “worlding” does the Eden Project in Salt River, Cape Town participate in and reiterate? How do these conditions enable community development initiatives? How does the Eden Network represent a form of “global assemblage” that indicates the shifting patterns of this terrain?**

The Eden Network SA draws on principles established by the Eden Network UK. These adopted principles represent a “global form” (Ong and Collier, 2005:4) that is abstract enough to transfer to another context. In the South African context, however, this form manifests in a varied way, in that the community development work that takes place in the different neighbourhoods in Cape Town are responsive to the particular needs and concerns in these areas. This is enabled by the presence-oriented, or “incarnational” approach that Eden teams adopt (Thomas, 2012; Beaumont and Dias, 2008).

This incarnational approach represents a stance on community development as a form of planning that is concerned with the ordinary day-to-day lives of neighbourhoods (Bertolini, 2013). This concern highlights the fact that these forms of development are governance-oriented, which recognises the political nature of ordinary life (Swyngedouw, 2005; Rose, 1999). There are some critiques of this approach to governance as a neoliberal agenda, which negates forms of democracy in the interest of pursuing conceptions of the world that are determined by market logic. When FBOs seek to generate forms of social capital, or have very goals-driven agendas, this can mean that these organisations are invested in this logic. The Eden Network manifests this approach in a couple of instances, where The Message Trust SA sets goals for each year, and in the stance that people can solve some governance problems for themselves. At the same time, however, the work that the Eden Team in Salt River does is also oriented towards being neighbourly, joining in with activities in the area, and building relationships. I suggest that the reason for this ambiguity lies in the Third Way approach to politics that has prevailed in the UK and has travelled to the South African context (Harrison, 2006). That is, this approach to governance, which represents an uncomfortable mix of market

orientation and democratic participation, plays a significant role in the way that this FBO operates.

The manifestation of this governance form in SA is a residue of the endurance of apartheid and the forms of transitional government that arose in this country in the 1990s. While the apartheid regime has played a role in articulating forms of political identity that are linked to religious identity that have resulted in fragmented articulations of society, the more recent regime has shifted towards a more secular stance, which promotes racial reconciliation and political emancipation (Harrison, 2006). The Eden Network links to this approach in the way that it speaks to and against configurations of the urban environment that result from colonial and apartheid designs (Pringle, 2017). At the same time, it also articulates a form of “urban mission” that has the potential to approach people with the intention to convert them to the Christian faith.

### **6.2.2. How does the Eden Network Articulate Community Development?**

The Eden Network seeks to participate in the life of ‘tough’ neighbourhoods by moving into these areas in teams, as ‘urban missionaries’. These teams partner with local churches and see this presence-oriented work as a form of ‘incarnational’ ministry and witness. As such, the Eden Network can be seen as a theologically-motivated form of community development. This movement fits into a broader shift in certain strands of Christianity, where people seek to come alongside and close to marginalised and oppressed groups of people (Thomas, 2012).

This shift coincides with and is partially enabled by expressions of Third Way governance. FBOs such as the Eden Network SA are positioned to take on welfare functions, which the – limited, decentralising – state cannot fully support. South Africa’s political landscape since 1994 has shifted towards a more secular language and sphere. Subsequently, FBO work is not necessarily overtly supported by the local state. Nevertheless, a large proportion of the population identifies as religious, and religion has played a role in this country’s politics in the past. Therefore, FBOs stand as a formulation of “governance-beyond-the-state” (Swyngedouw, 2005). In other words, FBOs play a role in public life through community development, which is enabled, if not endorsed, by configurations of state machinery.

The Eden Network SA takes the relational aspects of community development as its starting point (Wolf-Powers, 2014). This relational work is primarily focussed on youth development.

This youth development is framed in terms of discipleship. That is, the Eden team works to disciple a few young people in the hope that this will empower individuals to enact transformation in their own relational networks. At the same time, Eden Salt River also seeks to come alongside residents who own small businesses. This FBO draws on material for entrepreneurial development in Africa, which draws on Christian principles. Simultaneously, the Eden Network in Cape Town encounters varied concerns that relate to particular concerns in the neighbourhoods that these teams live in. This suggests that Eden's flexibility lies in how much teams are willing to responsively encounter people and events in their areas. Despite these differences, these teams meet periodically to share stories about what their activities in an area are. This connection across a broader sphere indicates the importance of learning beyond a local area (Sandercock, 2003).

The need for adaptability and flexibility as well as a greater sphere of relational connection points to the reason that it was decided that this model might work in a context outside of the UK. That is, while models cannot be directly transposed to a new setting, without taking into account the complexity of any given context, there is also value in connecting to a broader network. It should also be acknowledged that part of the reason that this model has been taken on in Cape Town lies in the colonial history between the UK and SA. This relationship has enabled Christianity to take root in South Africa. Furthermore, the more contemporary political connection between the UK and SA, where broader urban policy concerns reflect this asymmetrical transfer of ideas, also contribute to allowing governance as community development to manifest itself.

It could be easy, here, to fall into a dualism. However, identity is not fixed. Therefore, despite the historical pathways that allow for the emergence of this form of community development, this network has the potential to alter the course of these systems. The Eden Network sees itself as an articulation of Christian praxis, rooted in a teaching that is justice-oriented. In South Africa, this means that the Eden Network seeks to come alongside people who still experience the after-effects of apartheid. That is, as an imaginary, Eden visualises an unsegregated city. Eden is, especially, against racial and class segregation.

Eden seeks to counter a narrative of exclusion from state structures by saying that people who live in their focus areas 'have assets'. At worst, this represents a reduction into market-determined conceptions of social capital. Another interpretation sees this as being a 'frontier

African' (Nyamnjoh, 2015), who might navigate convivial relationships to meet needs in the face of state limitations. Without wanting to suture the political implications of either of these options, I would suggest embracing both (Solnit, 2016). This embrace means taking account of the historical trajectories that influence the present. Simultaneously, it seeks to highlight the extent to which people constitute their everyday worlds in attempts to carve out livelihoods and conceptions of the good life. This armature recognises that we live in late capitalism and although there are structurally lopsided features of this socio-cultural configuration, that people are not powerless.

Taking cognisance of complexities of this sort sets an agenda for people seeking to participate in missional forms of community development. That is, people undertaking mission should be aware of how mission has manifested in the past. Further, when choosing to be part of a presence in an area, mission workers should respect and recognise peoples' agency and preferences, which are linked to how people conceive of the good life. An approach that is centred on listening and responding is vital. Especially when compared to programme-led, determinist approaches that are inspired by teachings or models from elsewhere. While models and principles present important sources of inspiration and learning, relational community development requires first and foremost, an openness to joining in with the rhythms of peoples' daily lives.

### **6.2.3. What practices of conviviality and hope does the Eden Network imagine and enable?**

The vision of hope traced through this research work follows Solnit (2016: xiii) when she says that hope is about "broad perspectives with specific possibilities". The Eden Network in SA manages to navigate this nexus by meeting with their relational network regularly, while also sustaining geographically proximate relationships with people in the neighbourhoods they live in. In other words, the capacity to sustain broad perspectives can be found in Salt River Eden team's connection to The Message Trust SA, Jubilee Community Church, the Eden Network SA and UK. This means that this Eden team is connected relationally to a variety of repositories of knowledge, training, insight, spiritual guidance and relationship. This means that the team is not isolated in the work that they do, which is important for maintaining sight of why one chooses to do this kind of work. In other words, the broader network has a vision for systemic change, which is not necessarily visible in the day-to-day life of neighbourhoods. At the same

time, in order to bring about change to socio-spatial divisions in Cape Town, this slow, daily work is necessary. It is here that the possible is enacted. That is, through participating in the life of the neighbourhood, Eden sees itself as participating in the political every day, which counters the vision of a segregated city. In addition, this participation is based in long-term relationships, which have the possibility of assisting people in deprived areas to access resources that the state would normally provide. At some level, this element of community development is oriented towards improving peoples' lives.

### **6.3. SYNTHESIS: ANSWERING THE SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The following is a series of responses to the subsidiary research questions asked in chapter three. While these have largely been answered in chapters four and five, this is a brief synthesis and summary of these findings. Two questions, about community development and global assemblage, have been answered above, and do not occur in this section, as this would be repetitive.

#### **6.3.1. Does the Eden Project and its network exist as a recognition of the limitations of the state?**

The Eden Network articulates an awareness of the extent to which the apartheid socio-spatial patterning remains largely unchanged. It seeks to mobilise people into taking responsibility in the sense that citizens are self-responsible. In addition, Eden fulfils a number of welfare roles, related to both youth and local economic development. Therefore, the Eden Network does recognise the state as a limited entity, yet also recognises its own limits.

#### **6.3.2. Is volunteerism a feature of Eden and does it create conditions for exploitation, state or church-bound?**

The Eden Network is mostly made up of volunteers. These volunteers are not dependent on Eden for an income, which makes the model financially lightweight. The recruitment process for joining Eden is also rigorous and contractual. This means that, should any conditions of this contract be violated, people have legal grounds on which to prosecute. This minimises the possibility that people might be exploited by the institutional structures they participate in. In addition, because Eden teams are linked to multiple organisations, there is accountability about how people might be treated, or feel.

**6.3.3. Does the Eden Network provide access to all people who might require its services or facilities? In other words, does it engage conversational holistic mission, or does the mission work it engages with seek to proselytise people?**

This is more fully answered in the foregoing discussion. The answer to this question is complex, as in some instances, the work that Eden does is tailored to discipling young people, while in other instances, people in Eden teams live in the area and are neighbourly, participating in the life of the neighbourhood, without a conversational agenda.

**6.3.4. Can the Eden Project be understood as an “ambivalently secular” experience” (or entity, or agency)?**

The Eden Network identifies as a Christian group, and is motivated by theology. While this FBO is attuned to the secular political voices and movements in Cape Town and South Africa, it is not ambivalently secular, but rooted predominantly in faith.

**6.4.5. Does the Eden Network exist as a set of loose affiliations, or does it overcome fragmentation? If so, how?**

The Eden Network seeks to overcome racial fragmentation and segregation, through teams that are made up of different races. In addition, this FBO works across denominations. However, the Christian focus of this organisation means that voluntary participation is not open to all citizens. In this sense, a hard barrier exists across secular, or inter-faith boundaries. This is partly because the motivation for engagement in these teams is grounded in Christian virtue-ethics and membership in a local church.

**6.3.6. Has the language used by the Eden Network shifted to racial reconciliation and/or liberation? If so, why? If not, why not?**

The Eden Network engages the language of racial reconciliation prevalent in secular politics. It is also attuned to contemporary debates around race. Inherent to this recognition lies an awareness that historical pathways and structures require rethinking and engagement. One element of this awareness is an impetus to not allow racial segregation to continue in the form of economic segregation.

**6.3.7. Does the Eden Network encourage self-empowerment through social capital?**

The Eden Network recognises that people are capable of engaging one another in order to fulfil their own needs, in some respects. However, at another level, Eden also intervenes to fulfil governance functions related to youth and economic development. These endeavours

constitute a partial recognition that working with a few people ties into a broader network to enact change over time.

#### **6.4. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FBOs INVOLVED IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT**

From this research, I have observed that FBOs enact justice-oriented welfare and community development roles. However, while this work is undeniably important, it should be undertaken with care. This can be said because Christianity in South Africa is intricately tied into our colonial and apartheid history, and strains of this belief system have at times played a role in created divisive political identities (Landau, 2014; Lundby and Dayan; Burchardt, 2013). Furthermore, urbanity in South Africa is tied into this thread (Landau, 2014). In addition, urbanity in African contexts is porous and complex, which means that it cannot be fully understood, and working with people in these contexts should be done in a context-sensitive manner (Pieterse, 2011). I now turn to some recommendations that arise from what I have learnt through observing the Eden Network. These recommendations are oriented towards FBOs that seek to participate in the lives of deprived communities, in order to reorient their geographies, based on a justice-oriented theology (Pringle, 2017).

##### **6.4.1. Recruit Financially Independent Volunteers**

Volunteers who join Eden teams go through a rigorous recruitment process. The emphasis on doing urban mission means that volunteers are Christian, so voluntarism is limited in accessibility. This requirement for faith affiliation, or belonging to a church community indicates a hard boundary.

Volunteers do not undertake Eden on a full-time basis. Rather, they pursue careers and lives that are not primarily missional. This financial independence means that Eden teams are not dependent on donor support to undertake their work. Subsequently, donations can be channelled into resourcing activities, should they require them.

##### **6.4.2. Practice Reflexive Conversational Praxis**

There is a shift taking place in expressions of the Christian faith. This means that, for some people, there is a greater emphasis on working out or enacting beliefs and ethics that follow from Jesus' teachings. Care should be taken to ensure that this practical orientation is reflexive enough to not be co-opted by governance language and ideas, as Swart (2005) points out has

happened in the ecumenical movement in South Africa in relation to building social capital. At the same time, this praxis-orientation indicates a shift towards an openness to the ambiguities of “encountering the world on its own terms” (Beaumont and Dias, 2008). That is, rather than seeking to convert, people in this movement should seek to converse (Nyamnjoh, 2015). Part of this capacity to converse arises from connecting to traditions and relational faith networks, which might assist in developing reflexivity about practices.

### **6.4.3. Join in**

Initially, Eden seeks to join in with activities already taking place in an area, rather than initiating a programme from the outset. Building and maintaining relationships is integral to this approach. An emphasis on presence is essential to facilitating productive articulations of conviviality.

### **6.4.4. Build Assemblages: Network and Be Adaptable**

The networked aspect of Eden SA means that teams in local areas do not become solely focussed on the concerns of the local areas. The international connection, although mediated by a complex geo-political history, provides a way for FBOs and churches in South Africa to rethink the way that they organise and locate themselves, given South Africa’s history of apartheid.

An account of heterogeneity is a necessary precondition for community development. The Eden and Message Network UK needs to be sensitive to the differences that arise in the South African context, and not impose approaches that have been successful in the UK in SA. This is especially important, because there is less governmental and policy support for FBO work in SA than in the UK. In other words, teams should work with an awareness of context. This means that not all processes in the UK will manifest or work in SA. As with the UK network, the Eden teams in SA need to be sensitive to the urban-level heterogeneity and that people call these neighbourhoods home, which carries idiosyncrasies that are not immediately apparent. This means that FBOs are required take time to build relationships and trust.

This relational concern should be centred around listening to people about what their daily lives entail. Equally, it requires following the rhythms of daily life in an area. Furthermore, relationships should be reciprocal, or conversational. What I mean is that people can easily fall into patterns of dependency, which can damage trust, if this support is withdrawn for whatever

reason. Instead, people should be encouraged to recognise their own capacities. However, it should not be assumed that fostering these capacities will lead to autonomy or complete self-sufficiency, as there may be structural factors at play in limiting peoples' scope for independence. Bringing about structural change is slow work, which takes a long time to work through. Finding the equilibrium between these factors requires discernment.

#### **6.4.5. Be Relational**

Part of the ability to be conversational is predicated on relationships with people in neighbourhoods and church communities. While Eden Salt River is overtly concerned with discipleship, it is also aimed at having relationships outside of this ambit. That is, the incarnational aspect of this ministry seeks to foster neighbourliness, or conviviality that is centred around hope. This orientation is enabled by Eden's capacity to engage with people on a daily basis, over an extended period of time.

The Eden Network requires accountability to a broader relational network. This accountability also fosters spaces where teams can recognise their inter-dependence – eschewing agential self-realisation in favour of recognising limitation and power as “a productive network that runs through the whole social body, much more than a negative instance whose function is repression” (Foucault, 1980: 119). This indicates that one of the strengths of the Eden Network lies in its capacity to connect across a range of social spheres, which are bound by common faith. What I mean is that the Eden teams are supported in a number of ways – by their team members, by the local church, by The Message Trust (SA and UK) and by other Eden teams.

#### **6.4.6. People of Faith have Grounds for Civic Action and Long-term Sustainability**

FBOs have an important role to play in making people politically conscious, in order to mobilise them into civic action. This capacity to participate in the civil realm should not, however, become a totalising logic, rooted in the belief in reason, which has ambivalent connotations (Mbembe, 2003). That is, material wealth and a particular worldview do not equip people with the skills required for working with people in community development initiatives. Acknowledging this reality requires a humble disposition and a willingness to make – as well as own up to – mistakes, in order to learn from these instances.

It is for this reason that FBOs should focus on building long-term, sustainable projects. These initiatives should be relationally-oriented, but without necessarily concerning themselves with

the traditional, rationally-oriented conception of proselytising mission. That means that faith-based praxis, which seeks to demonstrate love and care, expressed in attentiveness that is not patronising, is essential when working with people in socio-economically stressed areas in cities. This can especially be said because African cities are multifaceted. Attentiveness to local settings and their heterogeneities is important when engaging urban geographies and their micropublics.

## **6.5. LIMITATIONS AND VECTORS OF COMPLEXITY**

### **6.5.1. Time span**

This research project takes place over a brief time span, which has meant that I have not managed to build up enough rapport to explore the Eden Network in a more engaged, ethnographic manner. In addition, the main recipients for this network are minors, which requires an additional ethical clearance, which would have delayed the fieldwork component of this project even more. This means that residents' voices are not included in this work. I recognise that this is a crucial element to understanding the dynamics of a local area. I have subsequently sought to adjust for this limitation by orienting the work around the institutional frameworks and ideas that allow these ideas to travel and manifest.

### **6.5.2. Insider-outsider Status**

Navigating spaces in Christianity is comfortable for me. Nevertheless, it takes time to become familiar with people in any given situation. In addition, taking a critical stance on practices that are connected to peoples' (and my own) beliefs and encounters with the sacred, is difficult. I attribute this, in part, to the fact that we navigate the world by what Jonathan Haidt (Tippett and Haidt, 2017: online) calls a "moral matrix." That is, when we speak about the social psychology of morality, people are unable to step outside of these constellations for navigating the world. This is another way of indicating the grounded nature of knowledge and its production. I have a purview of these enterprises, because I identify with the Christian worldview. This means that what I think and know about FBOs arises from a deeper awareness of missional work that is anecdotal and not necessarily part of this work. This has contributed to the very critical stance that I started with. In addition, because I am not affiliated to this church, I see it with a level of distance. At the same time, my familiarity with evangelical Christianity has enabled me to converse with and navigate these spaces with a level of ease.

This combination of factors has assisted me in defamiliarising the familiar, which has enriched my experience of this research project. It has also renewed and deepened my interest in the kinds of public interventions that faith-based organisations make.

### **6.5.3. A Focus on Christianity is Intended to Contribute to a Wider Debate**

This research endeavour sits in relation to the growing significance of religious affect in articulations of civic engagement – as it relates to motivating people to participate in public life. Religious life provides vital philosophical and spiritual grounds for these actions (Dwyer, 2016).

At the same time, the emphasis on Christianity in this research work arises from my own positionality. It should be noted, however, that this focus exists in simultaneity with a variety of religious perspectives that are not covered in this project. These perspectives inhabit spaces in the public imagination in various ways. As such, this work stands as a way of adding to the broader conversations taking place in cultural geography around the way that faith-based organisations fulfil governance functions (Cloke and Beaumont, 2013).

## **6.6. AVENUES OF INQUIRY**

### **6.6.1. Civic identity construction outside of Church**

This research project has investigated the role that Christianity plays in motivating people who adhere to this belief system to participate in work that is oriented towards fulfilling welfare functions, which are oriented towards ameliorating the patterning of the apartheid socio-spatial configuration. This, however, is a purview. Subsequently engagement with residents and recipients who engage with FBOs, but who do not necessarily share this worldview stands as a line to follow in relation to how FBOs participate in the life of local areas.

### **6.6.2. Financial Models for FBOs**

The Eden Network is financially lightweight, but relies on donor support. The work that FBOs do requires financial support. Subsequently, an investigation into the financial models that enable this kind of work would provide insights into the flows of money and resources between different areas of the globe and within local urban environments.

## 6.7. CONCLUSION

Chapter One provided an introduction to the issue under investigation in this research work. In this chapter, I established the main research questions. I also introduced the case study and the methods and techniques I would use to investigate the case study.

Chapter Two outlined the qualitative research methods and techniques used to undertake this study. This chapter also encompassed discussions on conducting ethical research, in addition to discussions concerning the limitations of the methods and techniques used to collect data for this study. It concludes with a discussion on data analysis.

Chapter Three established the theoretical framework for analysing and exploring the values and meanings of faith-based community development in Cape Town. The theoretical framework was based on an in-depth review of the relevant literature. A review of the relevant literature was also important for establishing subsidiary research questions and assessment criteria for the case study.

Chapter Four was a both/and chapter, in which I explored the notion of giving an account, in order to position myself in relation to this case study. I went on to explore the role of storytelling in planning practice. This exploration extended into an interpretation of hope and conviviality. I applied these notions to the Eden Network to see how they give an account of Cape Town's urban environment in incomplete ways, but use utopian pragmatism to inculcate civic identity and hope.

Chapter Five analyses the data collected using the assessment criteria established in Chapter Three. I used these criteria to explore and analyse the values and meanings of faith-based community development in the context of the Eden Network. In this chapter, I sought to unpack the work that the Eden Network SA does in the local area of Salt River with reference to the principles derived from the Eden Network UK. This was done using the idea of "global assemblage", in order to uncover how "worlding" operates between differing contexts.

In this chapter, I have answered the main and subsidiary research questions. In so doing, the research findings have been synthesised. The chapter has then presented policy and other spatial planning recommendations for the purpose of addressing the problems identified in the

study. In addition, I have explored some vectors of complexity that this study encounters. I go on to suggest a few lines of inquiry for future studies about Faith-Based Organisations.

Table 6.1. Recommendations for Faith-Based Organisations

		Assessment Criteria Derived from Literature	SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS DERIVED FROM ASSESSMENT CRITERIA	ASSESSMENT OF EDEN NETWORK SA	RECOMMENDATIONS
<b>OVERARCHING CRITERIA FOR "WORLDING" IN THE EDEN NETWORK</b>					
Devolution of governance functions	State Limitations	Does the Eden Project and its network exist as a recognition of the limitations of the state?	The Eden Network provides welfare functions linked to governance functions. Is enabled by historical trajectories and by articulations of Third Sector governance.		
	Volunteerism	Is volunteerism is a feature of Eden and whether it creates conditions for exploitation, state or church-bound?	Most team members are volunteers and work. This makes the Eden model financially lightweight. Recruitment is rigorous and contractual, which limits the possibility of exploitation.	Recruiting financially independent volunteers enables financially lightweight models.	
	Universal or limited access	Does the Eden Network provide access to all people who might require its services or facilities? In other words, does it engage conversational holistic mission, or does the mission work it engages with seek to proselytise people?	Eden centres on discipleship – which limits access. Simultaneously, because the work they do frequently connects to activities in the area they engage with, these are open to those who wish to participate. Some activities are overtly linked to Christian teaching. Others are more open.	Join in Receptiveness to activities and daily rhythms in an area is crucial to establishing relationships with people in a local area. This is favoured over establishing a specific programme, without listening to what people want or need.	
Conversation rather than conversion	Holistic missional approach	Can the Eden Project be understood as an "ambivalently secular" experience" (or entirety, or agency)?	This leads to the fact that Eden is 'ambivalently secular' – team members participate in secular spaces, but also adhere to Christian doctrine.	Reflexive conversational praxis Engage people on their own terms, without trying to convert, while conversing with your tradition.	
Policy's capacity to "travel" and adapt to different contexts	"Global Assemblage"	Do principles, or "global forms" from the Eden Network in the UK disassemble and reassemble in SA, and how are they limited and disputed? In other words, I ask how does the Eden network across the UK and SA constitute a "global assemblages"?	Eden adheres to principles articulated in the context of the UK. Incarnational living means a responsiveness in practical outworking of these principles.	Networking and Adaptability – Building Assemblages Global forms disrupt parochialisms. At the same time, forms should be receptive to local heterogeneities and daily rhythms.	

OVERARCHING CRITERIA FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN THE EDEN NETWORK	Assessment Criteria Derived from Literature	SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS DERIVED FROM ASSESSMENT CRITERIA	ASSESSMENT OF EDEN NETWORK SA	RECOMMENDATIONS
Relationships set into a moral field	Strong set of relational ties	Does the Eden Network exist as a set of loose affiliations, or does it overcome fragmentation? If so, how?	Connected to Eden UK. Eden Salt River is connected to Jubilee Community Church. Eden Network SA connects across a range of areas and denominations. Part of the Message Trust. Part of the community in their neighbourhood.	Relationships Social Networks provide support and accountability. These forms of inter-dependence range between various participants in this network.
Articulations of Citizenship	Racial reconciliation and liberation	Has the language used by the Eden Network shifted to racial reconciliation and/or liberation? If so, why? If not, why not?	Areas in the city that are not for everyone – countering the apartheid city. Eden as a ‘redistribution of relationships’	Civic Action and Long-term Sustainability Articulations of justice founded on faith provide impetus for people with means to participate in public life. People of faith should mobilise for social justice.
Community Developers	Eden as Community Development Planners	What forms of community development, if any, does the Eden network engage in?	Relational Community Development Youth development LED Connection to Jubilee and the Message, which fulfil welfare roles	Presence is key to building and maintaining relationships with people, which can catalyse productive forms of conviviality.
Capacity to self-govern	Social Capital	Does the Eden Network encourage self-empowerment through social capital?	Yes, but simultaneously a highlights agency and ‘Frontier Africanism’	

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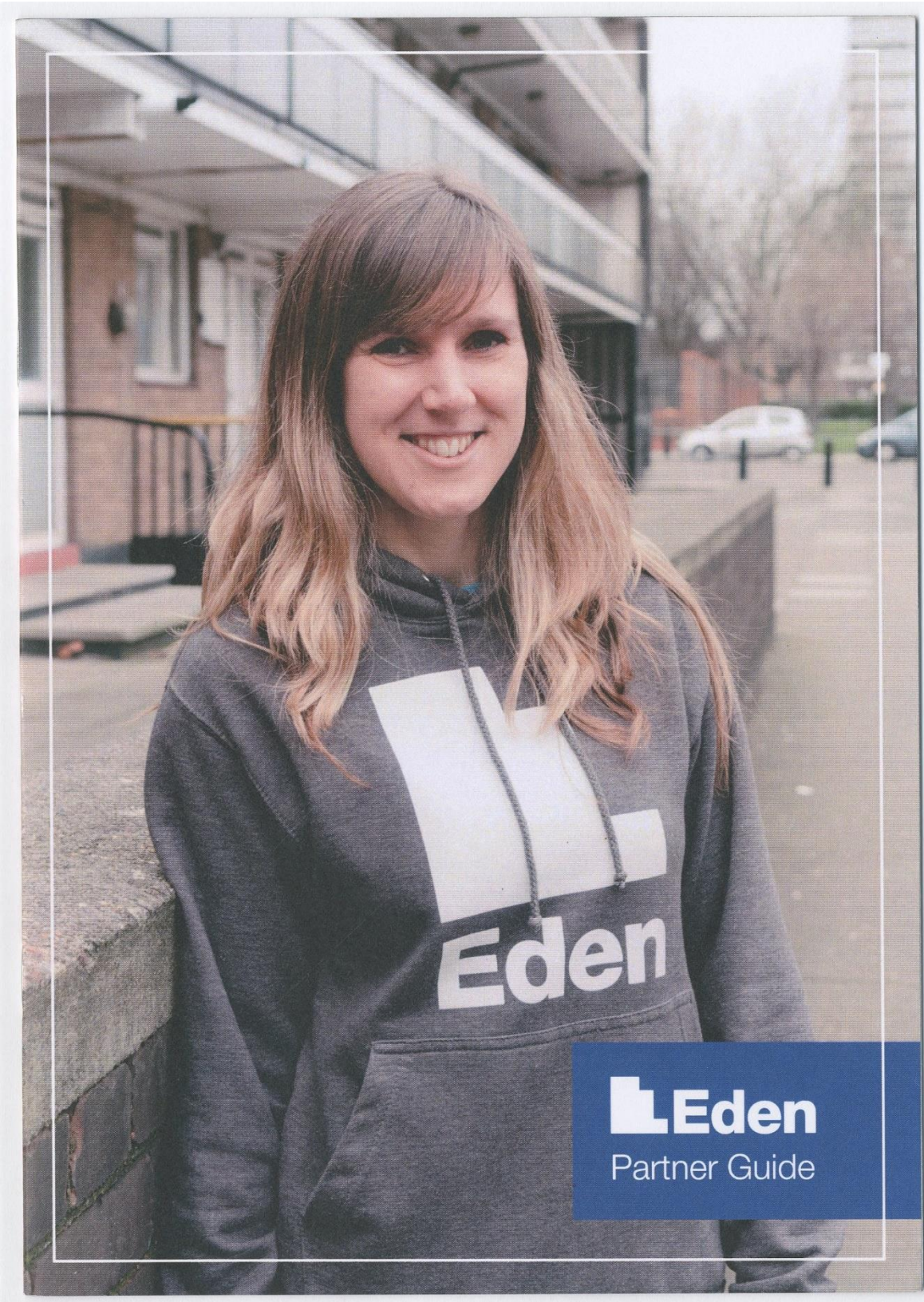
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**APPENDIX A  
EDEN PARTNER GUIDE**



 **Eden**  
Partner Guide



## Our Values

**We are a Christian network spanning the denominational spectrum and include established churches and new plants. Like our parent organisation The Message Trust, we hold to the Evangelical Alliance statement of faith.**

**Uniting our network of teams across diverse urban contexts is a set of ten values which each team lives out locally.**

### OUR FIVE CORNERSTONES

#### **Rooted in a local church**

We believe in healthy local churches as the hope and mechanism for community transformation. Rooting our teams in like-minded church expressions (an existing congregation, church plant, missional community, 'Fresh Expression' or restart) we seek to positively impact communities by consistent witness to the gospel through our presence and proclamation.

#### **Focused on the toughest neighbourhoods**

Our mandate is to go to communities which are in the 10% most deprived – those with multiple deprivations such as high crime, poor health, low educational achievement, dilapidated environments, broken families and few opportunities for young people. Here we see great need and opportunity for the gospel of Jesus to change lives.

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Eden in Partnership

### **A team of people living right in the heart of the community**

We send devoted individuals with a recognised calling to live an incarnational lifestyle within the community. A missional team of 6-12 people join together in committing themselves to living long-term for the benefit of their community.

### **Our first priority is young people**

A priority toward young people is key to our strategy for the transformation of the wider neighbourhood. Our goal is to help them to achieve their God-given potential, introducing them to Jesus by creating repeated and varied opportunities for them to hear, experience and respond to the gospel. As teams embed in their communities they build relationships and find opportunities beyond this initial focus.

### **Belonging to a wider relational network**

Our locally focused teams are part of a bigger vision to replicate our values across many neighbourhoods. Making time to gather together periodically to share stories and experiences, work through opportunities and challenges, and offer support and encouragement to one another strengthens the work of local teams and encourages humility in serving beyond a team's specific focus area.

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## **OUR FIVE DISTINCTIVES**

The way we live

### **Being Incarnational**

We are devoted to the communities that we have adopted as home. We have a sense of calling and commitment to live long-term as salt and light, fleshing out the grace of God in a way that is relevant and relatable to our neighbours.

### **Being Relational**

We choose to lead an authentic, open life within an accountable team dynamic. Relationships are the currency of our lives and the primary route through which transformation takes place.

### **Being Purposeful**

We live in our communities to be a deliberate witness of Jesus Christ. We make plans, set goals, structure our diaries and hold one another accountable. We do this recognising the synergy between who we are and what we do. In times of excitement and times of endurance we will retain our redemptive intent.

### **Being Countercultural**

Whilst acknowledging the importance of embracing the culture we live in we will retain a deliberately different stance on issues of integrity and morality as Jesus has taught us. We expect challenges as we model sacrificial living as urban missionaries who desire to know Jesus and make him known.

### **Being Holistic**

Our conviction is that God cares for whole people – not just souls. We see clearly in the Bible that the people of God are expected to play an active role in his grand restoration plan. In practice this will mean that we will develop innovative responses meeting a wide range of relational, recreational, educational, emotional and spiritual needs.

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Eden in Partnership



## Our Model

### BENEFITS OF PARTNERSHIP

**By joining the Eden Network you will:**

- Become part of a relational network of passionate urban churches and church planters across your region and around the nation.
- Practice a tried and tested model of grassroots community transformation that has proven extremely helpful to urban churches seeking to become more effective in their local mission.
- Gain assistance in recruiting a team of motivated and gifted people with a passion and a calling to serve God in your community.
- Receive extensive support in selecting the right leader for your local team and solid support to ensure that he or she has every opportunity to grow and succeed. The team leader vacancy can be advertised through our national opportunities.
- Have assurance that your local work will be championed and that the stories of transformation you witness will be faithfully shared for the encouragement of the wider church.
- Commit to financial transparency in the knowledge that you will receive the help you need in developing an effective fundraising plan that will attract the external funding needed to give your ministry longevity.
- Be able to use a respected brand, giving your work greater exposure and credibility.
- Enter into relationship with experienced Eden Network personnel who will invest their time and energy in training and coaching your local team and its leader to keep their effectiveness high and risk of burnout low.

The network gives you access to a range of ideas and developments in urban community ministry through our free exchange of experience and accumulated wisdom.

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Eden in Partnership

## UNDERSTANDING THE NETWORK

### National

Network HQ is based in Manchester and is responsible for ensuring the health of the network. HQ provides big-picture direction, core values and acts as a catalyst for growth into new geographical areas. There is a small team at HQ overseeing a number of important functions on behalf of the whole network including the recruitment process, events schedule, communications strategy and financial/legal compliance.

### Hub (regional)

Eden teams are formed into a hub with an employed Eden Development Manager.

This is primarily where we develop strategy for where Eden teams ought to be deployed, generate resources for that strategy, and create accountability.

Teams will meet most regularly with the other teams in their hub for shared growth and encouragement.

### Local

The Eden Network consists of many local teams, each operating as part of a church partner in a specific community.

They carry the vision and ultimate responsibility for their local team and work out the Eden values on a day-to-day basis.

## LOCAL CHURCH PARTNERSHIP MODEL

**Wrong: distinctly different visions**



**Right: a focused part of whole**





## Recruitment

### **Eden seeks to achieve long-term sustainability by remaining lightweight from an organisational perspective.**

A healthy-sized Eden team consists of a paid team leader (full or part time) employed by the local partner church and an additional 5-11 voluntary team members.

Recruiting for teams is a shared responsibility of Eden and its partners and a key role of the team leader in the early days.

We've found that the work is more sustainable when we don't depend on lots of paid staff but rather harness the energy of committed volunteers. This is more than just a pragmatic way of staying afloat financially – we actually believe it to be a biblical way of operating.

In the New Testament, especially in the book of Acts, we get a glimpse of the way the early church grew and spread rapidly. It's from Paul, whose practical vocation was making tents, that we get the concept of 'tentmaking'. Tentmakers are people with a trade or career that enables them to be (relatively) financially stable whilst offering their free time to local ministry. That's why, when we're recruiting for Eden teams, the invitation is to become more than just a volunteer in the classic sense – we're looking for tentmakers.

#### **What does an Eden team member look like?**

Eden team members may be young adults, newly-weds, families or empty-nesters, but they are all people who have sensed a calling to belong to missional community. As described above they are self-funded 'tent making' volunteers with all sorts of different day jobs but a commitment to invest themselves significantly in the life of their community.

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Eden in Partnership

### And what do they do?

Typically, Eden team members give about six hours a week of scheduled time to the team's activity in the community, along with time given spontaneously week by week according to the needs and opportunities that arise in their neighbourhood. All of the team members share a commitment to put down roots in the community for the season in which they are there, entering with a long-term mindset. It's only through long-term relationships with local youth and families that we ever see sustained transformation.

## EDEN TRAINING

The largest share of resource and energy is directed towards the Eden Team Leader who is responsible for developing and leading their team.

Regional monthly training and annual national events are open to whole teams.

### Training for Eden Teams

#### 5x per year **Prayer Days**

(national, with the Message Trust, requirement for Eden Team Leaders)

#### monthly **Formation Evening**

(with all regional Eden teams)

#### annual **Teams Away Day**

(with all national Eden teams)

#### annual **Proximity Conference**

(2-day conference with church partners and guests)

### Training for Eden Team Leaders

#### monthly **Coaching Session**

(1-to-1 with Eden Development Manager)

#### monthly **Peer Group Coaching**

(with other Eden Leaders)

#### 2x per year **Residential Retreat**

(with all Eden staff)

In addition, Team Leaders should be offered regular work supervision with the leader of their partner church.

# Funding

**Eden operates a devolved model with the partner church financially responsible for the team and its long-term sustainability.**

Eden is often able to offer start-up grants. Where awarded these are typically paid in decreasing increments for the first three years based upon a jointly agreed bespoke budget.

The bespoke budget will be included in the Partnership Agreement and take into account existing partner pay scales, local context and premises, and existing or planned local mission.

As an example, annual costs will be roughly comparable to those illustrated below:

<b>Eden Generic Year One Budget</b>	<b>£</b>	<b>Notes</b>
Team Leader salary (full-time)	28,000	Includes 15% employment costs e.g. NI & pension range £21k-24k
Activity costs	3,000	Mission expenses
Admin & operational costs	1,200	Travel & telephone costs etc.
Partnership contribution to Eden	1,200	Paid by monthly standing order
<b>Total costs</b>	<b>33,400*</b>	

\*London weighting: £6,600 towards staff costs; total: £40,000

## **Notes on salary:**

- In some instances a house may be made available for the Team Leader by the partner church, in which case their salary may be adjusted downwards by an amount in keeping with the typical rental value of the property.
- Eden Team Leaders located in the Greater London area incur significant extra housing costs. London weighting is applied to their salaries.

## APPENDIX B ETHICS IN RESEARCH

Application for Approval of Ethics in Research (EiR) Projects  
Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of Cape Town

### APPLICATION FORM

**Please Note:**

Any person planning to undertake research in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment (EBE) at the University of Cape Town is required to complete this form **before** collecting or analysing data. The objective of submitting this application *prior* to embarking on research is to ensure that the highest ethical standards in research, conducted under the auspices of the EBE Faculty, are met. Please ensure that you have read, and understood the **EBE Ethics in Research Handbook** (available from the UCT EBE, Research Ethics website) prior to completing this application form: <http://www.ebe.uct.ac.za/usr/ebe/research/ethics.pdf>

APPLICANT'S DETAILS		
Name of principal researcher, student or external applicant	Heather Hope Kirkby	
Department	School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics	
Preferred email address of applicant:	heather.h.kirkby@gmail.com	
If a Student	Your Degree: e.g., MSc, PhD, etc.,	MCRP
	Name of Supervisor (if supervised):	Associate Professor Tanja Winkler
If this is a research contract, indicate the source of funding/sponsorship	Click here to enter text.	
Project Title	Conversations with Tradition: Planning, and the political subject articulated through Salt River's credoscape  _____	

**I hereby undertake to carry out my research in such a way that:**

- there is no apparent legal objection to the nature or the method of research; and
- the research will not compromise staff or students or the other responsibilities of the University;
- the stated objective will be achieved, and the findings will have a high degree of validity;
- limitations and alternative interpretations will be considered;
- the findings could be subject to peer review and publicly available; and
- I will comply with the conventions of copyright and avoid any practice that would constitute plagiarism.

SIGNED BY		Full name	Signature	Date
<b>Principal Researcher/ Student/External applicant</b>		Heather Hope Kirkby	Signed	27 Jun 2017
<b>APPLICATION APPROVED BY</b>		Full name		Date
<b>Supervisor (where applicable)</b>		Tanja Winkler		24 May 2017
<b>HOD (or delegated nominee)</b> Final authority for all applicants who have answered NO to all questions in Section 1; and for all Undergraduate research (Including Honours).		Click here to enter text.  IAJN WDW		Click here to enter a date.  30/6/17

Application for Approval of Ethics in Research (EiR) Projects  
Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of Cape Town

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<b>Chair : Faculty EIR Committee</b> For applicants other than undergraduate students who have answered YES to any of the above questions.	<i>G. SITHOLE</i> Click here to enter text.	<i>11</i> <b>Signed</b>	<i>14/08/2017</i> Click here to enter a date.
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## **INFORMED CONSENT FORM**

### **Introduction**

I am Heather Kirkby, a Student in the School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. I am conducting research on issues related to political participation at a local scale in the context of faith-based organisations, and I would like to ask some questions on these issues. If you have any further questions about this work, I am available at [heather.h.kirkby@gmail.com](mailto:heather.h.kirkby@gmail.com) or 0826895675.

### **Purpose of Study**

The intention for this study is to better understand the ways that people participate in and connect to faith-based networks in local areas, as a form of community development that is associated with international organisations. This study looks at the ways that these forms of community development cultivate and sustain hope. At the same it, this is an attempt to look at the legacy of colonial relationships that have turned into globalising relationships between ways of knowing and organising spatial relationships in the global north and the global south. As such, in doing this work, I want to know what models are appropriate for formulating ways that people might build and strengthen community participation in Cape Town, South Africa. Based on gaining a better understanding of these dynamics, this study will put forth recommendations about what appropriate approaches to participation in Cape Town might look like, for both planning professionals and faith-based organisations.

### **Duration and Content of Interview**

- This interview will take approximately .... minutes, I will ask a number of questions about the topic of my study.

### **Confidentiality**

- All the information gathered during this interview is confidential and will be solely used for the intended purposes of this study. I will not reveal to anyone your name or any form of your identity without your permission.

### **Voluntary Participation**

- I will conduct this interview with the understanding that you have freely accepted to take part in this study, and that you are not under any obligation to answer the questions that I will be asking. You are free to discontinue the interview at any time.

### **Benefits**

- There are no direct personal benefits that you will get by participating in this study. However, the study will enhance our knowledge on the subject and the findings may be used by the community to engage with policies and programmes that are relevant to the community.

### **Information about Study**

- Feel free at any time to ask questions to clarify anything related to this interview or study.

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### **Consent**

I freely consent to take part in this study. I understand that I am participating freely and without being forced in any way to do so. I also understand that I can stop participating at any point should I not wish to continue. I also confirm that the purpose of the study has been fully explained to me. I understand that this is a research project whose purpose is not necessarily to benefit me personally in the immediate or short term. I also understand that my participation will remain confidential.

By answering the questions put to me:

- I agree to participate in this research project.



- I agree to participate in this research project.
- I have read this consent form and the information it contains and had the opportunity to ask questions about them.
- I agree to my responses being used for education and research on condition my privacy is respected, subject to the following: - *(tick as appropriate)*

	Yes	No
My name may be used in the published research	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
My personal details (e.g. age, occupation, position) may be included in the published research	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
My responses can only be used in a way that I cannot be personally identifiable	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- I understand that this research might be published in a research journal or book. In the case of dissertation research, the document will be available to readers in a university library in printed form, and possibly in electronic form as well.

Signature of Interviewee.....

**Signed**

Date: 12/9/2017

Informed consent form for Colin Banfield



- I have read this consent form and the information it contains and had the opportunity to ask questions about them.
- I agree to my responses being used for education and research on condition my privacy is respected, subject to the following: - *(tick as appropriate)*

	Yes	No
My name may be used in the published research	✓	
My personal details (e.g. age, occupation, position) may be included in the published research	✓	
My responses can only be used in a way that I cannot be personally identifiable	✗	✓

- I understand that this research might be published in a research journal or book. In the case of dissertation research, the document will be available to readers in a university library in printed form, and possibly in electronic form as well.

Signed

Signature of Interviewee.....

Date: ..... 14/09/2017 .....