

SOLIDARITY WITH STRANGERS: THE CHALLENGES POSED BY THE
GREAT LAKES REGION REFUGEES TO THE MINISTRY OF THE ANGLICAN
CATHEDRAL OF THE HOLY NATIVITY, PIETERMARITZBURG.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the challenges posed by the refugees from the Great Lakes Region to the ministry of the Anglican Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. It intends to inform the Christian world in general and specifically the Anglican Cathedral of the Holy Nativity of the current refugee situation and its causes. Furthermore, this study shows that understanding the refugees' livelihood strategies is a prerequisite to improved interventions. Using the Sustainable Livelihood Framework, this study describes some of the positive and negative outcomes from the mechanisms and strategies developed by refugees in order to stabilize and enhance their situation. Looking at the livelihood challenges faced by the Great Lakes Region refugees, this study shows how UNHCR (United Nations High Commission for Refugees) has been in a weak position to challenge the policies of its funders and host governments even when those policies fail to respond adequately to refugee problems.

Moreover, the study intends to challenge Christians, on the basis of Scripture, to respond to the needs of strangers, with the focus on the refugees from the Great Lakes Region. It suggests that the Anglican Cathedral should try to be a supportive community that lives out God's love by helping refugees in their struggle with the world's uncertainties caused by their refugeism and to retain a sense of self-worth and hope in the midst of their struggle.

Therefore, this study argues that the church should go beyond what David Korten calls the 'first generation' of development action, namely relief and welfare – and move to more structural and long-lasting solutions. As such the thesis will explore a Sustainable Livelihoods Framework, and focus on ways in which the church can enhance the livelihoods of the Great Lakes Region refugees, by integrating them into the community of the Cathedral, and more specifically by helping with a prophetic voice against the injustices and violation of the basic human rights of refugees, and so becoming their advocate and ensuring a place of solidarity for them in Pietermaritzburg.

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MAP OF THE AFRICAN GREAT LAKES REGION.



Geographic Support Main Building DGC, GSGS 11224, Edition 7, May 2003 54983
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Geographically, the Great Lakes Region is made of Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Rwanda and Burundi. Economically and politically, it is now extended to Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia, Angola, Kenya, Sudan and Ethiopia.

Accessed at: "<http://parliament.uk/commons/lib/research/rp2006/rp06-051-pdf>", on 7th August 2007.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

- ABCD-Asset Based Community Development
AIDS-Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CPSA- Church of the Province of Southern Africa
CRC- Convention of the Rights of the Child
DFID -Department For International Development (UK)
DRC- Democratic Republic of Congo
ESSA- Evangelical Seminary of Southern Africa
GLR - Great Lakes Region
GLRR- Great Lakes Region Refugees
HIV- Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDPs - Internal Displaced Persons
MBACIFAG- Micro Business Against Crime and the Illegal Foreigners Action Group
NEPAD- New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGOs- Non-Governmental Organizations
OAU- Organization of African Unity
SADC- Southern African Development Community
SLF - Sustainable Livelihood Framework
UKZN- University of Kwazulu- Natal
UN- United Nations
UNDP – United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR- United Nations High Commission for Refugees

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

There are three elements that make up the background of this thesis.

- The contextual social issue of the Great Lakes Region refugees in Pietermaritzburg
- The Christian commitment of solidarity with the vulnerable, and
- The development concern to move from an approach of charity and welfare, to one of enhancing people's livelihoods. We examine each one briefly and in turn.

The Rwandan genocide of 1994, in which over 800,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutus were murdered, has left many people homeless and it is estimated that half of the population has been living for three years as refugees in other countries. Similarly, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Burundi were devastated by wars that were mainly based on an ethnic problem (as was the case in Rwanda) and this aggravated the situation of refugees in the Great Lakes Region, constituted by Rwanda, Burundi, and DRC. As a result of this refugee status, their way of living was disrupted and this jeopardized their livelihood strategies and wellbeing. One of the countries that many refugees have come to is South Africa, and the local refugees support group is aware of 256 Great Lakes Region refugees in Pietermaritzburg. We are involved with this group as someone from that region and who attends the Anglican Cathedral of the Holy Nativity (henceforth: 'the Anglican Cathedral'), but especially as someone who has been a refugee.

In many cases these refugees experience problems such as unemployment, a lack of access to such basics as housing, land, water and education and even losing their refugee status and protection. Furthermore, it is noted that those who are fortunate enough to become employed suffer from exploitation or are seen as illegal migrant

laborers. In summary, many refugees experience discrimination based on their status as refugees and then are forced to depend upon charity. Therefore, we can argue that Great Lakes Region refugees are strangers who are struggling to survive in a foreign land.

Second, the Christian church is reminded through its scriptures to care for strangers, aliens and foreigners, and there is a whole tradition within Christianity of offering hospitality to 'outsiders' and of living in solidarity with the vulnerable. Because this tradition is most strongly expressed in the Bible by the great prophets (as well as by Jesus) who always took the side of and the defense of the poor and the marginalized, this has become known as 'liberation theology' that only can fulfill its mission through a prophetic approach. When we put the contextual issue of the Great Lakes Region refugees in the Pietermaritzburg alongside the commitment of a liberation theology, then the challenge to the church in Pietermaritzburg is very clear. It is particularly clear for the Anglican Cathedral for three important reasons: (i) the Anglican church in Southern Africa (ACSA) has a self-expressed commitment to advocate and to care for the vulnerable in society, and the Cathedral is an important symbol of the Anglican Church presence in the city; (ii) the Anglican Cathedral has already shown its commitment to vulnerable people in the city with, for example, a programme for street children; and (iii) there are a number of refugees from the Great Lakes Region who are Anglicans and who worship in the Cathedral, and who are therefore part of the pastoral concern of the church itself.

Third, we must note that the challenge to the Cathedral is not a challenge of 'charity'. As those working in Theology and Development have made clear, the church is called to go beyond what David Korten calls "the 'first generation' of development action, namely relief and welfare – and move to more structural and long-lasting solutions (second, third and fourth generations)."¹ A contemporary model that can help the church move into these other generations is "the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

¹ David, Korten. 1990. "From Relief to People's Movement" in *Getting to the 21st Century: Voluntary Action and the Global Agenda* (New York : West Hartford Press) p115- 127.

(SLF)".² This development framework could assist the church in enhancing the livelihoods of this refugee group.

1.2 Research problem and objectives

This thesis explores the challenges posed by the presence of Great Lakes Region refugees in Pietermaritzburg to the ministry of the Anglican Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg. It argues that this church has a role to play in enhancing the livelihoods of refugees who are part of the worshipping community. The key research question is:

What are the livelihood challenges posed by the Great Lakes Region refugees to the Anglican Cathedral, and in what ways should the church respond?

In view of the above, the objectives of this study are:

- To examine the livelihoods of Great Lakes Region refugees in Pietermaritzburg, to note the struggles and hardships that they face, and also the ways in which they express their agency in making a living.
- To articulate a liberation theology of solidarity with strangers and the advocacy of the poor and the marginalized; one that will empower the Anglican Cathedral to take the issue of this group seriously.
- To suggest a way that the Anglican Cathedral can enhance the livelihoods of the Great Lakes Region refugees from a theological perspective.
- To contribute to the wider debate about the role of the Church in general in relation to refugees as strangers that need the solidarity of the Christian community.

In responding to these questions, the hypothesis of this study is that:

- Great Lakes Region refugees in Pietermaritzburg struggle to sustain their livelihoods.
- This experience poses a challenge to the Anglican Cathedral and has to do with scripture, compassion, practical engagement and solidarity.

² DFID, *Sustainable Livelihoods guidance sheets* (Published by the UK Department for International Development, October 2001) p11.

- This response involves enabling the refugees to become agents rather than clients of their own development, and this involves recognizing the capabilities of the refugees and enhancing the already existing portfolio of human, financial, social and physical capital.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

In keeping with the interdisciplinary nature of Theology and Development, this thesis will draw on two key theories: one in development, and one in theology. In development, the thesis will make use of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework as a way of unpacking the livelihoods experience and strategies of Great Lakes Region refugees. The Sustainable Livelihood Framework is a framework that seeks to analyse the vulnerability context of people and their capital (social, human, physical, financial and natural) in their possession; and looks at institutions, policies and processes that impact on the access to the livelihood assets.³ In addition, this framework looks at the strategies adopted by people in order to address their livelihood challenges and the positive or negative outcomes of these strategies.

In terms of development, this thesis is part of the ongoing discussion about two important issues. The first has to do with moving from charity and welfare to issues of development – which involves exploring the social structures and policies that impact upon people’s lives. This has seen the emergence of “the rights based” approach to development.⁴ However, this approach by itself can sometimes give theoretical power to the ‘experts’ and treat the poor and vulnerable just as much as ‘objects’ as the charity approach can. So this must be taken in tandem with a second approach that has to do with the agency and assets of the poor – as active role players in their own development. This approach is what the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework seeks to advance. This thesis will engage with this wider debate, and particularly seek to draw the church forward from its intuitive response of charity and welfare.

³ Charles, Johnson. 1997. *Rules, norms and the pursuit of sustainable livelihoods* (IDS Working Paper 52, Brighton: IDS) p17.

⁴ Julia, Häusermann. 1998. *A Human Rights Approach to Development: Rights and Humanity* (London: Department for International Development of the UK Government). Accessed at : http://www.odi.org.uk/publications/briefing/3_99.html.

Theologically, this thesis will adopt a “liberation theology” framework. This means that attention is given to the value and restoration of the dignity of all human beings, especially those who are poor, vulnerable and oppressed. Indeed, a whole body of evidence in the Scripture demands that the children of God have a special preoccupation with the poor, the oppressed, the sojourners, and the uprooted. Leviticus 19:34 argues that “the alien living with you must be treated as one of your native-born.” On this point, Gutierrez and other liberation theologians say “the church's mission is no longer one of a "quantitative" notion of saving numbers of souls. Rather, the church's mission "is at all times to protest against injustice, to challenge what is inhuman, to side with the poor and the oppressed.”⁵ Implicitly, this view of liberation theology adopts an emphasis of a prophetic approach that also recognizes that the preaching and proclamation of the church is authenticated to the extent that it is linked with praxis that results in good news for the poor.

At the same time, this study will look at the issue of refugees. It draws on and develops the theological insights that have been developed to help the church respond. These include such matters as human dignity and human rights rooted in the Christian understanding of the *imago-Dei* (humans in the image of God), the biblical theme of *Shalom* as the vision of a world in which peace and justice create the framework for human flourishing, and the church as the community of faith involved in God’s ongoing engagement with the world (the *missio-Dei*).

These two theories suggest that we need to find out how the Great Lakes Region refugees are living their lives in Pietermaritzburg, so that the church can seriously consider the enhancement of their livelihoods. At this point no research has been published about this, and so this thesis will have to break new ground through empirical research – by turning to the primary sources, the refugees themselves. This empirical research will then provide the foundation for theological reflection.

⁵ Monika, Hellwig. 1977. “Liberation Theology: An Emerging School”, in *the Scottish Journal of Theology* 30 (Washington) p141.

This thesis therefore contributes to the research agenda of the Theology and Development Programme at UKZN (University of Kwazulu- Natal), which is on the cutting edge of these issues in Africa.

1.4 Research design

This study gathered primary data through fieldwork. The source of this primary data was semi-structured interviews with twenty refugees worshipping in the Anglican Cathedral. Pilot interviews helped identify the twenty individuals, who then agreed to participate on condition of anonymity.

The questions in the interviews focused on their experience as refugees and their livelihood strategies. These responses were then analyzed through the Sustainable Livelihood Framework. This framework helped to identify the key elements of the (a) vulnerability context, (b) the asset portfolio, (c) the structures and policies that impact upon people, (d) the livelihood strategies and then (e) the livelihood outcomes.

The key research findings were that Great Lakes Region refugees pose challenges to the ministry of the Anglican Cathedral and to the community of believers in Pietermaritzburg. In addition, it was stated that their flight to South Africa is rooted in socio-political and economic concerns. Socially, whether in Rwanda, Burundi or DRC, there were ethnic conflicts that generated wars and genocide. Politically, politicians for their own interests, exploited these ethnic divisions. Economically, we found that these refugees came to South Africa in search of a better livelihood.

In this study, a 'liberation theology' framework was adopted. We found from a liberation theology point of view, the church is called upon to express solidarity with these refugees, and that this involves enhancing their livelihoods by both affirming their assets and agency, and challenging the policies and structures that erode their livelihoods. This means that attention is given to the value and dignity of all human beings, especially those who are poor and vulnerable. It was found that a liberation theology approach recognizes that the preaching and proclamation of the church is authenticated to the extent that it is linked with praxis that results in good news for the liberation of the oppressed, the marginalized and the voiceless in general.

Furthermore, from listening to the respondents, it was found that most of the Great Lakes Region refugees came into South Africa through Zambia, Mozambique and other countries. They started different businesses to earn their livelihood in Pietermaritzburg such as hair-salons, public phones, guarding cars, selling vegetables... but we found that they are still facing different livelihood challenges and need the solidarity of the community of believers. They experience discrimination based on their status as refugees, and then are forced to depend upon charity, as they don't have access to financial capital to sustain their livelihoods in a foreign land. After listening to the voices of the interviewees, the data was analyzed through SLF. While analyzing the data through SLF, we found that the only developed capital that refugees possess is human capital, but they also have another asset that is spiritual and which to some extent, helps them in their livelihood. Certain constraints related to policies, institutions and processes prevent them from having access to financial, natural and physical capital, and this reinforces their vulnerability.

In the last chapter we found that the Anglican Cathedral is able to do something theologically and practically in this situation. Theologically by raising the prophetic voice for justice, and practically by creating spaces for refugees to express their livelihood challenges and ask for the solidarity of the congregation of the Anglican Cathedral.

1.5 Outline of the study

Chapter two deals with the experience of refugees in the Great Lakes Region. The chapter highlights the long journey of the Great Lakes Region refugees from DRC to some of the Southern African countries, such as Zambia, Mozambique and others. It adds that in the search of a better livelihood, they came to South Africa and settled in Pietermaritzburg.

Chapter three deals with the issue of refugees in a theological perspective. This chapter provides liberation theology as a theological framework for responding to the situation of the refugees in Pietermaritzburg. The chapter concludes by drawing from the themes of liberation theology, reminding the church of the need to stand in solidarity with the vulnerable, and particularly the stranger and foreigner.

Chapter four discusses the field research and presents the data from the interviews with twenty GLRR living in Pietermaritzburg and worshipping at the Anglican Cathedral. It highlights that the main problems of the refugees in Pietermaritzburg are the structures and policies of South Africa that do not allow them access to financial capital due to their refugee status. It also shows that the xenophobic behavior of the local citizens is another main problem and this exacerbates their insecurity.

Chapter five gives an analysis of the research data through the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework. It aims at identifying various ways in which the refugees make their living, such as the 'assets' they draw on, and the wider social factors that impede their livelihoods. It demonstrates that the refugees struggle to sustain their livelihoods in Pietermaritzburg and lack the solidarity of the local community in this endeavour. This means that their networking or social capital is very weak. The chapter concludes by showing the assets of the refugees which includes different skills and experiences.

Chapter six expresses the basic theological approach that needs to be undertaken by the church. It shows the role that the Anglican Cathedral can play in enhancing the livelihoods of the Great Lakes Region refugees in Pietermaritzburg. The chapter argues that the Anglican Cathedral's response to the needs of the refugees is not an option, but a compelling necessity. It draws examples from Jesus, who announces good news to the poor. In view of this, the chapter asserts that this news is not primarily spiritual, but has concrete economic and social implications. It concludes by saying that the issue of the poor and the marginalized should not be left to government and social welfare programs alone, but it is also the responsibility of every member of society, including the Church.

The last chapter draws the study to a conclusion and makes recommendations. It recommends that the Anglican Cathedral, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), South African government and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and to some extent the countries of origin of the refugees, needs to cater for their rights. Given the fact that the problems of refugees and the displaced are directly related to the quest for peace and security, this chapter concludes by proposing that the UNHCR and United Nations in general should prioritise the issue of peace and security in Africa.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SITUATION OF REFUGEES FROM THE GREAT LAKES REGION

2.1. Introduction

This chapter provides the background of the experience of refugees in the Great Lakes Region. What we need to understand is that one of the biggest political and human tragedies of this century has arisen in the shape of more than fifty million refugees and displaced persons in the world today.⁶ The impact of the problem is felt worldwide. A major portion of the time devoted by the Security Council of the United Nations in recent years has been concerned with various refugees generating conflicts in the world in general, and specifically in the Great Lakes Region. Humanitarian organizations are struggling to keep pace with the demands of new exodus, while governments around the world are becoming increasingly reluctant to offer refuge to these victims of violence.

In this chapter, we will give the background of the refugees in the Great Lakes Region (Rwanda, Burundi and Democratic Republic of Congo), see the map p(ix). A particular emphasis will be placed on the 1994 Rwandan genocide as one of the key factors of the influx of refugees and troubles in the Great Lakes Region. In fact, “among 3 million refugees that were settled in the camps in DRC between 1994 and 1997; 2, 5 millions were Rwandan refugees.”⁷ Indeed, there have always been refugees in that region, but the Rwandan 1994 genocide aggravated the situation of insecurity based on antagonism between Hutu and Tutsi in Burundi and Rwanda, and between Kinya-Rwanda speaking Congolese and other tribes in DRC.

Our research focuses on refugees from the Great Lakes Region as one group, even though they are from three different countries. The reason for this is that, firstly, the three countries share the same history of Belgium colonization. In addition Rwanda,

⁶ Manik, Chakbarty. 1998. *Human Rights and Refugees: Problems, Laws and Practices*. Accessed at : [phttps://www.vedamsbooks.com/no13746.htm](https://www.vedamsbooks.com/no13746.htm).

⁷ David, Walker. 1997. *Rwanda: Which Way Now?* (New Edition: An Oxfam Country Profile: Oxfam UK and Ireland) p59.

Burundi and the Eastern part of DRC (Northern Kivu province) have the same antagonist ethnic groups namely Hutu and Tutsi. Secondly, they can understand each other because Swahili is the second language spoken in DRC, and currently the third language spoken in Rwanda and Burundi. The Kinyarwanda and Kirundi, first languages spoken in Rwanda and Burundi, respectively are spoken in the Eastern part of Democratic Republic of Congo. Furthermore, the three countries speak French as the second language.

Thirdly, these countries share borders, and from the 1884 Berlin (Germany) Conference that demarcated these borders, it happened that people of the same group or family became separated and settled in different countries. Thus, they officially got different nationalities, but in practice they remained the same people with the same language and culture, despite the borders that separated them. In fact, there are many cases of mixed marriages between the three nationalities. Although, they seem to be refugees from three different countries, they come together in associations and in the churches and this can be seen in Pietermaritzburg, the study area.

In this study, we are aware that the issue of the refugees from the Great Lakes Region is part of the global context of African refugees. However, as we can see that the issue of refugees in Africa as a whole is very broad, our attention will be focused on the refugees from that the Great Lakes Region only.

2.2 The background of the Great Lakes Region refugees

2.2.1 Definition of refugee

Before we look at the journey of this group of refugees to South Africa and their livelihood challenges there, we need to understand who a refugee is. In fact, from our experience, some people have a tendency to substitute the word refugee for the ordinary migrant. Different people have attempted to define the term refugee, with the same denominator of the uprootedness. In addition, refugees define themselves from the situation that they are living in. Furthermore, due to how they portray refugees, local citizens also have their own definition of a refugee. On the one hand, despite the fact that there are different definitions of the term refugee, the US Citizenship and Immigration Services seem to make good sense in their definition of a refugee. It

defines refugee as “a person outside of his or her country of nationality who is unable or unwilling to return because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, and membership in a particular social group, or political opinion.”⁸ On the other hand, from our discussions with the interviewees, refugees identify themselves as uprooted people surviving in misery in a foreign land.⁹ Indeed, this definition becomes a reality, given the fact that Great Lakes Region refugees were forced to leave their communities to settle in a foreign land for the sake of their security, because they could not survive at home.

In addition, one of our interviewees informed us that local citizens define them as “makwerekwere”. In our discussions with a South African classmate, he told us that “makwerekwere” means a hostile stranger or invader.¹⁰ In our Kinya-Rwanda language, “gukwerakwera” that means vagabond. Given the fact that there are some similar words in Kinya- Rwanda and in local South Africa languages as Bantu languages, we can say that the word “makwerekwere” is near to the Kinya-Rwanda verb “gukwerakwera” which means to lack address or to vagabond.

On the other hand, the heads of the states and governments of Africa clarified that immigration is “the act of moving to or settling in another country or region, temporarily or permanently, and then an immigrant is someone who intends to reside permanently, and not a casual visitor or traveler.”¹¹ Immigration means “in-migration” into a country, and is the reverse of emigration, or “out-migration, and the long term and/or permanent movement of human population in general, whether into, out of, or within countries (or before the existence of recognized countries) is regarded as migration.”¹² These migrants come as a response to the host country’s need for a workforce, and through their labour, “they just attempt to improve their own and their family’s standard of living, and then is treated with indifference or mistrust as

⁸ *Definition of a refugee*. US Citizenship and Immigration Services. Accessed at : <http://www.uscis.gov/graphics/services/refugees/Definition.htm>.

⁹ Interview held on 30th April 2006 in Pietermaritzburg with a anonymous person.

¹⁰ Discussions with anonymous classmate on 25th August 2006 in the University of Kwazulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg Campus.

¹¹ Gaim, Kibreab. 1983. *Research Report no 67: “Reflections on the African Refugee Problems: A Critical Analysis of some Basic Assumptions”* (Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala Motala Grafiska AB) p47.

¹² Gaim, Kibreab. 1983. *Research Report no 67: “Reflections on the African Refugee Problems: A Critical Analysis of some Basic Assumptions”*, p49.

possible rivals of the local citizens.”¹³ Thus, as the situation is in Pietermaritzburg and in South Africa as a whole, migrants and refugees always were/ are taken as rivals of the local citizens in the workplace and this could be the main root-cause of xenophobic behaviour from local citizens.

2.2.2 History of refugees in the Great Lakes Region

The history of refugees in the Great Lakes Region is in fact related to the history of colonization in the GLR. That is to say, when the Belgian colonists arrived in Rwanda and Burundi in 1916, Pottier shows that “they saw the two groups as distinct entities, and produced identity cards classifying people according to their ethnicity.”¹⁴ He added that the Belgians considered the Tutsis as superior to the Hutus, and not surprisingly, the Tutsis welcomed this idea, and for the next 20 years they enjoyed better jobs and educational opportunities than their neighbours. For DRC, it was difficult to make such identity cards, for there are more than 240 tribes, and to oppose people based on their ethnic group was very difficult.¹⁵ However, the Eastern part of DRC has always been influenced by the situation either in Burundi or in Rwanda, and it is the only part of DRC that has Hutus and Tutsi ethnic groups.

In Rwanda and Burundi, resentment among the Hutus gradually built up, culminating in a series of riots in 1959. Pottier shows that “more than 20,000 Tutsis in Rwanda were killed in 1959, and many more fled to the neighbouring countries of Burundi, Tanzania and Uganda.”¹⁶ When Belgium relinquished power and granted Rwanda independence in 1962, the Hutus took their place. Over subsequent decades, “the Tutsis were portrayed as the scapegoats for every crisis. But in Burundi, Tutsi kept power despite their minority, until a Hutu rebellion was formed. After a peace agreement held in Arusha (Tanzania) in 2003, the Hutu dominated rebellion won the elections in 2005 after a bloody civil war that started openly in 1972, but that was

¹³ Andre, Jacques. 1985. *The Stranger within your Gates: Uprooted People in the World Today* (The Risk Books Series, World Council of Churches, Geneva) pvii.

¹⁴ John, Pottier. 2002. *Re-imagining Rwanda, Cambridge Africa Collection* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) p 12.

¹⁵ Aristide, Zolberg and Peter, Benda. 2001. *Global Migrants, Global Refugees: Problems and Solutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) p28.

¹⁶ John, Pottier. 2002. “*Cambridge Africa Collection: Re-imagining Rwanda*”, p15.

intensified between 1992 and 2002.”¹⁷ During that period of crisis, Burundian Hutus have been leaving Burundi as refugees, especially in DRC, Tanzania and Rwanda and have always been welcomed by the local citizens of the same ethnic group, especially in Rwanda and DRC. Therefore, the conflict was regional and always based on the ethnic groups. In Burundi, Hutus have been fleeing the Tutsi regime, while in Rwanda was the opposite; Tutsi fleeing the Hutu regime. The same problems occurred at different times, but as DRC is a big country (85 times as big as Rwanda or Burundi), when there was an ethnic confrontation in the Eastern part of DRC, people could flee to another province of the country.

As can be elicited from above, the situations of Burundi and Rwanda always affected DRC in general, and specifically the Eastern part of Democratic Republic of Congo that also has Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups in the Northern and Southern Kivu provinces. Moreover in that part of DRC, there was some antagonism between the Kinya-Rwanda speaking group which is a minority, and other tribes that have been treating them as foreigners. After the former government that had organized the Rwandan 1994 genocide fled to DRC in July 1994, William testifies that there were behind them 2, 5 million refugees including the defeated former army, and that the extremist Hutus of the Northern Province of Kivu in DRC started killing local Tutsi, supported by the defeated army of Rwanda, and even the DRC government.¹⁸ Therefore, a Tutsi dominated rebellion in the Eastern part of DRC was created in 1997 to fight the DRC government that they were alleged discriminating against them. The rebellion found the support of Rwanda and defeated the DRC government led by the former president Mobutu Sese Seko. President Desire Kabila (father of the current president), supported by Rwanda, became president after the defeat of Mombutu.

Despite these confrontations and wars, there were many refugees in DRC from Burundi and Rwanda, and the Congolese internal displaced persons who joined them in the camps, due to the wars that created insecurity on the whole territory of DRC. As they were facing the same challenges of the flight, Wikipedia affirms that they

¹⁷ BBC NEWS: Rwanda: *How genocide happened? Between April and June 1994, an estimated 800,000 Rwandans were killed in the space of 100 days.* Thursday, 1 April, 2004, 15:51 GMT 16:51 UK. Accessed at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/1288230.stm>.

¹⁸ Joe, Trotter W. 1991. *The Great Migration in Historical Perspective: New Dimensions of Race, Class, and Gender* (Indiana: Indiana University Press) p 31.

stayed together and married among themselves, and later it became difficult to differentiate between them.¹⁹ In summary we can say that the ongoing political tensions, guerrilla warfare and massive refugee movements have continued to sow political instability and implicitly humanitarian crises throughout the Great Lakes Region, and Wikipedia argues that the situation traces its origin to the ethnic-based conflicts, and this continued to be a reference point for the Burundian civil war, to the Rwandan genocide and the bloody war in the Eastern part of DRC.²⁰ In other words, when some historians say that the conflicts in the Great Lakes Region had their origin in the colonial system (especially in Rwanda and Burundi), they are right because the administration of the Belgians created ethnic-based identity cards to identify the particular group that a person belonged to. From our experience in Rwanda, these identity cards have always been used to target Tutsi in various killings, especially in the 1994 genocide.

Still with regard to DRC, Tutsi were the target of killings in 1998 in Kinshasa and elsewhere, under the pretext of another Tutsi tendency to rebel that was created in the Eastern part of the DRC. Their argument was that they were still discriminated against after Kabila Desire became president. As one can understand, the war in DRC became chronic, and the country became very chaotic. For the refugees from the Rwanda and Burundi, and the internal displaced Congolese, the only alternative was to leave DRC for secure places, mainly the Southern African countries.

2.2.3 Impact of the Great Lakes Region refugees on the environment and security of Democratic Republic of Congo

As one can understand, the large number of refugees that settled in DRC impacted on the environment in general, and particularly the surrounding areas of the camps. But also their presence itself had significant effects on the entire region, and Howard and John highlight that “it brought increased crime, and, in some regions added increased economic and environmental stress.”²¹ During our fieldwork we were informed that

¹⁹ *Rwandan Genocide*. From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia that anyone can edit. 12 December 2005. Downloaded from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rwandan_Genocide.

²⁰ *Rwandan Genocide*.”From Wikipedia.....”, Ibid.

²¹ Howard, Adelman and John, Sorenson. 1994. *African Refugees: Development and Repatriation* (York Lanes Press, North York) p91.

whole forests surrounding the refugee camps were decimated as refugees searched for firewood and building materials. On the security aspect, incidents of both petty and major crimes increased in many areas, and "all of these created resentment on the part of some local residents and officials."²² This, combined with a perceived lack of attention and resources from the international community, led to increased pressure to expel the refugees, particularly in western Tanzania. This situation of security in the camps, coupled with the issue of the search for a better livelihood, pushed the Great Lakes Region refugees to come to South Africa, especially from Zambia, and Mozambique.

However, it would also be misleading to give the impression that the refugee's impact on host countries and communities is entirely negative. On the positive side, from our experience in the Great Lakes Region, it should be noted that the presence of refugees attracts donor funding for rehabilitation and infrastructural programmes which also bring benefits to the local population. In some parts of DRC, Kibreab shows that "the presence of refugees has meant that major roads, bridges and airstrips have been rehabilitated, and water supply systems have been constructed in local villages and schools and health services improved."²³ The presence of refugees can also result in the establishment of new business activities, additional employment opportunities and increased agricultural production. Indeed, with regard to employment, Howard and John show that "from 1994 up to 1999, there were more than 50 NGO's working in different refugee camps in the Eastern part of DRC, and about 1000 people were employed whether partially or full time, among them two quarters from the local citizens."²⁴

As one could imagine, when the time was right for refugees to go back to their country of origin, as it was for about 2 million Rwandan refugees at the end of 1997, they took their businesses, their resources and their manpower with them. As relief operations wound down, moreover, local people who were employed by humanitarian organizations invariably found themselves out of jobs, while regional and district

²² Howard, Adelman and John, Sorenson. 1994. "*African Refugees*": *Development and Repatriation*", p38.

²³ Gaim, Kibreab. 1983. Research Report no 67: "*Reflections on the African Refugee Problems*", p27.

²⁴ Howard, Adelman and John, Sorenson. 1994. "*African Refugees: Development and Repatriation*", p59.

authorities found it difficult to maintain and meet the recurrent costs of facilities which had been provided by donor states and relief organizations.

2.2.4 The journey of Great Lakes Region refugees to South Africa

Due to the situation of insecurity described above, refugees from that region moved from DRC and settled in different countries of Southern Africa, mainly Zambia and Mozambique. Facing financial challenges in these countries, Great Lakes Region refugees crossed borders into South Africa in search of a better livelihood. In that situation, the presence of a large number of refugees, coupled with the ordinary situation of migrants in South Africa, stressed the government in the process of sorting out the issue of asylum seekers. So far, statistics in South Africa show that:

“The total number of persons of concern increased from 110,000 to almost 142,000. The number of recognized refugees increased from 26,000 to almost 27,000 while the backlog of pending asylum applications grew by 26 per cent. Only 1,600 decisions were taken, as the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) lacked the capacity to process more applications.”²⁵

In addition, the UNHCR Press Release informs that “since 1994 approximately 63,000 people have applied for asylum in South Africa and approximately 13,000 have been granted refugee status; a similar number have had their claims rejected.”²⁶ As we were informed during the fieldwork, in the transition period of waiting for the response to the application for refugee identity cards, refugees are considered as asylum seekers, and in some cases they are harassed and discriminated as illegal migrants by local authorities, and local citizens. This is confirmed by Crush who states that “under the Refugee Act, asylum seekers are not allowed to work, study, or be self-employed until they are granted refugee status (although individuals can apply for special consideration to be allowed to work after six months).”²⁷ Therefore, as one

²⁵ UNHCR Press Release, *UN Agency Trains More South Africans in Refugee Registration*, September 27, 2005. Accessed at: www.unhcr.ch/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/news/opendoc.htm.

²⁶ UNHCR Press Release, *UN Agency Trains More South Africans in Refugee Registration*, September 27, 2005. Accessed at: www.unhcr.ch/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/news/opendoc.htm.

²⁷ UNHCR Press Release, *UN Agency Trains More South Africans in Refugee Registration*, September 27, 2005. Accessed at: www.unhcr.ch/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/news/opendoc.htm.

can understand, there is no state support, or other support system for asylum seekers, making it difficult for them to survive. From the responses of some interviewees, these conditions appear to be an attempt to dissuade people from seeking asylum in South Africa.

It is in this way that our study suggests the solidarity of the Christian community of Pietermaritzburg in general, and specifically support from the Anglican Cathedral, as our twenty interviewees who worship in the Anglican Cathedral. Indeed, the Christian church is reminded, through its scriptures, to care for strangers, aliens and foreigners, and there is a whole tradition within Christianity of offering hospitality to 'outsiders' and of living in solidarity with the vulnerable.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter dealt with the refugees in the Great Lakes Region, highlighting that the main root of refugeeism in that region is the ethnic conflicts. It also highlighted that a group of refugees came to South Africa in the search of a better livelihood. The next chapter will deal with refugees in a theological perspective.

CHAPTER THREE

REFUGEES IN THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

3.1 Introduction

Having outlined the situation of refugees in the Great Lakes Region, and in South Africa in particular, this chapter will look at the situation of refugees from a theological perspective. Theologically, our diverse faith traditions teach us to welcome our brothers and sisters with love and compassion. Indeed, the Bible tells us: "the strangers who sojourn with you shall be to you as the natives among you, and you shall love them as yourself; for you were strangers in the land of Egypt" (Leviticus 19:33-34).

Moreover, the liberation that Jesus highlights in Luke 4: 16-21 includes everyone: slaves, blind, the sick and the marginalized in general as they bear the image of God. In this chapter, much emphasis is placed on the views of McGovern on liberation theology as the fundamental mandate for churches involvement in the social issues of our time.²⁸

In this chapter, we will discuss liberation theology and its prophetic approach in the journey to social justice, and will suggest the role that the church can play. This chapter will also show other theological themes that emerge from the liberation theology, such as 'imago-Dei' (human being created in the image of God), 'mission-Dei' (the church's mission in the world), and peace with justice, highlighting the meaning of religious faith in the context of oppression, poverty, and inequality.

3.2 Liberation theology

Liberation theology was "developed in Latin America (perceived as a situation of generalized oppression of the poor) from the mid 1950s to late 1960s onwards, mainly

²⁸ Arthur, McGovern F. 1989. *Liberation theology and its critics: toward an assessment* (New York, Orbis Books) p54.

by Roman Catholic priests.”²⁹ Leading liberation theologian, Gustavo Gutierrez, has defined its purpose and method as the theology which:

“attempts to reflect on the experience and meaning of the faith based on the commitment to abolish injustice and to build a new society, this theology must be verified by the practice of that commitment, by active, effective participation in the struggle which the exploited classes have undertaken against their oppressors.”³⁰

Thus, we can infer that the option for the poor and vulnerable is a principle in liberation theology that gives priority attention to the needs and rights of those who are economically disadvantaged and, as a result, suffer oppression and powerlessness. By the poor, Alberigo and Komonchak mean “persons who do not possess and cannot acquire the means of supporting life, and are thus dependent on the assistance of others.”³¹ However, despite that option for the poor and the marginalized, our experience is that churches over the past generations have been weakened by a failure to meet both the physical and spiritual needs of their communities. In fact, many have adopted a narrow vision, focusing on only one aspect of ministry. But in today’s environment of faith-based opportunities, Boff suggests that many Christians should be eager to start reaching out to their world with both Good News and good works, and therefore, they should be searching for appropriate ways to integrate both into their ministry.³²

In fact, it has been pointed that liberation theology, like any good theology, arises out of a particular historical experience that conditions the Christian message. However, Maimela states that there is a difference in liberation theology and argues that the difference is that liberation theology consciously insists on reflecting on the concrete situation of suffering and oppression, so that it can at least answer the questions

²⁹ Rachel, Tingle. 1992. *Revolution or Reconciliation: The Struggle in the Church in South Africa* (Christian Studies Center, London) p60.

³⁰ Rachel, Tingle. 1992. “*Revolution or Reconciliation: The Struggle in the Church in South Africa*”, p6

³¹ Alberigo, Giuseppe and Joseph, Komonchak (eds.). 1995. *History of Vatican II, vol.1* (Maryknoll: Orbis/Leuven: Peeters) p 444ff.

³² Clodovis, Boff. 1986. *A Concise History of Liberation Theology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books) p19.

which the poor majority is asking in their quest for liberation through the creation of social conditions in which they might have room to breathe.³³

In accordance with Christ's command (Matthew 25:40), our view is that the care of the poor is the duty of all the members of the Christian body, so that the works of each may promote the welfare of the whole community. Moreover, as was highlighted above, liberation theology says that God is on the side of the poor, so we too should be. Indeed, Katter argues that the notion of God's preferential option for the poor maintains that God gives an extra measure of grace to them, chose them to be rich in faith, and makes them heirs of the kingdom.³⁴

Based upon the principle of the human dignity for the marginalized and the poor, this principle calls us to look first at those whose dignity is most often ignored, overlooked, at risk, or disdained. It also brings attention to those who experience the failings and shortcomings of our social systems. Jacobsen makes it clear that their experiences, insights and concerns offer important evidence in the search for the more just systems of social life to which God is calling the human community.³⁵

Moreover, Scripture teaches that God has a special concern for the poor and the vulnerable (Jeremiah 22:3, Psalm 31: 8, Luke 6: 20-21, James 2: 5 ...). The prophets denounced injustice toward the poor as a lack of fidelity to the God of Israel, and Jesus, who identified himself with "the least of these", came to preach "good news to the poor, liberty to captives . . . and to set the downtrodden free." Therefore, from the above views, we can say that it should be the concern of the church and Christians in general to embrace this preferential option for the poor and vulnerable, to embody it in their lives, and to work towards shaping public policies and priorities. In fact, Levine states that a fundamental assessment of our society is how we care for and stand with the poor and vulnerable.³⁶

³³Simon, Maimela. 1987. *Proclaim Freedom to my People* (University of South Africa (UNISA), Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishers) p 109- 121.

³⁴John, Katter L. 2001. *Whatever happened to liberation theology? New directions for theological reflection in Latin America* (from The Anglican Theological Review, Fall 2001). Accessed at : <http://www.liberationtheology.org/>

³⁵Denis, Jacobsen A. 2001. *Doing Justice: Congregations and Community Organizing* (Fortress Press, Minneapolis) p 13- 23.

³⁶Daniel, Levine H. 1987. *The Future of Liberation Theology* from the "Journal of the International Institute at the University of Michigan". Accessed at : <http://www.liberationtheology.org/>

Implicitly, from a liberation theology perspective, the above concept expresses a special concern in distributive justice for poor and vulnerable persons. On this point, Mollat makes it clear that the "poor" includes but is not limited to those who are economically deprived.³⁷ This principle is rooted in the biblical notion of justice, where God calls us to be advocates for the voiceless and the powerless among us, and where right relationships are restored. Regardless of the reasons, those who are in any way deprived or who are particularly vulnerable have a special moral claim on the community. As a matter of both justice and charity, we can argue that structures and systems must be in place to address and meet the special needs of the poor and the vulnerable, so that they might participate more fully in the common good and thereby flourish more fully as human persons. In other words, we can say that to advocate for the marginalized and the powerless, we must seek to repel the evil social structures that exist in the present world and to institute, through the mission of the Church the values of the kingdom of God over and against the values of the principalities and powers of this world. As was highlighted in the above points, this is founded on social justice that is the cornerstone of liberation theology.

3.3 The need for social justice

By definition "social justice is to give every one his/her due, material or spiritual... to act or treat him /her justly or fairly, etc."³⁸ In addition, "social injustice is the violation of the rights of others by individuals or the society; unjust or unfair action or treatment."³⁹ In the context of refugees, the Bible gives us the solution in just one word: Love! The entire Bible, the law and prophets, is summed up in a single command: "Love your neighbour as yourself." (Gal.5: 14, Mat.7: 12). In this way we will always feel concerned about the challenges that our neighbors are facing and vice-versa.

Still in the context of the refugees and migrants, Wells argues that social justice is based on the principle that all persons are entitled to "basic human needs"⁴⁰, and adds

³⁷ Michel, Mollat. 1986. *The Poor in the Middle Ages. An Essay in Social History* (New Haven: Yale University Press) p.59ff.

³⁸ Social Justice and Injustice: Jesus Christ and his Church in the Book of Amos: <http://biblia.com/jesusible/amos3.htm>.

³⁹ Social Justice and Injustice: Ibid.

⁴⁰ David, Wells J. 1981. *The Prophetic Theology of George Tyrrel* (Scholars Press, Chicago) p7.

that this could be done regardless of superficial differences such as economic disparity, class or social status, gender, race, ethnicity, citizenship, religion, age, sexual orientation, disability, or health, and this could be the fundamental message of the gospel that the church preaches.⁴¹

In the context of refugees and in general, we can say that social justice includes the human right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. In a broader sense, Wells adds to these needs the eradication of poverty, equality of opportunity for good health and social development.⁴² Implicitly, the message from 1 Cor. 6; 9; 5: 11-13 makes it clear that anything against social justice is either an injustice or the root of injustices and Wells gives the examples of discrimination, hate, oppression, animosity, vengeance, greed, robbery, gossip or embezzlement...and it is in that context that the voice of the church needs to be heard on behalf of the powerless and the poor.⁴³

This means that the church needs to set up a vision for the service to the poor and the powerless in the society. In the context of the refugees, Jacobsen highlights that social justice is associated with economic justice.⁴⁴ Indeed, from a liberation theology's point of view, as Christians, we must work for social and economic justice for all people.

In that context, as Christians we are called to provide life for all within the household of God. This therefore means that we are obliged to manage God's household so that all receive the abundance of life promised by Christ, by emphasizing the need to care, particularly for the well-being of the poor. The above implies that in making economic decisions, it is for those whose livelihood is most threatened that we should be most concerned. Thus, our economic decisions must always involve the question "what will this do for the poor among us?" In fact, policies that limit the access of individuals and groups to the resources and opportunities of the larger household (economy) are a mismanagement of God's economy and are unjust. Moreover, the most effective way of seeing economic injustice in our world is to observe the world through the eyes of those who have been excluded from the economic abundance

⁴¹ David, Wells J. 1981. "*The Prophetic Theology of George Tyrrel*", p9.

⁴² David, Wells J. 1981. "*The Prophetic Theology of George Tyrrel*", p13.

⁴³ David, Wells J. 1981. "*The Prophetic Theology of George Tyrrel*", p21.

⁴⁴ Denis, Jacobsen A. 2001. "*Doing Justice: Congregations and Community Organizing*", P13- 23.

received by the rich in our society. Jesus came so that “they may have life, and have it abundantly (John 10: 10).

With regard to the refugees’ livelihood, as Christians we are called to participate in God’s reign, by reshaping our human household in the light of our vision of a just economy, involving the poor and the stranger. Through our covenant with God, we are responsible to God and to our sisters and brothers and to strangers for the justice of the economic institutions in which we participate. That accountability is even greater in a democratic system through which each citizen has the political voice to challenge harmful policies and to promote justice.

In fact, the above means that refugees are not only oppressed by the policies and structures of the country of asylum, but they are also oppressed by the policies, and structures of the world economic systems. Indeed, Jacobson makes it clear that “the western theology that was presented to people as a neutral and universal theology has since been exposed to be actually a theology of the liberal capitalist ideology, and is a theology of oppression, exploitation and domination.”⁴⁵ In response to this situation, the Gospel of Jesus Christ is a message of freedom and a force for liberation. As mentioned above, in Luke 4: 16- 21 Jesus says that God sent him to proclaim liberty to captives, sight to the blind, to let the oppressed go free, to proclaim a year of favour from the Lord. Then “God calls the Church together with all people of faith and good will, to restore our collective vision for a new earth caring for the weak or the powerless, no less than we are called to bring individual or personal healing and peace.”⁴⁶

3.4 Social justice and the church

In recent years, the essential truth emphasized above has become the object of reflection for theologians with a new kind of attention that in itself is full of promise. As a logical consequence, Berryman shows that:

⁴⁵ Denis, Jacobson A. 2001. “*Doing Justice: Congregations and Community Organizing*”, P61.

⁴⁶ Kairos – Africa: *Dept, Structural Adjustment and Jubilee* (South African churches, June 7, 2002). Website: “<http://www.web.net/~iccaf/debtsap/nepadsachurches.htm>”.

“Liberation theology calls for freedom from many different kinds of slavery in the cultural, economic and political spheres, all of which derive ultimately from bad leadership that is the root of the evil in our African continent (ethnism, corruption, oppression, different kinds of violence...) that so often prevent people from living in a manner befitting their dignity.”⁴⁷

In that situation of corruption and oppression, liberation theology does not ask what the church is, but rather what it means to be the church in a context of extreme poverty and social injustice. In the context of liberation theology, the mission of the church seems to be more important than its nature. On this point, Hellwig and other liberation theologians argue that the church's mission is no longer one of a "quantitative" notion of saving numbers of souls, rather, the church's mission "is at all times to protest against injustice, to challenge what is inhuman, to side with the poor and the oppressed."⁴⁸ In fact, the issue of social justice is the concern of everyone, specifically Christians, given the fact that justice is rooted in the Christian scriptures.

In other words, one of the marks of a just economy is the ability to give all persons access to the basic material necessities of life. The poor are our neighbours, who live among us. Therefore, one can ask: what is the role of individual Christians and of the church in promoting public policies designed to alleviate the pain of the poor and the marginalized? This is the main mission of the church, as the household of the Christian congregations, and part of the larger household of God. This mission originates from the mission of God 'mission-Dei' who delegated the church to represent him in the world."⁴⁹ In other words, in the context of the Great Lakes Region refugees, the alleviation of their pain and misery could be manifested in the solidarity of the Christian community.

Solidarity is a Christian virtue, and a key point in liberation theology. Through it one comes to see one's neighbour as "the living image" of God. Through solidarity, Kancha highlights that we recognize our bond with all peoples of the earth, and

⁴⁷ Philip, Berryman. 1987. *Liberation Theology. Essential Facts About the Revolutionary Movement in Latin America and Beyond* (New York: Pantheon Books) p73.

⁴⁸ Monika, Hellwig. 1977. "Liberation Theology: An Emerging School,..." p141.

⁴⁹ David, Bosch J. 1991. *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission, American Society of Missiology Series, No 16* (New York, Orbis Books) p 400.

through solidarity we will strive for a better world where all people have dignity and the right to life.⁵⁰

The solidarity of a Christian is with those excluded from power, from participation, from the basic necessities of life, and deprived of the means to live a dignified human life. In other words, exclusion is diametrically opposed to the universal spirit of Christianity. In that sense the Church needs to concern itself for everyone, without exception. In fact, the solidarity of the Church today needs to be with the marginalized, precisely because they are weak and powerless. Therefore, through this choice and commitment, the Church will be able to bear witness to the necessity of the whole society being in solidarity with the poor and the marginalized. Moreover, by its choice to be with the poor, the Church will contribute powerfully to the creation of a general culture of solidarity.

From all the above views, we can say that the role of the Church in this context is precisely to help create a culture of solidarity. Only this can be a lasting guarantee that the dignity and well-being of the poor and the marginalized in our society will be safeguarded. Further, one needs to continuously mobilize and activate the society to express its solidarity with the poor and the underprivileged. We think this is the most important task to which the Church is called today. But the Church itself needs to make its commitment to solidarity with the poor through concrete options and choices, programmes and policies.

From the views of Pope John Paul, solidarity is also reflected in the structures of society, and he adds that the wide divergence of life expectancies among the world's nations is a sign of distorted social structures, which he called "structures of sin."⁵¹ These sinful structures need to be transformed into "structures of solidarity." This transformation can, to some degree, take place if more people exhibit the virtue of solidarity. This means that, in the process of liberation theology, people must make sacrifices for the good of others for any change at all to occur. Therefore, referring to

⁵⁰ Illaih, Kancha. 1996. *Why I am not a Hindu. A Sudra Critique of Hindutva Philosophy, Culture and Political Economy* (Calcutta: Samya Publishers) p132.

⁵¹ Alberigo, Giuseppe. 2000. *History of Vatican II, vol.3: mature council second period and intercession, September 1963 - September 1964* (New York, Orbis Books) p447.

the above view of the Pope, we can state that structures of sin will not be replaced by structures of solidarity unless there is a shift in the world's power balance.

Precisely because we wish to be at the service of all in the society, our primary concern will always be those who live on its margins, excluded from the essential services. Wherever there is structural injustice, Christians are called to oppose it. Those with the greatest need require the greatest response. God is Father of all, without exception, and we firmly believe in the equal dignity of all. It is this belief that commits us in faith to promote respect for the inalienable rights for the well-being and the abundant life of all, and their integration in the church, and in the society as a whole.

The well-being and the abundant life for the Christian surely has a spiritual context. Abundant life cannot occur for an individual who feels separated from God's love and mercy. But abundant life is not solely spiritual. Therefore, in the context of refugees, in order to live an abundant life, they must first have access to the necessities of physical life, including food, drink, and shelter. Abundant life for them also requires the community, a place where they can find human love and concern. In short, abundant life requires the effective functioning of the entire household of God, that is the church and the world as a whole. In other words, to follow Jesus and to preach the good news is "to be concerned with all aspects of our community life together, spiritual, physical, and interpersonal."⁵² Therefore, it is a valid Christian calling for an individual and for the church to be actively engaged in the struggle to reform and transform the economy so that it may provide all human beings with access to livelihood and abundant life. For this to happen, corporations and wealthy nations may make some concessions based on altruism. But no serious shakeup will occur until decisions are made by the majority of the world's people in a spirit of solidarity. It is understandable that, in that spirit of solidarity, the community needs to adopt a prophetic approach for the advocacy of the marginalized and the poor.

⁵² Deborah, Ajulu. 2001. *Holism in development: An African perspective on empowering communities* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books) p12.

3.5 The need for a prophetic approach

The historical roots of liberation theology are to be found in the prophetic tradition of theologians and church leaders who questioned the type of presence adopted by the church and the way the poor and the oppressed, in general, are treated. As noted above, liberation theology uses a prophetic approach, because the main objective of liberation theology is to make the voice of the voiceless and the poor to be heard and the process of restoration of their dignity to be served.

Therefore, we can argue that the most urgent need of the modern Church is the restoration of the prophetic ministry as a path that liberation theology can use for its fulfillment. In recent years the gift of prophecy has been rediscovered, but due to wars and genocide that happened in the Great Lakes Region under the silence of the Church, one can state that there is still a desperate shortage of prophetic message in our churches in Africa today. Indeed, Dubois shows that “the Church will not come to true maturity until God has raised up prophets among his people.”⁵³

In the context of refugees, the prophetic approach of the church in its liberation theology could be mainly related to social justice whose aim is the basic human rights for refugees by some policies and structures. In fact, Kaufmann makes it clear that “a prophetic approach and social justice are two interconnected words, given the fact that justice and human dignity are central to identity of the Christian theology.”⁵⁴ As a matter of fact, when the churches in the Great Lakes Region failed to raise their voice to stop the killings and genocide in the Great Lakes Region, they were criticized by different people, Christians and non-Christians. However, the church, by its very nature as the servant of the word of God, is called to examine critically all human ideologies and societies in the light of the gospel. So far, the main challenge is that so many churches are not concerned about their failure and are still watching other kinds of injustices in the Great Lakes Region, and in Africa as a whole.

⁵³ Mark J. Dubois: *The Role of the Prophet in the New Testament Church* (unpublished PhD: Saint Luke Evangelical School of Biblical Studies, September 1988). Accessed at: <http://ficotw.org/school.html>.

⁵⁴ Yihong, Kaufmann. 1961. *The Religion of Israel* (London: George Allen and Unwin) p22, 32-33.

On this point, Paul says that if the trumpet does not give a clear call, people will not get ready for battle, (1 Cor 14:8). Therefore, the Church needs prophets who can give this clear call to battle, to stop injustice and address the policies, structures and other systems that dehumanize the poor, the marginalized and the powerless, not only in the context of the Great Lakes Region, but in the world as a whole. In fact, we are surrounded by a great babble of voices all claiming to have the truth and many Christians are tossed around by every new wave that comes along. Therefore, in that situation, a clear prophetic word of the Church is needed to avoid that confusion of voices. That is to say, there is a painful lack of a clear word of authority from the community of believers, due to injustice being committed.⁵⁵

In that situation of the weakness of the prophetic voice of the churches towards the oppressed and the marginalized, on the one hand the churches should review their evangelism and their mission in general in the light of today's situation in the world. On the other hand, if the church is going to be true to its liberation theology, to its pastoral and critical task, it must also be open to self-criticism and committed to change in terms of the gospel. For we recognize that whereas in the past heresy has been understood in terms of false beliefs, we must also see it in terms of false action and non-action. In fact, we read in the Bible that: "Not everyone who says Lord, Lord will enter the kingdom of heaven, but only those who do the will of my heavenly father" (Matt. 7: 21).⁵⁶ Thus, the church will be a true representative of Jesus because it promotes justice towards the poor and the marginalized, practically, not because it preaches Jesus in words.

However, the prophetic voice towards the liberation of the poor and the marginalized is a concern of the Church as an institution, but it is a concern of the individual members of the church as well. This is a big challenge because most of the time, the members of the Church ask what the church is doing in certain circumstances, but don't look at the contribution that they can give to sort out challenges that the Church is facing, as well as the community as a whole. In this way, we can say that some Christians are still confused about what the church is, arguing that the church is the

⁵⁵ Moshe, Weinfeld. 1995. *Social Justice in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (Minneapolis: Fortress) p16.

⁵⁶ Peter, Randall. 1992. *Apartheid and the Church: Report of the Church Commission of the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society* (SPRO-CAS Publication Number 8, Johannesburg) p3.

temple and its clergy, and forget that the church is the whole community of believers, including themselves.

To illustrate this, we can give one example among many others in relation to how a prophetic voice is a key factor in the liberation theology process. Thus, we can take the example of the South African Council of Churches. That is to say, implicitly and explicitly, their challenges to NEPAD's vision (New Partnership for African's Development) aim at the interest of the poor Africans who are victims of the unilateral decisions that are taken by their leaders and that impact negatively on their livelihood. Indeed Koopmann shows that the document of the South African Council of Churches did thorough analysis and challenges on the strengths and weaknesses of this market policy of the African Union for addressing poverty on our continent.⁵⁷ This document titled "Unblurring the vision" poses, on the basis of thorough technical analyses, twelve major questions to NEPAD.

"Are financial policies determined by international donors and creditors alone, or mainly by civil society processes, are Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers that serve as condition for debt relief effective, what is the impact of an African ' debtors' cartel on the quest for debt repudiation, can market fundamentalist economic policies bring liberation from poverty, what are the effects of privatization on the availability of jobs and the costs of social services, will the benefits of economic growth led by private capital investment " trickle down" to the poor at adequate pace, will NEPAD put Africa on the global political and economic agenda, Can NEPAD stem the tide of Afro-pessimism, how will the closer cooperation with organizations like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund on national and parliamentary transparency and democracy, what is the impact of NEPAD on the termination of war and the development of greater solidarity amongst the peoples of Africa, will NEPAD enhance popular participation in global policy debates, will NEPAD strengthen the growing call for the beneficiaries of slavery, colonialism, and apartheid to take steps to repair the social, political, economic, environmental, and cultural damage that has been inflicted on Africa."⁵⁸

This shows that, to some extent, the Anglican Cathedral, in collaboration with other churches in Pietermaritzburg can take such steps towards the local government in Pietermaritzburg or Home affairs officers, by challenging their policies, institutions

⁵⁷ Norman, Koopman. 2006. Paper presented in "Theological HIV Masters Project Colloquium Stellenbosh, on 2- 8 July 2006", p16-22.

⁵⁸ Norman, Koopman. 2006. "Theological HIV Masters Project Colloquium Stellenbosh", p24.

and processes that do not allow the powerless to be liberated from poverty and given access the basic means for survival.

Indeed, the church and/or individual Christians act as prophets where they participate in initiatives of civil society to oppose injustices and advocate the cause of a better life for all. Therefore, with regard to the situation of the refugees, the Anglican Cathedral could portray an alternative hopeful vision in their witness of sharing and caring. This could not only be seen in the sermons of the church, but rather in all its practices and sacraments. That is to say: worship services, sermons, prayers, celebration of sacraments and of the Sabbath are prophetic in that they, on the one hand, “portray an alternative world where all life flourishes and, on the other hand, criticize the current world where people die of hunger, and the rich get richer and the poor poorer, and where millions experience dehumanizing living conditions.”⁵⁹

These practices awaken and sustain the vision that we have to proclaim continuously and the criticism we have to voice faithfully and courageously. Thus, practices help us to be faithful prophets, people who let the voice of the voiceless, poor and oppressed be heard, and who thereby serve the restoration of their dignity as well as the dignity of the nonhuman part of creation. Therefore, we can say that participants in the Christian practices are formed to be prophets who proclaim the vision of alternative possibilities, who courageously and constructively criticize persons, institutions, systems and policies that cause this dehumanization, and who carry out this task in an appropriate manner. Indeed, a strong Church needs righteousness that only comes when prophets are present, and the liberation of the poor visible. However, in our context today, experience shows that the modern Church has millions of pastors, but only a few are prophets. Indeed, this serious imbalance has severely weakened the Church in many African countries today. Therefore, the prophetic voice on behalf of the powerless must be the foundation of the Church’s mission in the world, its “*missio- Dei*”.

⁵⁹ Peter, Randall. 1992. “*Apartheid and the Church: Report of the Church Commission of the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society*”, P3.

3.6 The church's mission in the world

Quoting Kramm, Bosch shows that 'mission-Dei' is God's turning to the world in respect of creation, care, redemption, and consummation."⁶⁰ In other words, 'the missio-Dei' aims at the liberation of humankind from all kinds of evil (corruption, exclusion, oppression...). As a matter of fact, Jesus himself focused his mission on earth on the poor and the marginalized. Moreover, from Rom.8:2, the word mission means being sent to proclaim in deed and word that Christ died and rose for the life of the world, that he lives to transform human lives and to overcome death, so the poor and the marginalized may live abundant lives.

Therefore, from the above views, we can say that to be a Christian means to participate in the Missio-Dei, God's work in the world. This means to bear witness to the work of God in partnership with others, both within and outside the Christian church, to make our communities, our society and our world a place that is closer to God's vision of shalom. Shalom is the abundant life that Jesus speaks of (John10: 10); it means enjoying relationship with God, with neighbours and strangers, and with nature. It finds expression in households and neighbourhoods, but it also has a wider social vision of peace with justice, in which those who are excluded and marginalized are important guests of the feast. Thus, the work of God in the world – missio Dei is the work of shalom. God the father sending the son, and God the father and the son sending the Spirit, was expanded to include yet another movement: 'Father, son, and Holy Spirit sending the church into the world for the purpose of shalom.'⁶¹

In other words, the church is the historical agent for the fulfillment of the eternal purpose of God - his kingdom. The reality of the kingdom is the divine perspective it allows us to have with regard to human problems and human liberation. Thus, the mission of the church consists in bearing witness to the kingdom of God in the world. That testimony is made visible through the permanent functions of the church, each of which has an eternal dimension, because to be human means to have an eternal destiny that is determined by our response to the Gospel.⁶² Therefore, the prophetic

⁶⁰ David, Bosch J.1991. "Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts" in *Theology of Mission*, American Society of Missiology Series, No 16, P400.

⁶¹ David, Bosch J.1991. "*Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of ...*", P400.

⁶² Nicholas, Wolterstorff. 1983. *Until justice and peace embrace* (Eerdman, Grand Rapids) p 16.

function and mission of the church in general consists in conveying God's word to the nation and its rulers, becoming its moral conscience. The church should question each national situation with the word of God, and denounce sin and evil in society for the liberation of the poor and the oppressed. The church is "to announce the judgment and grace of the Lord with voice, gestures and actions."⁶³

3.7 The need for peace with justice

This is a reality for the refugees from the Great Lakes Region staying in Pietermaritzburg. During our fieldwork, we saw that experiencing peace is connected to the whole issue of justice. However, the reality is that they are facing an injustice from the local citizens and the local authorities as well, and this jeopardizes their livelihood in general. Indeed, if shalom means peace, carrying a sense of wholeness, completeness, and harmony, and having a total sense of well being for not only individuals but also for a community, it becomes difficult to say that the hungry stranger who is targeted by crime has shalom. Given the fact that the blessing of shalom carries a sense of well being in all of life - materially, socially, and spiritually, all people blessed with shalom should experience joy in life, and this is not the case among the Great Lakes Region refugees living in Pietermaritzburg. That is to say, policies and structures prevent them from having access to financial and physical capital and put them automatically in a context of deep vulnerability that implicitly mistreats their shalom.

Therefore, the oppression and dehumanization that refugees are experiencing not only in South Africa but worldwide, are the opposite of shalom and the absence of justice that was highlighted in the comments on the liberation theology. Thus, we can say that oppression and shalom are polar opposites, and this means that really, there is no shalom for the Great Lakes Region refugees struggling to survive in Pietermaritzburg. Indeed, Stephen, argues that "oppression occurs when people in power and authority, usually in social institutions, misuse that power and authority cruelly and unjustly, to

⁶³ Nicholas, Wolterstorff. 1983. *Until justice and peace embrace* (Eerduvam, Grand Rapids), P18- 22.

crush, humiliate, animalize, impoverish, enslave, make policies that oppress the powerless, and kill persons created in the image of God.”⁶⁴

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has been dealing with the situation of the refugees from a theological perspective. The theological framework that was developed in this chapter was liberation theology that attempts to denounce social injustice through a prophetic approach. In this chapter, it was highlighted that social justice is based on the principle that all persons are entitled to basic human needs without any discrimination. This chapter made it clear that the church and all individual Christians are called to promote public policies to alleviate the pain of the poor and the marginalized because the church is the historical agent for the fulfillment of the eternal purpose of God - his kingdom. At the end of the chapter it was stated that in the context of this research, there is a need for peace with justice given the fact that the oppression and dehumanizing attitudes towards the Great Lakes Region refugees in Pietermaritzburg are the opposite of shalom, and the absence of peace with justice. The next chapter will deal with the fieldwork, by listening to the voices of strangers: refugees in Pietermaritzburg.

⁶⁴ Stephen, Oates. 1982. *Let the Trumpet Sound: The Life of Martin Luther King, Jr* (New York: New American Library) p 441-442.

CHAPTER FOUR

LISTENING TO THE VOICES OF STRANGERS: REFUGEES IN PIETERMARITZBURG

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we discussed the situation of the Great Lakes Region refugees from a theological perspective highlighting that the problem of refugees from that region is related to the issue of social justice. This chapter will deal with listening to the voices of the strangers-refugees who are struggling to survive in Pietermaritzburg. The interviews conducted include twenty refugees, women and men from the Great Lakes Region who live in Pietermaritzburg. They conduct different small businesses in order to earn their livelihood. These activities include hair-salon, public phone, selling vegetables, boutiques, and other different items especially bought by people with little income who come into town especially from surrounding townships. All the interviewees preferred to be anonymous in their interviews and we agreed to name them by using codes only. An interview questionnaire was used to interview the twenty refugees (see Appendix 1).

After all the questions were asked, there was an analysis of the responses from the interviewees. To have a picture of the situation, after listening to the twenty interviewees, a profile of the responses was drawn.

4.2. Profile of study participants

Among the twenty refugees doing different businesses; eleven are women and nine are men. Nine people are from Rwanda, six persons from Burundi and five persons from DR Congo. Furthermore, three people are here with the whole family, fifteen people with some members of the family, and two people without family. Other information was that ten people came into South Africa (Pietermaritzburg) from Zambia, six people came in South Africa from Mozambique, and four came from other countries (Namibia, Botswana, Swaziland and Zimbabwe). Unanimously, they argued that their reason for coming to South Africa was the search for a better livelihood.

With regard to education, one interviewee has a primary school level, two have finished secondary school education, eight attended secondary school but could not finish, six attended university education but could not finish the first degree, and three interviewees finished their first degrees in different universities of the Great Lakes Region. With regard to the business that they are doing, ten people run a hair-salon, four people doing public phones, two have boutiques, one is a sex worker, one is selling vegetables, one is a driver and one a car guard. From the twenty interviewees, a total of thirty seven members of their families, were either presumed dead or lost in the dense forests of DR Congo, or merely took other directions and could no longer meet their families. Among those, were twenty persons are children, eleven women and six men.

With regard to how refugees from that region came into South Africa, it was stated that they left their countries due to the insecurity in the Great Lakes Region (Rwanda, Burundi and DRC Congo). Indeed, a genocide was planed and executed in Rwanda in 1994, and the killings between Hutus and Tutsi in Burundi was intensive especially between 1990 and 1996. To escape such insecurity, all the respondents argued that the solution was for the population to flee and the first destination was DRC. They were hosted by Congolese citizens who experienced the same atrocities in 1997 when the rebellion led by the late Desire Kabila was fighting the army of the late president Mombutu Sese Seko. As the situation in the Great Lakes Region seemed to be chaotic, together with the Burundian and the Rwandan refugees, Congolese internal displaced persons came into South Africa, mainly through Zambia, Mozambique and other Southern African countries.

In addition, the interviewees stated that only very few families stay together with all the members of the family, and this can be seen in the above profile of the study participants. This is due to different problems that they met in the camps and on the way during the flight. These problems were summarized as follows:

- Violation of human rights by gunmen and high crime that targeted mainly women who were being raped on their way from collecting fire wood and fetching water. These problems were treated by local authorities in a unilateral manner.

- Due to a critical unhygienic environment in the camps, there were different diseases, mainly cholera. Also, the overcrowded camps and the promiscuity of refugees exposed them to contracting HIV/AIDS, and children were exposed to pneumonia that killed a large number. Malaria was another disease that killed many people due to lack of appropriate drugs.
- Life was often very painful in the so-called camps of first asylum in DRC, given their overcrowding, the insecurity of national frontiers, and a policy of deterrence which transformed certain camps into virtual prisons and military camps, and this reinforced the insecurity for refugees. The victims were especially women and children.

4.3 Stories of refugees

In asking how they ~~the~~ managed to put food on the table and pay for other things that are necessary for living, from their responses we knew that, in order to put food on the table, they started different businesses, as stated in the general profile. Thus, ten people run a hair-salon, four people have public phones, two are running boutiques, one is a sex worker, one is selling vegetables, one is a driver and one a car guard. Moreover, six people have been working for local people, especially whites and Indians but could not continue, because they were exploited and paid too little and so were forced to leave. To choose an informal business was not a first choice, they could have chosen other long term businesses that generate more profit, but it is not possible for two main reasons: on the one hand, the South African structures and policies don't allow people who do not have a South African " identity card " to engage in any formal business. On the other hand, their capital is weak as they cannot access financial capital. But also due to open xenophobia, they can not start their businesses wherever they want, in Pietermaritzburg or the surrounding areas. Furthermore, even if they are engaged in informal business, in some cases they are chased away by the local citizens doing or intending to do the same business, especially in the hawking business, and sometimes there are confrontations.

In asking what things make life difficult for them here in Pietermaritzburg, the interviewees pointed out almost the same challenges. On the one hand, in their projects, despite their different backgrounds, they meet the same difficulties and the

same challenges in their businesses. Unanimously, they all highlighted that the issue of crime is a systematic targeting of strangers in Pietermaritzburg. Due to the little income from their businesses, they cannot afford to rent houses that are in safe places. Therefore, they are committed to rent cheap houses in some insecure areas of Pietermaritzburg. In addition, they highlighted the problem of open xenophobia from local citizens who call them “makwerekwere”, which means invaders or hostile strangers.

Another common problem is that obtaining the refugee card takes a long time, and sometimes they get it by offering bribes. While waiting for it, they are considered as illegal migrants and this affects their security. Even when they get the refugee card, their status as refugees is a big barrier for them to access financial and physical capital, and other community assets. Apart from that, their children can only attend poor and lower quality schools in the suburbs of Pietermaritzburg, due to a lack of fees or otherwise they just leave school. They have to walk for long distances through some insecure places and one respondent testified that one day a boy raped his 13 year old daughter on the way from school, and they could not find rapist.

On the other hand, as the businesses are different, they also have different difficulties and challenges. For instance, those who have public phone businesses for their survival often lose customers because they cannot not communicate in the Zulu Language. Even when they know a little Zulu, some local citizens will not use their phones, still due to the xenophobic behaviour. For people who run a hair-salon, they have the problem of finding the means to buy good materials for the hair- salons, and since they don't have good material, their customers don't trust the hygiene of their salons. Indeed, from our visit, we noticed that their hair-salons are very poor and the hygiene was not good.

One of the interviewees selling vegetables said that she has a big problem of keeping her unsold vegetables fresh, and the next day she has to sell them at a very low price because they are almost rotten. Therefore, she emphasizes the issue of lacking a fridge to keep them fresh. For the sex worker, she is conscious of the fact that there is a possibility of contracting HIV/AIDS, but she doesn't not see any other alternative, arguing that this business helps her and her relatives who still stay in a camp in

Zambia. In her business she meets a lot of difficulties. For instance, an incident happened when she was attacked by three local girls from the same sex industry, but escaped from them while they were trying to enter her house.

Very anxiously, a lady respondent mentioned that most of the time, two or three families rent a flat and share it, and this becomes very difficult in terms of hygiene on one hand, and on the other hand the education of the children becomes a very big issue as they attempt to practice sex at an early age without any protection. This lady told me emotionally that her daughter of 14 years is now HIV/AIDS positive. The whole issue is that children from different families sleep together, boys and girls in one room and then become exposed to the temptation of sex practice at an early age. Apart from that, parents also complain of the lack of privacy in that situation.

Furthermore, during the interviews, it was asked about what things help them to cope with these difficulties. This question is coupled with the sixth question concerning relationships that are important for them in this city, and which other people helps them when there are times of difficulty. We understood that commonly what help them in that critical situation is to form a network with their fellow refugees, and help each other in challenging situations such as the death of a member of the family, borrowing a little money or merely sharing their challenges. This networking and relationships is a good capital that helps them in their struggle to survive in Pietermaritzburg. Unfortunately, that networking is very weak, as local citizens are not open to the strangers, not only strangers from the GLR, but also from other parts of Africa.

Other respondents highlighted that times of prayer help them to meet, discuss their challenges and pray for different needs. They also have a church that worships in Swahili and French, but it is very weak in responding to challenges faced by refugees. To highlight again the issue of xenophobia, the interviewees noted that very few local citizens/friends join them in the prayer groups, because they fear being marginalized by their fellow South Africans for having associated with “makwerekwere”. This again makes weak their networking and their spiritual capital as well.

About relationships that are important for them in this city, and which other people help them when there are times of difficulty, they said that despite the xenophobic

attitude of local citizens, some refugees try, with very little success, to make friends with local people as a way of protection. Especially, they cannot extend strong networking as long as they don't have freedom of movement. Trying to summarize what my interviewees call freedom, we understood that freedom is related to feeling free to move around without restrictions, choosing where they live, choosing what work assignments they will accept, advocating freedom as a basic human right, feeling free to search or seek out answers rather than having answers imposed upon them, having the freedom to work as they feel is best - either by what hours they work, what days they work, or by how they approach a job or a project.

Therefore, one can ask to what extent the Anglican Cathedral of the Holy Nativity responds to the refugees' challenges. In addition one can ask to what the Anglican Cathedral does emotionally, spiritually and physically to support the refugees. So far, they admitted that they have not approached any authority from the Anglican Cathedral to discuss in what way they can intervene in their situation. The argument given by most of them is that they don't attend the Sunday services on a regular basis because Sunday is the best day to find customers in most of their businesses. Then they argued that this is why they don't have strong relationships and contacts with the priests in the Anglican Cathedral. However, other interviewees argued that the main problem is that refugees in Pietermaritzburg are not organized in a such way as to make people aware of their livelihood challenges. This means that they don't have committees to represent them and to explain their challenges. Other respondents argued that they cannot attend the Anglican Cathedral on a daily basis because their English is still too weak to follow the English service.

Apart from that, seven out of twenty interviewees informed us that they are not based only in the Anglican Cathedral, because sometimes, they attend a Swahili and French service organized by refugees every Sunday afternoon at ESSA (Evangelical Seminary of Southern Africa), and three others attend a Free Methodist Church in Pietermaritzburg called UBUNYE. However, the main place where everyone meets is the Anglican Cathedral. In our discussions with the Dean and the associated Dean of the Anglican Cathedral, they said that they are aware that there are refugees worshipping there, but both said that they don't have more details on the situation of these refugees.

At the end of the interviews, the interviewees were asked if they had anything to add to what we had been discussing in the interviews. Some emotional points were added by some interviewees:

- Three persons regret having come to South Africa. They argue that in Zambia and Mozambique, they could find a piece of land around the camps to grow crops and they were not discriminated against by local citizens.
- Four women argued that neither UNHCR nor South African government, make any effort to protect weak people in the community of refugees, mainly women and children. Refugee children leave school in large numbers due to the lack of school fees, despite the fact that this is their main human right. Women and young girls are still the target of rape by their fellow refugees and local citizens.
- Fifteen people argued that as long as they know that the security in their country is now good, they should ask to be repatriated and reintegrated in their home countries.
- Emotionally, others said that they are dead and though they are living at the same time, meaning that physically they are there, but morally and psychologically they are dead. They referred to a saying in Kinya- Rwanda and Kirundi “gupfa uhagaze “, which is to say dying while living.

4.4 Key issues identified by refugees

4.4.1 Refugees are uprooted people

From the responses of the interviewees, it is clear that all the discussions revolved around the whole issue of the uprootedness of refugees from the Great Lakes Region, the xenophobic behaviour of the local citizens, the abuse of women and violation of human rights in general that leads to the loss of human dignity for the refugees, with a special accent on women and children. In addition, it was highlighted that due to financial constraints, adult refugees cannot go back to school and their children study in a very critical financial situation, and sometimes have to leave school. Another crucial problem is that the situation of poverty in the long run forces young girls into prostitution, and the possibility of contracting HIV/AIDS is evident. This will be a big threat, not only for the refugee community, but rather the whole

community of Pietermaritzburg. In this respect, we will also highlight the inefficiency of UNHCR in some circumstances.

From the interviews with the Great Lakes Region refugees, we understood that, despite the apparent success of very few of them, refugees from that region seem overwhelmed by feelings of rootlessness and loss. In addition, they have been facing (and are facing now) an uncertain future, separated from their relatives, some members of their direct families and from familiar ways of earning livelihoods. Indeed, Jacques highlights this, arguing that "It is bad enough to be a refugee, dislocated and uprooted from your familiar environment, torn away from your cultural milieu, almost reduced to a level of non-human being whereby you cannot control your environment."⁶⁵ Furthermore, from the responses to question nine, it is clear that along with any material difficulties these refugees are facing, there are emotional challenges. They are uprooted strangers in Pietermaritzburg, deprived of the comfort of their native language, family and friends. In short, they are alone. This loneliness is all the more painful because it is seldom a personal choice, hence the tendency for foreigners to stick together. Therefore, in all conditions and through different challenges, they attempt to recreate their home environment.

From the views of the respondents during the discussions, we concluded that some of the refugees marry local girls in attempting to disguise their origins in order to achieve educational and material success. In other words, we realized that refugees in Pietermaritzburg are afflicted by an identity crisis of enormous proportions, as they are unable to integrate their various statuses, roles and diverse experiences. In addition, they lack a sense of wholeness and integration and are not in a position to achieve a coherent sense of self, and this highlights once again their uprootedness.

In that situation of rootlessness and uprootedness of the Great Lakes Region refugees, the Anglican Cathedral and the Christian community of Pietermaritzburg as a whole is being called on for solidarity with these strangers, victims of xenophobia and marginalization from the local citizens. Indeed, in his well-known prophetic description of the Last Judgment in Matthew 26, Jesus, by associating the foreigner with the hungry and thirsty, the naked, the sick and the prisoners, draws our attention

⁶⁵ Andre, Jacques. 1985. "*The Stranger Within your Gate.....*", p7.

to the precarious living conditions of foreigners. Pope Paul VI shows that Jesus is not preaching salvation by works in this text, but he clearly shows us that “true belief in him necessarily manifests itself in acts of solidarity towards those most in need, including foreigners.”⁶⁶

4.4.2 Violation of human rights

From the views of different respondents, we realized that many women and girl refugees in many camps, were subjected to serious human rights abuses when they were still living in the camps. In the responses to question four, some of the respondents highlighted that this problem has re-emerged since they settled in Pietermaritzburg. As a matter of fact, Human Rights Watch affirms that in the camps, there are frequent reports of refugee women and girls always being attacked and raped by local villagers when they leave the camps to collect firewood.⁶⁷ In the case of South Africa, Ocaya-Lakidi testifies that refugees have always been treated easily “as scapegoats, blamed for all the ills of society, and due to their minority position and their often-difficult living conditions, there is a great temptation to want to dominate and ill-treat them.”⁶⁸ Apart from this portrayal, we understood that refugees are also treated as “makwerekwere”, or invaders.

Therefore, it is clear that one of the main rights of refugees as human beings is to be in a society where they can socialize and interact with neighbours. This means exchange of trade and information and knowledge with others, not just to mingle or socialise, but also to deliver and receive something of value. That something of value may be information, conversation, communication, friendship, services, love, justice, or shared experiences. From the views of our interviewees, that should be a dream. But in their context in Pietermaritzburg and surrounding areas, mainly due to xenophobic behaviour, it deteriorates into a situation of crime that jeopardises the basic human rights for refugees and other strangers in general.

⁶⁶ Pope Paul VI, *New Norms for the Care of Migrants in Pastoralis Migratorum*, No 7: August 15, 1969 (Washington, D.C.: USCCB) p121.

⁶⁷ Human Rights Watch/Africa. 1996. *Shattered Lives; Sexual Violence during Rwandan Genocide and its Aftermath* (New York: Human Rights Watch).

⁶⁸ Pope John Paul II. 1993. *Message for World Migration: Problems of the Migrant Family* (August 6, 1993), no. 3, citing *Familiaris Consortio*, no. 77 (Washington D.C.: USCCB) P74.

In other words, from the responses of the refugees during the interviews, we can say that they lack the sense of 'camaraderie' or friendship with neighbours, and cannot work in solidarity with others who have a common goal. As a matter of fact, we have seen in the responses to question three that, instead of complementing and helping each other, refugees and local citizens doing the same business confront each other on the fieldwork.

They also lack participation in groups (teams, committees, clubs, boards, etc.), where they can feel that they are valued and receive value from others, where they can see that justice is done, and where they can feel a sense of fairness and balance in interaction with others. In their responses, we have seen that some interviewees have been working for private individuals, but lacked an opportunity of working in a way that creates equality for all workers, where they could feel a sense of integrity and trust with others, where they could share information with others and receive information in return, where they could work with contracts and agreements... This was due to a tendency of exploitation of refugees and strangers in general by local businessmen, but also due to South Africa policies, institutions and processes that don't allow them to work in a formal way.

In our discussions with an employee of the Home Affairs Department in Pietermaritzburg, he highlighted that they know that there are those kinds of problems and that they are determined to eradicate them.⁶⁹ Indeed, Oberai and Singh show that South Africa signed a Basic Agreement with UNHCR in 1993 and therefore it committed itself to respect formally the international refugee law, and that South Africa became a party to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and United Nations Refugee Conventions in 1995 and 1996 respectively.⁷⁰ So, it is not understandable how the treatment of refugees and asylum seekers in Pietermaritzburg, and in South Africa as a whole doesn't fully comply with international refugee law which should mean protection and respect of their basic human rights that include providing the basic means of survival. However, from our fieldwork, we realized that despite the fact that the government of South Africa signed the above agreement,

⁶⁹ Discussions with an anonymous worker of Home Affairs Department in Pietermaritzburg on 18th August 2006.

⁷⁰ Asad, Oberai and Singh, Manmohan. 1983. *Causes and Consequences of international Migration* (Calcutta, Madras) p37.

there is no obligation under these documents, so all refugee-handling procedures are governed by internal regulations of the Department of Home Affairs, leaving ample room for confusion and abuse of process.

However, the human rights as defined by laws, agreements and international Conventions already indicate the path to be followed. Thus, we can say that a lasting solution to the problem of refugees will be reached when the international community comes to recognize, above and beyond the norms for the protection of refugees, their right to belong to a community of their own. Moreover, we stated that the respondents have voiced in favor of a more organic approach to the rights of people in search of a place of refuge, and we can add that protection is not a simple concession made to the refugee; he is not an object of assistance, but rather a subject of rights and duties. On this point, Brennan and Noggle make it clear that “each country has the responsibility to respect the rights of refugees and assure that they are respected as much as the rights of its own citizens.”⁷¹

As this study is also dealing with the issue of the livelihood of Great Lakes Region refugees, we want to highlight that protection must not be limited to a guarantee of physical security but must be extended to all the conditions necessary for a fully human existence. In other words, refugees must be assured not only of food, clothing, housing and protection from violence, but also access to education and medical assistance, and the possibility of assuming responsibility for their own lives, cultivating their own cultures and traditions, and freely expressing their own faith.

4.4.3 Need for special protection for women and children

Looking at the general profile, and at the responses from questions one, two and four; we understood that women and children were always victims during the flight from the Great Lakes Region refugees and still the problem remains. On one hand, as we were informed during the fieldwork, after 6: 00pm, women respondents showed that they cannot move freely from their homes, because they fear being raped. They took such decisions after three refugee women were raped near their small businesses. Despite that they complained to the police, so far, investigations haven't led to the

⁷¹ Samantha, Brennan and Robert, Noggle. 1997. “The Moral Status of Children: Children's Rights, Parents' Rights, and Family Justice”, in *Social Theory and Practice* (New York: Pantheon Books) p1-26.

rapists. In that situation of a gender biased violation of human rights in South Africa, Amnesty International is concerned about the failure of the concerned authorities to take adequate action to bring to justice the individuals responsible for attack on refugee women, and the organization is appealing to the government to reopen the investigation and institute further measures which could better protect the rights of women refugees, not only in Pietermaritzburg but nationwide.⁷² In that situation, the church that represents Christ on the earth and Christians bearing the image of God together with all human beings are called to denounce and criticize current injustices towards the powerless in our societies today.

On the other hand, from the general profile, children are more vulnerable to sickness and other evils related to the flight of their parents. In fact, we realized from the fieldwork that they are the most severely affected by the trauma experienced during their development; their physical, psychological and spiritual balance is seriously jeopardized and this is reinforced by the case of a young girl who killed herself.

However, to care for children refugees is not the concern of the South African state or any charitable organization, but of the international community as well. Indeed, Archard and Macleod highlight that in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights it is stated that every member of the human race is entitled to dignity and to fundamental rights that are equal and inalienable.⁷³ Therefore, this means that the right to "dignity" implies that every person has the right to be respected and is of worth simply because he or she is human. In other words, children are also human beings who need respect and dignity, and Aiken and LaFollette argue that children are also entitled to fundamental human rights, and have the right to dignity, and to be valued as human beings.⁷⁴ Therefore, in the context of the children refugees, we suggest that Universal Human Rights also proclaims that children (refugees or not) are entitled to special care and assistance

⁷² Dent, Ocaya-Lakidi. 1993. *The effects of socio-economic conditions, refugees and demobilisation on peace, progress and stability in Southern Africa* (Bellville, Cape: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Southern African Studies) p79.

⁷³ David, Archard and Clark, Macleod (eds.), 2002. *The Moral and Political Status of Children: New Essays*, Oxford (Oxford University Press) p87.

⁷⁴ Willy, Aiken and LaFollette, Hugh. 1980. 1980. *Whose Child? Parental Rights, Parental Authority and State Power* (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield) p65.

4.4.4 Xenophobia towards strangers

During the interviews, it was unanimously highlighted by the respondents that there is open xenophobia towards strangers in Pietermaritzburg. So far, the position of the local authorities is not clear, and that confusion reinforces the xenophobic attitudes of the local citizens. This is confirmed by the Human Rights Watch that states that in general, "South Africa's public culture has become increasingly xenophobic, and politicians often make unsubstantiated and inflammatory statements that the "deluge" of migrants and refugees is responsible for the current crime wave, rising unemployment, or even spread of diseases".⁷⁵ Therefore, as the unfounded perception grows that migrants and refugees are responsible for a variety of social ills, experiences in Pietermaritzburg show that refugees have increasingly become the target of abuse at the hands of South African citizens, and in some cases, Human Rights Watch informs that "some members of the police, the army, and the Department of Home Affairs are involved in these abuses towards refugees and migrants".⁷⁶

Given the fact that this issue of xenophobia impacts on refugees and in general migrants from different Southern African countries, directly or indirectly, this issue of mistreating strangers in Pietermaritzburg and elsewhere in South Africa needs to be treated not only on a South African level, but on the SADC (Southern African Development Community) level as the umbrella of the Southern African countries. In addition to that, some experiences show that, to some extent, this can be seen in other African countries, and this means that this evil of xenophobia needs also to be treated on an African level. As a matter of fact, Feller shows that in Gabon "refugees are obliged to carry identity documents with them at all times."⁷⁷ Paradoxically, Black and Khalid argue that "not all of the government services respect these identification documents and refugees are subjected to constant harassment at barriers and check points as they travel, as well as in public places."⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Samantha, Brennan and Robert, Noggle. 1997. *The Moral Status of Children.....*, p4.

⁷⁶ Samantha, Brennan and Robert, Noggle. 1997. *The Moral Status of Children.....*, p6.

⁷⁷ Erika, Feller. 2003. *Refugee protection in international law: UNHCR's global consultations on international protection* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) p717.

⁷⁸ Erika, Feller. 2003. *Refugee protection in international law....*, 719.

However, even if some people enter the foreign countries illegally, the Human Rights Watch makes it clear that although international human rights law recognizes the right of states to control their borders and to restrict entry within their territory, the fact that a person has entered a country illegally doesn't affect his or her rights to life, security, equality before the law, or other basic civil and political rights.⁷⁹

4.4.5 Confrontation in the informal business sector

From that situation of xenophobia, confrontations and all kind of crimes are the main outcomes. In fact, for their survival, refugees entered into informal business, because many refugees are unable to find employment in the formal sector. Because of high unemployment levels in South African society, their temporary status, and due to employer prejudices, they resort to selling goods - ranging from vegetables to fruits and clothes - on the street. In doing so, they sometimes enter into competition with locals who are either selling the same goods or would like to sell those goods. Some cases were stated on Boom Street during our fieldwork. Our interviewees indicated that due to the high rate of unemployment, local citizens are now entering in the informal business in large numbers, and then the competition turns into aggression and confrontation, especially in the hawking business, some extremist national citizens arguing that they have the priority to do the business. These confrontations coupled with some other relationship crises between the Great Lakes Region refugees and local South African citizens in Pietermaritzburg was the root-cause of the death of three refugees from that region in 2006 in Pietermaritzburg, and we had the opportunity of participating in the burial of two of them. Moreover, more than ten refugees have been wounded in these kinds of confrontation.

This problem is not peculiar to Pietermaritzburg, but it is nationwide. For instance, in a disturbing development, "a group calling itself the Unemployed People of South Africa (UPSA) has threatened to take the law into its own hands and physically remove migrants from South Africa if the government fails to deport them."⁸⁰ However, despite that local citizens want to push foreigners from the informal business, some non-South Africans hawkers feel that they played an important role in

⁷⁹ Erika, Feller. 2003. "Refugee protection in international law...", 723.

⁸⁰ Erika, Feller. 2003. "Refugee protection in international law...", 723.

developing the hawking sector in South Africa by bringing in skills they picked up in their home countries, and they complain that they are now being pushed out by South African opportunists who would like to appropriate the business sectors that foreign traders developed over the years. On this point, Human Rights Watch affirm that local hawkers have written threatening statements against foreign hawkers, have organized protest marches, and on several occasions have viciously attacked foreign hawkers. Protest marches have repeatedly deteriorated into physical violence and looting of the property of foreign hawkers in central Johannesburg, Yeoville, Germiston and Hillbrow.⁸¹

From our interviewees, we understood that, frustrated with what they perceive as the government's inability to address the "flood" of migrants and refugees effectively, an increasing number of civil groups are suggesting and implementing their own solutions to the problem. As a matter of fact, Mutume gives an example of some groups, such as MBACIFAG (Micro Business Against Crime and the Illegal Foreigners Action Group) that have called for a boycott of businesses employing undocumented migrants and have argued that South Africans should stop buying products from foreign street traders.⁸²

4.4.6 Depth of poverty

As one can imagine, from the above confrontations, the businesses run by the refugees meet serious challenges that include frequent robbery. The situation that refugees live in has deteriorated into poverty, not because they don't have experience and skills to help them to sustain their livelihood, but rather, the environment of Pietermaritzburg does not allow them to exercise their skills freely due to the reasons shown above.

However, poverty is different for different groups and has different roots. From the responses from the interviewees to questions three and four, it is clear that the poverty of refugees is due to the deprivation of basic rights, as they are excluded from

⁸¹ Human Rights Watch Interview with AQkinjole A. J. "Giant", Nigerian refugee hawking in Cape Town, December 11, 1997 in *Prohibited Persons: Abuse of undocumented migrants, asylum-seekers, and refugees in South Africa* (Human Rights Watch, New York) p128- 129.

⁸² Mutume, Gumisai. 1997. *No immigrants Please, We Are South Africans* (University of Zimbabwe: Inter Press Service) p43.

accessing the community assets to earn their living in Pietermaritzburg. Indeed, Father Wresinski provides the means to focus on poverty in an integral manner, linking it to the exercise of rights and responsibilities in a way also suggested in Despouy's report. Wresinski suggests that:

“social vulnerability is the absence of one or more assured capacities that permit individuals and /or their families to carry out their basic responsibilities and enjoy their fundamental rights. The insecurity which results from such a condition leads frequently to “extreme poverty and tends to prolong itself over time, becoming persistent and gravely compromising the ability to recover the exercise of these rights and responsibilities within the foreseeable future.”⁸³

In other words, if one can agree that the poverty of refugees is rights-based, then rights-based approach solutions needed while planning for the livelihood of refugees. Hausemann shows that a “rights-based approach to development sets the achievement of human rights as an objective of development, and uses thinking about human rights as the scaffolding of development policy. In addition, a rights-based approach invokes the international apparatus of human rights accountability in support of development action. In the context of refugees, it is concerned not just with civil and political rights, but also with economic, social and cultural rights (the right to food, housing, a job).⁸⁴ It is in that way that we used the term solidarity, as the word involves the whole issue of moral, psychological, material and spiritual support in their situation.

In that way, UNHCR and other United Nations organizations and charitable organizations intervening in the field of refugees must consider the issue of human rights that are the main challenge in the livelihood of refugees. It is in this way that Sen highlights that “development has to do with freedoms and unfreedoms.”⁸⁵ In other words, freedom is part of human rights and the foundation of any development. In the context of refugees from the Great Lakes Region, we can say that their poverty is a set of deprivations, and that capability provision is the key factor for any step for their sustainable livelihood and development. Thus, Sen views that “freedom is the

⁸³ Father, Wresinski, quoted in Zolbeg, Aristide R. And Benda, Peter M. 2001. “*Global Migrants, Global Refugees.....*”, p73.

⁸⁴ Julia, Häusermann. 1998. ‘*A Human Rights Approach to Development*’. *Rights and Humanity*. London: Department for International Development of the UK Government. Accessed at: http://www.odi.org.uk/publications/briefing/3_99.html.

⁸⁵ Amartya, Sen. 1999. *Development as Freedom* (New York, Anchor Books) p70.

source of development, and freedom and unfreedom are rooted in human capabilities.”⁸⁶ Indeed, in the case of refugees, their capacity to deal with their vulnerability and their access to social opportunities constitutes their capability. In this way, Sen describes five substantive freedoms necessary for development namely, “political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security, and each of these distinct types of rights and opportunities helps to advance the general capability of a person.”⁸⁷

Therefore, it is in that situation that the voice of the church needs to be heard, through advocacy for the powerless and the marginalized. In fact, true advocacy depends on the establishment and the affirmation of all people’s dignity, freedom and self-worth especially as society is changing. Consequently, a refugee, like any human being, needs freedom of expression and movement, and access to the basic resources for his/her livelihood, and self- esteem to be fully human. However, from the responses from the interviewees, it means that the attitudes of local citizens towards refugees should be transformed into attitudes of partnership and solidarity, rather than confrontation and exclusion.

On this point, Sen argues that “human development rotates around developing human capacities through international social and economic policies and programs that enhance human capacity towards self-fulfillment.”⁸⁸ In addition, they argue that, “the concept of development, in this context, is linked to development of human beings as an end and a means. In this way, human beings can fulfill their material, moral and social needs.”⁸⁹

4.4.7 Risk of contracting HIV

From the profile of the study participants, one can see that there is one person who manages to put food on the table through the sex work. It is a big concern for everyone to hear that there could or should be other sex workers among refugees but who don’t want to work openly. In addition to that, there are some women who were

⁸⁶ Amartya, Sen. 1999. “*Development as freedom*”, pvii.

⁸⁷ Amartya, Sen. 1999. “*Development as freedom*”, p9.

⁸⁸ Michael, Bratton and Nicholas, Van de Walle. 1997. *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: University Press) p 47.

⁸⁹ Michael, Bratton and Nicholas, Van de Walle. 1997. “*Democratic Experiments in Africa.....*”, p47.

raped in the camps, and there are still some incidents of rape in Pietermaritzburg. From such a situation one cannot doubt the spread of the infection of HIV for some people among the refugees.

On the other side, the environment of Pietermaritzburg and surrounding areas is known to have many cases of HIV positive people, as is the whole of Kwazulu-Natal province. This means that some young refugees who spend their time where alcohol is available and prostitution can also be a key factor in spreading HIV in the refugees' milieu. This is a big challenge, given the fact that the responses to some question highlighted the promiscuity in the houses of refugees. This means that girls and boys sleep in the same room and are then exposed to sex. In fact, addressing HIV/AIDS among refugees is not for the interest of refugees only, but it is for the sake of the whole community of Pietermatitzburg. This implicitly means that, if we agree that poverty plays a major part and influences the spread of HIV/AIDS pandemic, addressing poverty for only local citizens could be shortsighted.

In that context, the Anglican Cathedral and any community of believers are called upon to encourage their congregations to consider how they might educate their members about HIV/AIDS and how they might develop a loving and supportive pastoral ministry to people in their congregation or community infected with or affected by HIV/AIDS and refugees are part of the congregation, and the body of Christ as are all of us. Indeed, when Jesus reminded people that when he was in prison and they didn't visit him, he was hungry and they didn't feed him,...(Matthew 25: 31-46), Jesus was talking about the poor and the disadvantaged people in society which includes people living with HIV/AIDS who need our support and love. In other words, Christ calls us to be with those in pain, in fear or confusion. In sharing suffering we minister to one another and we both gain and grow. Sindle and Welsh argue that the church has a mandate to console, reconcile, to love and to minister unconditional acceptance⁹⁰.

⁹⁰ Snidle, Heather and Welsh, Rosalind. 2001. *Meeting Christ in HIV/AIDS: A Training Manual in Pastoral Care* (Methodist Publishing House Salt River) p1.

4.4.8 Inefficiency of UNHCR

Different respondents highlighted that to some extent UNHCR tried to distribute food to refugees while they were still in the camps, but the security challenges remained unsolved when they were still in the camps, and even after they settled in Pietermaritzburg, the security of refugees remains a big challenge. We have seen that women are the target of crime, and there are no practical programmes for the protection of children who are vulnerable to diseases and abuses. On this point, the excuse of UNHCR is that “it is not mandated to intervene politically against governments or opposition groups that are the root of the conflicts; even if there is clear evidence of human rights violation”.⁹¹ But also from our experience when we were working in “Church World Action in Rwanda” in September 1994, we realized that UNHCR has mounting massive relief operations and it is often at the mercy of its donors and host governments. Therefore, we can say that UNHCR is in a weak position to challenge the policies of its funders and host governments even when those policies fail to respond adequately to refugee problems. But Loescher makes it clear that “it is true that financial vulnerability and reliance on powerful donor governments as well as host states also impedes UNHCR in carrying out its principal function of providing protection to refugees.”⁹²

From the views of the interviewees, it is clear that repatriation is one of the possible sustainable solutions. But still the UNHCR that is in charge of that, meets many challenges in the process of repatriation. However, as Black and Khalid show, “UNHCR has institutionally been directly involved in managing many repatriations for several decades, but its approach to repatriation has been focused on protection, legal arrangements and logistics, as well as in reintegration assistance inside the home country; most often this has largely consisted of providing seeds and food to rural refugees and perhaps a limited number of infrastructure-oriented activities, such as restoration of water sources and the like.”⁹³ In fact, UNHCR’s mandate in reintegration is no longer clear and this can discourage refugees for repatriation.

⁹¹ Danielle, Allen S. 2004. *Talking to Strangers: Anxieties of Citizenship* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press) p75.

⁹² Danielle, Allen S. 2004. “*Talking to Strangers: Anxieties of Citizenship.....*”, p82.

⁹³ Erika, Feller. 2003. “*Refugee protection in international law.....*”, p728.

4.4.9 The response of the church

For this point, it is clear that the Anglican Cathedral as a church can do something, through its prophetic voice, whether about the poverty, human rights abuse, poor education and xenophobia or other evils that jeopardize the livelihood of the refugees. Indeed, it is not an option, but a compelling necessity for the Anglican Cathedral and other communities of faith in Pietermaritzburg to defend the dignity and value of all human beings, by highlighting the inclusiveness of the refugees in God's household. Indeed, Ajulu makes it clear that a major role of the prophets of the church has been to denounce injustice and oppression, and that in the face of poverty and need the church can play an important public role, educating others, demanding change, and empowering the poor and the powerless to speak about their pain.⁹⁴

Furthermore, the identity of the church is that it has always responded to human pain brought about by economic suffering, most of the time by relief and welfare. But in the situation of refugees, my argument is that the church needs to go beyond the relief and welfare, and plan for a sustainable livelihood for refugees and their future generations. Thus, the Anglican Cathedral should try to be a supportive community that lives out God's love by helping refugees in their struggle with the world's uncertainties caused by their refugee status and to retain a sense of self-worth and hope in the midst of their struggle. On this point, Ajulu shows that "throughout the history, the church has been preaching the necessity of providing material assistance to those in need and has lived that message by implementing a wide range of outreach projects, from local soup kitchens and quiet help for individuals members to the establishment of major worldwide assistance organizations such as Church Worldwide Service."⁹⁵

As one can understand, the most challenging issue for the Anglican Cathedral or any other charitable organizations willing to be in solidarity with and advocate for the strangers from the above-described situation is that, linking Christian faith and economic life requires that we look at the process by which economic decisions are made through the perspective of our faith. This means confronting the operation of the

⁹⁴ Deborah, Ajulu .2001. *Holism in development: An African perspective on empowering communities* (Orbis Books, Maryknoll, New York, USA) p67.

⁹⁵ Deborah, Ajulu .2001." *Holism in development.....* ", p2.

economy with the vision of human purpose and human society to which the church and Christians are called as God's faithful people. Indeed, Ajulu argues that "we need to understand how both individual and institutional economic decisions are made in our society: we need to understand the economic life, the political and economic systems of our world and their impact on the poor and the powerless."⁹⁶

Therefore, as faith-based organization, the Anglican Cathedral and other faith-based organizations in Pietermaritzburg should call attention to the moral dimensions of public policy and pursue policies that uphold the human dignity of the strangers and the marginalized, all of whom are made in the image of God. They should also engage the immigration issue with the goal of fashioning an immigration system that facilitates legal status of the strangers in general, and particularly refugees from the Great Lakes Region in the interest of serving the God-given dignity and rights of every individual.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter we have listened to the voices of the strangers-refugees who are struggling to survive in Pietermaritzburg. We have listened to twenty people, women and men from the Great Lakes Region who live in Pietermaritzburg. They are doing different small businesses in order to earn their livelihoods such as hair-salons, public phones, small boutiques, and mobile sellers of vegetables, clothes, bags etc. We have seen their different businesses trading especially with people of little income who come into the city from surrounding townships. In the next chapter we will analyze the data from these interviews using the sustainable livelihood framework.

⁹⁶ Deborah, Ajulu .2001." *Holism in development.....*", p3.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD FRAMEWORK: IMPLICATIONS FOR REFUGEES

5.1 Introduction

Chapter four dealt with data collection through interviews from twenty refugees from the Great Lakes Region. In this chapter five, the data collected was analyzed using the principles of Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF). Indeed, the concept of 'sustainable livelihoods' is increasingly important in the development debate. This study outlines a framework for analyzing sustainable livelihoods. The framework shows how, in different contexts, sustainable livelihoods are achieved through access to a range of livelihood resources (natural, financial, human and social capital) which are combined in the pursuit of different livelihood strategies. Greeley shows that central to the framework is the analysis of the range of formal and informal organizational and institutional factors that influence sustainable livelihood outcomes.⁹⁷ In addition, this study briefly considers some of the practical, methodological and operational implications of a sustainable livelihoods approach in the context of the refugees from the above region living in Pietermaritzburg.

In this study, SLF has presented "the main factors that affect refugees' livelihoods, and the relationships between them. In analyzing the data collected, we have used the "five main elements of SLF as shown by DFID (UK Department of International Development), namely: vulnerability context, asset portfolio, transforming structures and processes, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes."⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Mary, Greeley. 1994. *Measurement of poverty or the poverty of measurement* (IDS Bulletin 25) p50-57.

⁹⁸ DFID (Department for international development): *Sustainable Livelihoods guidance sheets*
Accessed at : www.dfid.gov.uk/

5.2 Definition of Sustainable Livelihood Framework

Starting with the term 'livelihood' that is the key word in SLF, a widely accepted definition of 'livelihoods' is given by Chambers and Conway: "A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living."⁹⁹ In addition, "a livelihood framework is a way of understanding how households derive their livelihoods, and an easy way of thinking within a livelihood framework is using the household's assets, capabilities and activities".¹⁰⁰ In the context of refugees, household members use their capabilities and their assets to carry out activities through which they gain their livelihood, and their assets refer to the resources that their households own or have access to for gaining a livelihood. In addition, household strategies are the ways in which households deploy assets and use their capabilities in order to meet their objectives or livelihood challenges.

With regard to sustainable livelihood, the Stockholm Environment Institute (SEI) defines it as "the creation of conditions that are supportive of sustainable development in human, natural and economic systems, which, whilst safeguarding resources and opportunities for future generations, provides individuals with means to provide themselves with food, shelter and an acceptable quality of life".¹⁰¹ In addition to this, Davies argues that "a livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base."¹⁰²

There are a number of livelihood frameworks predominantly developed by development actors. Chambers and Conway give the examples of the Department of the International Development – UK (DFID) livelihoods framework, the CARE livelihoods framework, the Oxfam livelihood framework, and the United Nation

⁹⁹ Robert, Chambers and Gordon, Conway. 1991. *Sustainable rural livelihoods – practical concepts for the 21st century* (IDS Discussion Paper 296, Brighton, 199).

¹⁰⁰ Carole, Rakodi .1999. *A capital assets framework for analysis household livelihood strategies*, *Development Policy Review*, Vol 8, No 12 (Earthscan Publications Ltd) p36.

¹⁰¹ The Stockholm Environment Institute. Accessed at : <http://www.york.ac.uk/inst/sei/>

¹⁰² Suzanna, Davies. 1996. *Adaptable Livelihoods. Coping with Food Insecurity in the Malian Sahel* (London: Macmillan) p41.

Development Programme (UNDP) livelihood framework.¹⁰³ From this diversity, one can realize that the frameworks are far from uniform which could make the concept and use of livelihood frameworks difficult to grasp. However, although the different frameworks use different terms, they describe similar things. That is to say, despite the differences of interpretation and different variations of the livelihood framework, they all build on earlier development theories.

Indeed, Lipton argues that notwithstanding the existence of a number of different livelihood approaches and frameworks, the following principles can be distinguished as the common denominator: people-centred and participatory, a holistic analysis, and the importance of partnerships.¹⁰⁴

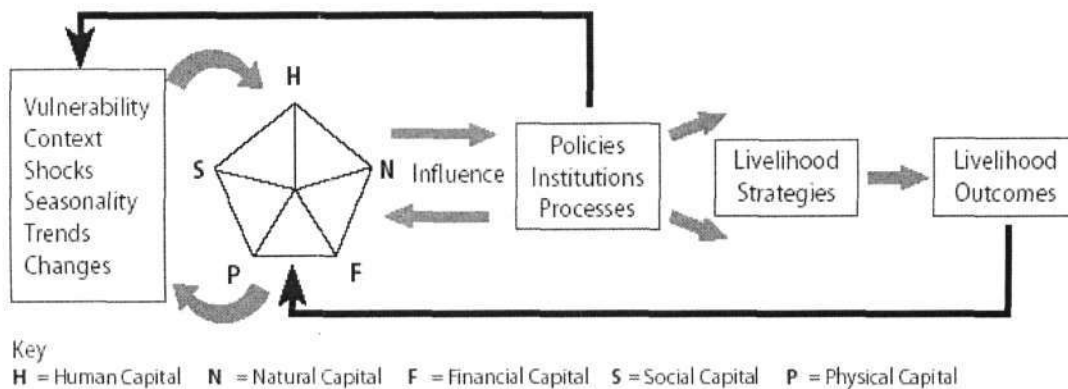
5.3 An overview of Sustainable Livelihood Framework

As highlighted above, SLF attempts to develop and make a more "people-centred" approach, more complete in its coverage of key elements affecting people's livelihoods, and more expressive of the principle issues that the SLF aims to address.¹⁰⁵ In particular it provides users with a more accessible means of understanding and analysing policies, institutions and processes and emphasises the central importance of linkages between different elements in the framework. This is illustrated in the diagram below.

¹⁰³ Robert, Chambers and Gordon, Conway. 1991. *Sustainable rural livelihoods – practical concepts for the 21st century* (IDS Discussion Paper 296, Brighton, 1991).

¹⁰⁴ Michael, Lipton. 1991. *Growing points in poverty research: labour issues* (International Institute for Labour Studies Discussion Paper 66: Geneva: IILS)

¹⁰⁵ Andrew, Dorward; Nigel, Poole D., Jamie, Morrison; Jonathan, Kydd and Ian, Urey. 2003. *Markets, Institutions and Technology: Missing Links in Livelihoods Analysis*, Development Policy Review, 21(3): p319-332.



The diagram indicates the vulnerability context that is mostly influenced by shocks, seasonality, trends and changes which include a range of things that may befall a community, and these can be, according de Gruchy, both man-made and natural, such as civil wars, stock market collapses, pestilence, floods, droughts or even the onset of freezing weather.¹⁰⁶

The diagram also shows the community assets that are natural capital, financial capital, human capital, physical capital, and social capital. These are the assets available for the community that helps to sort out the livelihood challenges. The following point of policies, institutions and processes means that “livelihoods are shaped by policies, institutions and processes at all levels - from the household to the international, and these determine not only access to the various types of capital (natural, physical, human, social and financial), but also the substitutability of capitals.”¹⁰⁷ With regard to livelihood strategies, it is about the methods used by people in order to face the vulnerability context and the livelihood challenges. In the context of refugees, they created small business like hair-salons, public phones, selling vegetables ... And then the livelihood outcomes means that, as people are trying to face the livelihood challenges, they expect outcomes, whether positive or negative.

Therefore, in the context of refugees, understanding their livelihood strategies is a prerequisite to improved interventions. Hence, this study will describe some of the

¹⁰⁶ Steve, de Gruchy. 2005. “The contribution of the Universities in Sustainable Livelihood “ in Robert Fincham, Susse G. and Eskildholm, Nielsen., *Sustainable Development and The University: New Strategies for Research, Teaching and Practice* (Arrow print, Pietermaritzburg) p66.

¹⁰⁷ *Sustainable Livelihood Assets*, by Lowe and Schilderman. Accessed at: <http://www.home.asp?id=piplIntro> | <http://www.home.asp?id=home.asp?id=piplIntro>.

positive and negative outcomes from the mechanisms and strategies developed by refugees in order to stabilize and enhance their situation. In this chapter, an overview will be given of the major difficulties encountered by refugees in recreating and sustaining their livelihoods and will look at what type of interventions offer potential for success or what went wrong with the less effective interventions and what are the factors leading to success/failure of strategies.

5.4 Analysis of the refugees' situation with SLF

5.4.1. Vulnerability context

During the fieldwork, we stated that the vulnerability context of the Great Lakes Region refugees is influenced by different factors as raised in chapter four, all related to their status as refugees. From our fieldwork, we stated that their livelihoods are subject to a range of influences that prescribe and determine the opportunities and choices that they have for their livelihoods strategies. This vulnerability sets up a vicious circle, because in their struggle to sustain their livelihood in Pietermaritzburg, refugees' livelihoods are less able to deal with these stresses, and therefore they become more vulnerable. On this point, we want to highlight that one of the main factors that influence the livelihood of refugees is the xenophobic behaviour of the local citizens.

Despite the xenophobia that was highlighted in the previous chapter, once again, it becomes a major factor in the vulnerability context of the Great Lakes Region refugees, given the fact that their exclusion is the cornerstone in their situation of poverty. From the responses of the interviewees, a significant problem that refugees are living with is the increasing xenophobia within Pietermaritzburg, and in South Africa as a whole. However, xenophobia is by no means a phenomenon only known by strangers living in South Africa. Xenophobia also exists in Europe and elsewhere. For instance the xenophobic attitudes in industrialized countries have recently reached such a point that "responsible citizens have brought the matter before public, and in

the Council of Europe and the European Parliament, the phenomenon has been examined in relation to migrant workers in Western Europe.”¹⁰⁸

It has over the last decade, increasingly become a factor constraining many governments in their development and implementation of refugee policy. With the increasing democratization of countries including South Africa, Webber shows that “host governments are also more sensitive to negative public reactions to the presence of foreigners in general and refugees specifically, and the pressure from local populations to implement domestic programs in their favour of rather than giving assistance to ‘foreigners’”.¹⁰⁹

Obviously, from the views of the respondents, it is clear that the presence of thousands of foreigners in Pietermaritzburg and in South Africa as a whole raises problems of coexistence which are not easy to resolve because economic difficulties would make it seem as if nationals and foreigners are in competition with each other, and it gives rise to simplistic rationalizations. From ignorance to spitefulness, from chauvinism to racist assaults, the process of rejection of foreign elements is varied, and Saddrudin shows that “it is important to discover where and how racism develops even in circumstances which appear to be acceptable in the society, and it is more realistic to tackle the problem from the point of view of inter-group.”¹¹⁰

In South Africa, the large-scale migration of refugees from the Great Lakes Region and other refugees and migrants, especially from the Southern African countries moving to South Africa, combined with economic recession, has heightened a negative reaction against these newcomers who, in situations of prolonged economic difficulties, have found themselves accused of a multitude of evils, both economic and social. In such a climate of stereotypes against foreigners and particularly migrant workers xenophobia has come to the fore. These persons are seen as competing for declining economic opportunities especially because they may enjoy social benefits

¹⁰⁸ Paul, Brass R. 1994. *The production of Hindu- Muslim violence in contemporary India* (Calcutta: Madras) p64.

¹⁰⁹ George, Webber. 1979. *Today's church: A Community of Exiles and Pilgrims* (Abingdon, Nashville) p13.

¹¹⁰ Saddrudin, Aga Khan. 1981. *Questions of the Violation of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in Any Part of the World, with Particular Reference to Colonial and Other Dependent Countries and Territories* (Study of Human Rights and Massive Exoduses, New York) p32.

financed by nationals. This attitude to them becomes a very big threat to their livelihood strategies and security in general.

In addition to this, experience from our country (Rwanda) has clearly shown how easy it is to slip from xenophobia into ethnicity, because the seeds have already been sown. Thus, ethnicity or racism establish fundamental differences and hierarchy among ethnic groups and in this way justifies not only rejection but also domination and exploitation of one group by another. In that situation, the danger is greatest when the ideological and political theories of a society appear to provide a seemingly coherent framework for popular emotional reactions. Therefore, it then becomes political ethnicity which leads to violence and criminal acts and, consequently, segregation and racism. Thus, from what has been explained above, Jacques argues that “racism is not primarily a personal pathological condition but a perversion of economic and social origin.”¹¹¹ In that situation, the Anglican Cathedral of the Holy Nativity or any other community of believers should always work on two fronts. They should fight for a just society which guarantees equal rights for all, and they should teach fundamental Christian ethics concerning the equality of all God’s children and promote actions that foster mutual understanding and respect.

In summary, we can say that from the xenophobic attitude of the local citizens, refugees are considered as aliens, and being an alien is a fundamental disability of the refugees. They don’t have the rights of a citizenship in their country of asylum and even getting refugees identity cards is a long process. They are not regarded by the population as one of them, but rather as outsiders; a strange character. In addition to their economic difficulties caused by the above barriers and which are in themselves far from easy to overcome, “they suffer from disadvantages of a legal nature which often reflects in the discrimination of justice against them”.¹¹² Therefore, “it is on this front that the first attack on the problem must be made.

Another factor that is indicator of the refugees’ vulnerability context is their poverty. That is to say, from the above discrimination and exclusion, they don’t have access to the community assets and to the decision making and this is the key point in their

¹¹¹ Andre, Jacques. 1985. “*The Stranger Within your gate*”, p60.

¹¹² *Refugee Problems and Their Solutions*. Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The Nobel Peace Prize 1954, Nobel Lecture, December 12, 1955. Accessed at: http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1954/refugees-lecture.html.

poverty. On this issue of poverty, the sustainable livelihoods approach provides an analytical framework that promotes systematic analysis of the underlying processes and causes of poverty. It is not the only such framework, but its advantages are that it focuses attention on people's own definitions of poverty and it takes into account a wide range of factors that cause or contribute to poverty, among them the xenophobic behaviour that was noted above.¹¹³

Therefore, there is no doubt that the most exciting aspect of the sustainable livelihood approach is its recognition of the poor as active agents in their own development. In the context of the Great Lakes Region refugees, the sustainable livelihood approach suggests that they may be agents rather than clients of their development by working with the existing assets and the existing livelihood strategies. In the language of Kretzmann and McKnight, "this could help refugees to move from a deficit-based development approach to an asset-based approach."¹¹⁴ In other words, that approach recognizes that refugees cannot build a community on what they don't have. Thus, starting with the needs of the refugees, their deficiencies and problems end up creating client communities that are consumers of development services. Thus, "working with the assets and relationships that already exist could enable refugees to face their vulnerability context and become more robust, stronger and better able to achieve their own objectives."¹¹⁵

However, it is clear to say that in the context of the refugees as described in the interviews, their poverty could be identified as human rights problems. Therefore problems relating to rights to life, education, health care and housing, reinforces their vulnerability. Similarly, one has to stress that extreme poverty is the final outcome of a series of vulnerabilities. On that point Father Wresinski demonstrates that "the vindication of rights in a decontextualized way is not enough to enable the poor and the vulnerable to recover the full enjoyment of all of their rights."¹¹⁶ In other words,

¹¹³ Arjan de Haan. 1998. *Migration, household strategies, poverty and livelihoods. A critical review of the migration literature* (Paper for the workshop Migration and Sustainable Livelihoods, 5-6 June, University of Sussex) p11.

¹¹⁴ John, Kretzmann and John L. McKnight. 1993. *Building Communities From the Inside Out: A Path Toward Finding and Mobilizing a Community's Assets* (ACTA Publications) p25.

¹¹⁵ Jo Beall and Nazneen Kanji. 1999. *Households, Livelihoods and Urban Poverty* (International Development Department, School of Public Policy, University of Birmingham. Birmingham) p17.

¹¹⁶ Father, Wresinski, quoted in Ajulu, Deborah. 2001. "Holism in development....", p37.

for the situation of the refugees, one can say that the scale of poverty in the contemporary world challenges us to develop new approaches which are able to permit a more integral conception of vulnerability context, overcoming general or reductionist approaches and highlighting the human dimensions of the vulnerability context. Therefore, this vulnerability context of the refugees from the Great Lakes Region leads us to place it in the context of human rights, highlighting the fact that “poverty implies not just levels of material deprivation but above all the negation of rights.”¹¹⁷

The main problem is that, although present in most countries’ constitutions, the human rights rules remain highly rhetorical and conditioned to economic and political interests at both national and international levels. Helena argues that “the Universal Declaration of Human rights affirms that “the recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.”¹¹⁸

The level of the wellbeing of a society could therefore be judged in terms of rights rather than wants and needs. Unfortunately, “economists, it is true, have not been as a rule greatly concerned with rights as a component of the standard of living.”¹¹⁹ The reality as noted from our interviewees, is that these are the rights without which the person will not be able to exist completely nor have her/his dignity fully respected, “because of unsatisfied needs or unavailable possibilities of self-development.”¹²⁰

Similarly, we can say that the vulnerability context of the refugees must be seen as deprivation of basic capabilities rather than merely as lowness of incomes, which is the standard criterion of the identification of poverty for many organizations, especially the World Bank. In other words, we support the insights of Sen on how he understands development as freedom, putting the accent on humanity, that “development has to be more concerned with enhancing the lives we lead and freedom we enjoy, expanding the freedoms that we have reason to value not only

¹¹⁷ Father, Wresinski, quoted in Deborah, Ajulu. 2001. “*Holism in development...*”, p38.

¹¹⁸ Patricia Helena, Massa. 1995. *Human Rights: A New Paradigm* (Unpublished Masters Dissertation, University of Sao Paulo: Sao Paulo) p 30.

¹¹⁹ Amil, Dasgupta. 1988. *Growth, Development and Welfare: An Essay on Levels of Living* (New York, Basil Blackwell) p72

¹²⁰ Patricia Helena, Massa. 1995. “*Human Rights: A new Paradigm.....*”, p31.

makes our lives richer and more unfettered, but also allows us to be fuller social persons, exercising our own volitions and interacting with and influencing the world in which we live.”¹²¹

In fact, the notions of well-being and capability provide a wider definitional scope for the livelihoods concept. Sen sees capabilities as ‘what people can do or be with their entitlements’¹²², a concept which encompasses far more than the material concerns of food intake or income. Such ideas represent more than the human capital which allows people to do things, but also the intrinsically valued elements of capability or well-being. In addition, Beall and Kanji argue that such a well-being approach to poverty and livelihood analysis may allow people themselves to define the criteria which are important, and this may result in a range of sustainable livelihood outcome criteria, including diverse factors such as self-esteem, security, happiness, stress, vulnerability, power, exclusion, as well as more conventionally measured material concerns.¹²³

From the above situation of poverty whose main factor is the violation of basic human rights, one can argue that in the context of refugees, rights-based approaches could be helpful, along with SLF. That is to say, a right-based approach to development sets the achievement of human rights as a central objective of development, and uses human rights as the scaffold of development policy. In other words, development programmes guided by human rights focus on respecting human dignity, achieving fairness in opportunities and equal treatment for all and strengthening the ability of local communities to access resources and services. Furthermore, “a rights-based approach to development includes the following elements namely, express linkage to rights, accountability, empowerment, participation and non-discrimination and attention to vulnerable groups.”¹²⁴

Therefore, one can ask what the Anglican Cathedral as a church can do in such poverty vulnerability which is rooted in the violation of rights. However, the church

¹²¹ Amartya, Sen. 1999. “*Development as Freedom*”, p14.

¹²² Amartya, Sen. 1999. “*Development as freedom*”, p87.

¹²³ Jo Beall and Nazneen Kanji. 1999. “*Households, Livelihoods and urban poverty*”, p27.

¹²⁴ Julia, Häusermann. 1998. “*A Human Rights Approach to Development*”: *Rights and Humanity.....*”
Ibid. http://www.odi.org.uk/publications/briefing/3_99.html

could intervene on the first level that David Korten calls first generation. That is to say, the church could intervene with relief and welfare such as needs for food, health care and shelter, but at the same time looking for sustainable solutions. This intervention of relief and welfare is needed, but doesn't solve the vulnerability in the long run; rather it solves emergency challenges. However, given the fact that the poverty of refugees is related to the violation of the rights of refugees, the prophetic voice of the church needs to be heard towards policy makers and all organizations intervening in the field of refugees, mainly UNHCR that represents UN on the issue of refugees.

In other words, the external environment is an important influencing factor on a refugee's livelihood. Refugees do not only have to cope with the often traumatic experience of flight and displacement, but also often end up with only limited resources due to loss of assets, capabilities, and especially to lack of their basic human rights.¹²⁵ Therefore, if they are able to access the livelihood assets and basic human rights they require and are adequately supported by service providers and enabling agencies, and if they are able to make markets, politics, rules and norms work to their advantage, then it should help them to cope with those elements of their vulnerability context which they can do little to change. Indeed, Hobley and Shields make it clear that the representation of the vulnerability context as "all-embracing" for the poor, but mediated by the interplay of the other elements in their livelihoods, emphasises the responsibility of development interventions to help the poor to cope with vulnerability factors.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Alexander, Betts. 2004. *International cooperation and the targeting of development assistance for refugee solutions: lessons from the 1980s*, New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper no. 107, UNHCR, Geneva, 2004.

¹²⁶ Mary, Hobley and Dermott, Shields. 2000. *The Reality of Trying to Transform Structures and Processes: Forestry in Rural Livelihoods* (ODI Sustainable Livelihoods Working Paper 132. ODI, London, U.K.) p47.

5.4.2. The assets portfolio of refugees

5.4.2.1 Financial capital

The financial capital base (cash, credit / debt, savings, and other economic assets) are essential for the pursuit of any livelihood strategy.¹²⁷ In the context of the refugees' households and generally, financial capital means the money that is available to a household, either in the form of stocks, such as cash, bank deposits, livestock, jewellery, and credit; or in the form of regular inflows of money from wages, social security and other. Unfortunately, in the context of the Great Lakes Region refugees, they don't have the main capital that is financial; this means that they cannot borrow money from the Banks or micro- finance organizations in order to empower the thin financial capital in their possession.

5.4.2.2 Physical capital

To some extent, Great Lakes Region refugees can have access to some physical capital. From the responses of the interviewees, we understood that these refugees can access to some extent the governmental medical services. Thus, we understood that refugees can attend some government hospital like Northdale and others, and this is good help to the refugees, given the fact that health expenses are high. However, for complicated health cases, they cannot be given services as strangers. In our study, when we highlighted the vulnerability of refugees, we were also made aware that there are also local citizens who are vulnerable, but the difference is the accessibility to community assets. In fact, one can conclude that asset ownership influences the range of livelihood options open to different categories of people. That is to say, people or households with plenty of assets such as water, free school and medical services, free loans and strong networks, generally have a wider range of livelihood options than people or households with fewer assets, who are deprived from accessing physical capital.

¹²⁷ Diana, Carney. 1998. *Implementing the Sustainable Rural livelihoods approach*, p771.

5.4.2.3 Human capital

This capital is about the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health and physical capability which are important for the successful pursuit of different livelihood strategies.¹²⁸ In the livelihood strategies, this is the main asset that is used by refugees. That is to say, they have different skills and experiences. Some of them are mechanics, drivers, hair dressers, and have other skills and experiences learned in the camps or from their countries of origin. However, the issue still becomes complicated because when they want to exercise these skills and experiences in asylum, the environment and certain policies don't allow them to do so. For instance, they cannot compete on the labour market, due to their refugee status (and some of them are still waiting for the refugees' status document).

There is a double causality between the vulnerability context and asset ownership. On the one hand, shocks cause people to lose their assets. On the other hand, assets help protect people's livelihoods against shocks. Human capital is less vulnerable to shocks because it cannot be stolen, lost or taken away easily (unless you die).

5.4.2.4 Social capital

Social capital refers to the social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives, and it includes networks and connectedness, more formal group membership, political relationships and trust, reciprocity and exchange.¹²⁹ From the fieldwork, we understood that social capital for refugees means network and connections (patronage, neighborhoods, and kinship), relations of trust and mutual support, formal and informal groups, common rules and sanctions collective representation, mechanisms for participation in decision-making, and leadership. From this point of view, refugees have a very limited social capital. This view is premised on the understanding that it is often difficult for them to be included in all levels of societal interaction in the host country.

¹²⁸ DFID, "*Sustainable Livelihoods guidance sheets...*", p5.

¹²⁹ Robert, Chambers. 1989. "*Vulnerability, Coping and Policy...*", p53.

However, within themselves, they can build networks and help each other, but their network is very weak. They try to extend their network by making friends with local citizens, but this has been unsuccessful due to open xenophobia that can be seen in Pietermaritzburg and beyond. However, as some interviewees mentioned, they married South African girls hoping that they should have access to some community capital, but only some success has been registered.

5.4.2.5 Spiritual capital

From some interviews, it is clear that faith is another asset that is utilized by the refugees. Some respondents testified surviving because of their faith in Jesus. When they meet for prayers, they can also help each other. Therefore, in attempting to respond to the vulnerability context of the refugees, we suggest that the Anglican Cathedral needs to empower and to introduce faith-inspired motives.

In fact, weighing it from a Christian perspective, Jaykumar Christian built on Chambers and Friedman by describing poverty as a “system of disempowerment that creates oppressive relationships and whose fundamental causes are spiritual.”¹³⁰ Therefore, this reinforces the view of Myers who observes that the poverty of Africa can be viewed as entanglement, and this is a situation where interconnected systems (including spiritual crisis) result in a poverty trap.¹³¹ Thus, the reality is that you cannot disentangle yourself from one without dealing with its interrelationship with the others. Therefore, this implies that “material poverty, physical weakness, isolation, vulnerability, powerlessness, and spiritual poverty all work to reinforce the chains of poverty.”¹³²

From my experience in Rwanda and elsewhere, if there is any social group that lives, understands, and identifies with the poor, it is the church. In addition, when the church talks of the poor, it is talking of its own members, and therefore, it is the church with the poor and of the poor. The poor trust the church; they understand its language, motives, and leadership, and it is this familiarity that gives the church an

¹³⁰Robert, Chambers. 1989. “*Vulnerability, Coping and Policy...*”, p65.

¹³¹ Bryant, Myers. 1999. *Working with the Poor: Principles and Practices of Transformational Development* (Maryknoll, New York 1054 p 67.

¹³² DFID. “*Sustainable Livelihoods guidance sheets...*”, p12.

advantage to help the afflicted and the poor spiritually. In this way, faith becomes an asset that the church can use to bring shalom to people who come to it for help.

5.4.3 Policies, institutional structures, and processes

From the fieldwork, we realized that it is true that policies, institutions and processes impact the lives and livelihoods of refugees and communities as a whole. In fact, if the policies, institutions and processes are poorly defined this may lead to badly managed livelihood strategies and thus affect the vulnerability of the communities. Firstly, policies are lines of conduct adopted by the government or a territorial collectivity to achieve specific aims and objectives, for example, economic policy, structural adjustment programmes, good governance programmes, poverty alleviation programmes, etc.

Secondly, by institutions Beall and Kanji mean “organizations in the public and private sectors, and the rules that govern their functioning and interactions between them, and these rules may be formal or informal.”¹³³ Furthermore, examples of such organizations are:

“the authorities responsible for the preparation and application of laws and regulations, research and extension agencies, federations of socio-professional organizations, national federation of NGOs, religious institutions and organizations, ministries responsible for sectoral policies, good governance and poverty reduction programmes, international co-operation agencies, decentralized local authorities, technical departments, traders’ associations, professional fisheries associations, community organizations, NGOs, traditional authorities, village chief, camp chief etc.”¹³⁴

Thirdly, processes are methods of effecting change in policies, institutions and organizations. There are interactions between the various stakeholders in the sector, processes of social consultation, adult education and functional literacy, participatory decision-making processes, participatory monitoring systems, support and advice in

¹³³ Jo Beall and Nazneen Kanji. 1999. “Households, Livelihoods and Urban Poverty”, p 17.

¹³⁴ Jo Beall and Nazneen Kanji. 1999. “Households, Livelihoods and Urban Poverty”, p 19.

the methodology on working with communities...¹³⁵ Referring to the situation of refugees from the Great Lakes Region, and any other marginalized group, Beall and Kanji make it clear that an enabling policy and institutional environment makes it easier for them to gain access to assets they need for their livelihoods.¹³⁶ In contrast to this, a disabling policy and institutional environment may discriminate against them, thus making it difficult for them to get access to land, livestock, capital and information.

More specifically, we stated on the fieldwork that local institutions influence refugees' household livelihood strategies directly, by setting up an institutional barrier for entering the formal business, and therefore creating incentives to pursue certain activities and choices over others, and influencing perceptions of the effectiveness of particular strategies for achieving desired outcomes. This is a big issue, because sometimes it becomes confusing for example for the policy forbidding refugees to participate in the politics in the country of asylum. Politics are sometimes badly defined and some activities could be treated politics. That is why some associations do not accept for refugees, and in the case of Pietermaritzburg, refugees prefer to gather within church channels. This is a threat to refugees' livelihoods, because their networking is easily misconstrued as a political activity as it was in DR Congo.

From the above situation, it is clear that in most cases the lack of opportunity for refugees to fulfill their aspirations leads to loss of hope and disillusionment and we could see tangible examples during our interviews. This in turn results in the erosion of social responsibility, risky social behaviour, violence and conflict, at both local and global levels, as some refugees end up by forming armed rebellions which don't impact only on the security of the countries of asylum or the countries of origin, but to region as a whole. This is the case of the RPF rebellion formed by refugees that finally defeated the government of Juvenal Habyalimana in Rwanda in 1994. As they argued during the war, after 35 years of refugeeism, they were tired of being called foreigners, and the policies and structures of the countries of asylum would not allow them the access to livelihood resources. Another current case is the rebellion in

¹³⁵ Carole, Rakodi .1999. *A capital assets framework for analysis household livelihood strategies*, Development Policy Review, Vol 8, No 12 (Earthscan Publications Ltd) p17.

¹³⁶ Jo Beall and Nazneen Kanji. 1999. "Households, Livelihoods and Urban Poverty", p 17.

Burundi that ended with a peace agreement and elections that were won by a refugee rebellion that was led by Pierre Nkurunziza, the current president.

In that context, one can ask what the church could do. As seen in chapter one, the church can intervene through its prophetic voice towards the oppressing policies and structures that oppress and marginalize the voiceless, playing a role in advocacy and then becoming a voice for the voiceless, which are the poor in general, and refugees specifically.

5.4.4 Livelihood strategies

From their vulnerability context, refugees are committed to set up strategies to meet the challenges of their livelihood. However, as mentioned above, some strategies are not applicable in the context of refugees, due to the policies and structures of the countries of asylum. From the views of Chambers, livelihood strategies are "the range and combination of activities and choices that people make in order to achieve their livelihood goals."¹³⁷ In addition he argues that "on the basis of their personal goals, their resource base and their understanding of the options available, different categories of households - poor and less poor - develop and pursue different livelihood strategies."¹³⁸ These strategies include short term considerations such as ways of earning a living, coping with shocks and managing risk, as well as longer-term aspirations for children's future and old age.

In the context of refugees, we stated that livelihood structures are complex, usually revolving around the incomes, skills and services of all members of the family in an effort to reduce the risks associated with living near subsistence. That is to say, we stated that some families may survive by sending their children to sell goods on the street, while the father earns a small wage in guarding cars, a mother selling fruit or

¹³⁷ Robert, Chambers. 1989. *Vulnerability, Coping and Policy*, IDS Bulletin, Vol.20 (University of Sussex, Institute of Development Studies, D296, Brighton) p35.

¹³⁸ Robert, Chambers. 1989. "*Vulnerability, Coping and Policy.....*", p36.

working part time in a hair saloon. Indeed, Rakodi and Lloyd make it clear that “livelihoods are rarely limited to one secure job in a wage-based economy.”¹³⁹

Therefore, we can argue that livelihood strategies should be holistic. It is therefore crucial to identify the various strategies refugees use to make a living such as hair saloon, selling vegetables, sex work, and boutiques, etc and how they cope with stress. To tailor interventions appropriately, it is important to determine the variability that may exist across refugees’ households and individuals in the pursuit of different strategies. Thus, in the context of refugees and generally, livelihood strategies refer to a set of decisions taken by their community on the basis of assets and strengths they possess, and existing policies, institutions and processes, to arrive at securing and improving their livelihood.

However, bad governance coupled with the high rate of corruption in many African countries result in that local institutions that are elite-dominated, unegalitarian, undemocratic, un-transparent and unaccountable to local community members, becoming disabling to the poor and the marginalized, and weakening their livelihood strategies and reducing their chances of getting themselves out of the poverty trap. In that situation, such a disabling institutional context can undermine the effectiveness of poverty reduction efforts and make slow progress on sustaining the livelihood of refugees and the poor in general. Conversely, a good livelihood strategy aims at poverty reduction efforts that tend to stand a greater chance of success when they are implemented in an enabling institutional context (i.e., where local institutions are egalitarian, autonomous, self-reliant, democratic and accountable to local citizens).

There are many different methods for understanding the context of poor people's livelihoods. That is to say, common to all is the need for effective communication and participation with beneficiaries. Terms such as 'participation' are now widely used, but often with very different meanings. In order to ensure that participation of refugees in their projects is effective and meaningful, refugees need to have a stake in the decision making process, especially for the projects that are planned for them. This

¹³⁹ Carole, Rakodi and Tony, Lloyd. 2002. *Urban Livelihoods: A People-Centred Approach to Reducing Poverty* (University of Birmingham, Earthscan Publications Ltd) p306.

means that “refugees must be able to voice their interests, and at a stage in the planning process that allows for their input.”¹⁴⁰

Gaining a deeper understanding of the vulnerability of the refugees’ livelihoods and the strategy that they use to sustain their livelihood has made important contributions to many interventions. In that way, UNHCR and the churches attempt to work in enhancing the livelihood of the refugees should apply the Sustainable Livelihoods analysis to assess how different poor refugees have different livelihood strategies, and how groups of poor refugees may change.

5.4.5 Livelihoods outcomes

On this point, it is clear that livelihood outcomes are what household members achieve through their livelihood strategies, such as levels of food security, income security, health, well being, asset accumulation and high status in the community. Unsuccessful outcomes include food and income insecurity, high vulnerability to shocks, loss of assets and impoverishment.¹⁴¹

In the context of refugees, the asset base of their poor households is much more limited than that of local citizens’ households because of disabling policies, institutions and processes that impact on their livelihood strategies. For instance, restricted access to land, water, natural resources and other assets limits the refugees’ households’ livelihood options, and the output becomes negative. For instance, one interviewee testified having run a hair saloon in his country of origin, and because of the enabling policy that allowed him to have access to credit; he managed to buy a small house in Kigali, the capital of Rwanda. This brings me to say that lack of assets to fall back on in an emergency makes refugees vulnerable to shocks, and then shocks contribute to negative livelihood outcomes and further depletion of household assets, leading to a downward spiral of deepening poverty.

In other words, enabling policies, institutions and processes should be set up for refugees by the country of asylum, their poor households could then enjoy a broader livelihood asset base, which widens their livelihood options and reduces their

¹⁴⁰ Jo Beall and Nazneen Kanji. 1999. “Households, Livelihoods and Urban Poverty”, p85.

¹⁴¹ Diana Carney. 1998. “Implementing the Sustainable Rural Livelihoods approach”, p37.

vulnerability to shocks. This could enable them to pursue winning livelihood strategies and to achieve positive livelihood options. In that way, we would suggest that to enable refugees' households to overcome their vulnerability context, the Anglican Cathedral and other charitable organizations should take mainly two broad lines of action. Firstly, they could help poor refugees' households to build up their assets - especially their human and social capital. Secondly, they could play a role in the transformation of the policy and institutional context from one that empowers the refugees' initiatives and that take into account the issue of basic human rights.

With regard to the livelihood outcomes, there are firstly positive outcomes. Talking to the interviewees, they showed that there are not great outcomes from their livelihood strategies. However, at least, our interviewees manage to put food on the table, and this a good outcome from their small projects run for the survival of their households. They still complain of financial constraints that complicate their children's schooling, but at least they manage to feed them. Furthermore, the strategy of being together in prayer is very positive as this becomes a space for sharing and mutual moral support.

In summary, although they left their countries of origin against a background of great uncertainty, refugees from the Great Lakes Region have managed to survive and establish self-reliant and dignified lives in their new environment despite very heavy challenges. In addition to pursuing familiar livelihood strategies they have taken advantage of available opportunities to craft new ones. Their experience reminds us that refugees are not always destined to be dependent on handouts. Left to their own devices, they are able to use their ingenuity to construct and maintain sustainable livelihoods, but still need the solidarity of the local citizens and authorities, as well as of charitable organizations in general, and specifically the Anglican Cathedral of the Holy Nativity.

Secondly, there are negative outcomes. That is to say, despite refugees working hard and having different skills, their poverty is still there. In the context of poverty, the way we understand its nature and what causes it is very important, because it tends to determine how we respond to poverty. Indeed, Myers articulates that what poverty is and what causes it, helps us determine the source of much of our understanding of

how development should be practiced.¹⁴² For instance, the understanding of poverty or wealth for a European is not the same as for an African. While poverty could be lack of money, in another context, poverty can be a lack of people (relatives and friends). In the early days of development many assumed that poverty could be explained by the absence of material things. However, the systematic nature of poverty could also be connected to the whole issue of the absence of access to power, resources, and choices, especially in the context of the refugees. In the early 1990s Myers added to the discussion by describing poverty as the lack of access to social power, with emphasis on adding political participation.¹⁴³

Indeed, it is now generally understood that poverty is a result of disempowerment and exclusion. From our fieldwork, we realized that poverty is not only a lack of material goods and opportunities, such as employment, ownership of productive assets and savings, but also the lack of physical and social goods, such as freedom from fear and violence, social belonging, cultural identity, organizational capacity, the ability to exert political influence, and the ability to live a life with respect and dignity. Thus, we can say that human rights violations are both a cause and a consequence of poverty.

Moreover, human rights reinforce the demand that poverty reduction be the primary goal of development policymaking. Therefore, human rights require the process of formulating a poverty reduction strategy to include the following elements and principles¹⁴⁴:

- Identifying and prioritizing action to improve the situation of the poorest,
- Analyzing the underlying power relations and the root causes of discrimination, ensuring that both the process and the concrete poverty reduction targets are consistent with international human rights standards,
- Ensuring close links between macroeconomic design, sectoral initiatives, and “governance” components and principles such as transparency and

¹⁴²Bryant L. Myers. 1999. *Working with the poor: new insights and learnings from development practitioners* (World Vision Publications, New York) p12.

¹⁴³ Bryant L. Myers. 1999. “*Working with the Poor*”, p14.

¹⁴⁴ Leandro, Despouy. 1996. *In Forma Final Sobre Los Derechos Humanos' La Extrama Pobreza*, UN Commission of Human Rights (UN Publications) p47.

accountability, and ensuring a basic standard of civil and political rights guarantees.

- Free and meaningful participation, including freedom of information and freedom of association,
- And identifying indicators and setting benchmarks so that the progressive realization of economic and social rights can clearly be monitored.

From the responses of the interviewees we can see that the children of refugees are victims of the poverty of their parents. Indeed, our stress on the human dimensions of poverty demonstrates, in turn, that poverty is not a fatality nor is it an accident since, as Father Wresinski has pointed out, “families in extreme poverty generally come from poor origins.”¹⁴⁵ In other words, in most of the cases, to some extent misery is general in character, transmitted from parents to children, by means of shared conditions and experiences. Moreover, Father Wresinski argues that “if the Fourth World is transmissible from parents to children, it is because the world that surrounds them reproduces in each generation the same rejection and lack of understanding.”¹⁴⁶

From a theological perspective, we can say that poverty and any other system or situation that dehumanizes people contradicts and undermines God's decision to create human beings in the divine image, as well as God's judgment on the goodness of creation. Because we are created for fellowship and mutual dependence, the reality is that poverty touches all, and not simply those who experience it directly. Furthermore, poverty prevents human beings from realizing their potential; it creates barriers of inequality between people, and bars people from experiencing the abundance of creation (see John 10: 10) ¹⁴⁷

Therefore, in their struggle to sustain their livelihood in a foreign land, they need solidarity from the Anglican Cathedral as a church whose mission is to look after the orphan, the widow and the marginalized in general, following the example of Jesus. In fact, when Christ announces good news to the poor, this news is not primarily spiritual, but has concrete economic and social implications. Likewise the preaching

¹⁴⁵ Father, Wresinski. quoted in Ajulu, Deborah. 2001. “*Holism in development*”, p92.

¹⁴⁶ Father, Wresinski. quoted in Ajulu, Deborah. 2001. “*Holism in development*”, p93.

¹⁴⁷ Celestine, Nyamu-Musembi and Andrea, Cornwall. *What is the 'rights-based approach' all about? Perspectives from the international development agencies*, IDS working paper 234 (University of Sussex, Institute of Development Studies, 2004) p19.

and proclamation of the Church is authenticated to the extent that it is linked with praxis which results in 'good news for the poor, the marginalized and the oppressed.' Therefore, as said above, the Church cannot afford to simply turn its focus outwards, without also critically addressing its own economic or development practices. In addition, the poor and the marginalized are not simply the responsibility of government and social welfare programs; they are members of our own community, and the Church must continually ask itself whether its proclamation and practice benefits the weak or the powerful. Thus, the Church needs to direct its attention and its development activity so that it becomes an advocate for the poor and the powerless.

In fact, as Christians we confess our faith in God who created humanity in the divine image, in Jesus Christ who has reconciled all people and opened to us a future of fellowship and freedom, peace and well-being, and the Spirit who calls us to act in correspondence with this vision as disciples of Christ in the Church, and as fully human citizens in the world. In contrast to this holistic vision for human life, Mutume states that poverty, unfreedom, violation of human rights and inequality that refugees are suffering from, serve to frustrate the full flowering of human potential, fragment human community, produce strife and distress and render fragile refugee's hope for the future.¹⁴⁸ Therefore, it is the ever-present task of Christians to ensure solidarity with the poor and the marginalized in obedience to the gospel which they confess.

In addition, HIV/AIDS could be another negative outcome that could emerge from the poverty of refugees. As showed in the interviews, there was one sex worker who testified how she entered the sex industry. In terms of HIV/AIDS, our concern is that she testified that there could be many other sex workers among refugees, but who cannot make it official for different reasons, including security and culture matters. Firstly, security is a problem due to confrontations with local girl citizens while looking for clients. In the confrontations, the refugee girls, as strangers in Pietermaritzburg, are in a weak position when defending their rights. Secondly, in cultural matters, because since you are officially called a sex worker in the context of the Great Lakes countries, you become marginalized and untrustworthy in this

¹⁴⁸ Mutume, Gumisai. 1997. "No immigrants Please, We are South Africans", p27.

community. Therefore, they prefer to run the business discretely, and from our experience, this attitude plays a major role in the spreading of HIV/AIDS.

In the long run, this will be a big problem, because the situation will be worse in the future as long as the children of refugees cannot find the means to go to school. In the context of refugees, it is clear that poverty is associated with weak endowments of human and financial resources, such as low levels of education with associated low levels of literacy and few marketable skills, generally poor health status and low labour productivity as a result. In that situation, the children of refugees should not be encouraged to start businesses that put them at risk not only themselves but the community as a whole. In other words, it is not at all surprising in these circumstances that poor refugee girls adopt behaviour which exposes them to HIV infection. In fact, even if the poor understood what they are being obliged to do it is rarely the case that they have either the incentive or the resources to adopt the recommended behaviour.

From our fieldwork, we stated that, in the context of refugees, HIV-specific programmes are *neglectful of the interests of the poor and are rarely if ever related to their needs*, and also unfortunately are other non-HIV related programme activities - such as those relating to small credit. More generally it is the absence of effective programmes aimed at sustainable livelihoods which limit the possibilities of changing the socio-economic conditions of the poor in general and refugees specifically. As the whole issue is, unless the reality of the lives of the refugee girls are changed they will persist with behaviour which exposes them to HIV infection and none of the community will be exempt from infection.

Apart from HIV programmes, the church in general, and the Anglican Cathedral specifically, are concerned with the issues mentioned in the above paragraph. Unfortunately, from our experience in Rwanda, some churches are still associating HIV/AIDS with God's punishment, instead of viewing the epidemic as tragedy and an opportunity and challenge. Indeed, judging those living with HIV/AIDS could be fuelling the HIV/AIDS epidemic by driving people underground where they are further exposed to negative influences, rather than embracing them and creating the space for them to rediscover their identity, find their faith, and live it out in their own lives.

Furthermore, poor education of the children of the refugees (and of the refugees themselves) is one of the negative outcomes of the vulnerability context of their parents. From the interviews, we realized that matters relating to the education of the children of refugees are a big financial issue. In addition, from the general profile of refugees, we have seen that most of the interviewees interrupted their studies due to their flight, and could not continue their studies due to livelihood challenges.

We have also seen that the poverty of the refugees forces them to put their children in poor schools where they cannot compete with other children because of the level of teaching and the infrastructures that are available in these schools. In other words, in the situation of refugees, we realized that there is a risk of the vulnerability context of the parents impacting on the vulnerability context of the children in the long run. In fact, the best way to prepare the future of the children is to empower them educationally.

In the midst of conflict, education is often seen as a luxury for refugees who are also struggling for food and shelter. But education is not a luxury. It is a basic right, one that is vital in restoring hope and dignity to people driven from their homes, a tool to help them get back on their feet and build a better future. Ensuring access to basic education should be a first priority, and UNHCR should provide this in all phases of operations such as care and maintenance, local settlement and integration, repatriation and even emergencies.

As the statistics show, to date more than twenty-seven million children and youth affected by armed conflict, including refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs), do not have access to formal education.¹⁴⁹ Therefore, promoting the right to education is an obligation of member states that have ratified the 1989 Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC), and they must promote the education of all children and adolescents within their jurisdiction, regardless of status.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ Samantha, Brennan and Robert, Noggle. 1997. "The Moral Status of Children: Children's Rights, Parents' Rights, and Family Justice", *Social Theory and Practice* (Oxford, Clarendon Press) p 23- 26.

¹⁵⁰ Samantha, Brennan and Robert, Noggle. 1997. "The Moral Status of Children.....", p 25.

Alston, Parker and Seymour show that the practical justification for an educational response in emergencies and for refugees includes:¹⁵¹

- Education helps meet the psychosocial needs of children and adolescents affected by conflict or disasters that have disrupted their lives, studies and social networks.
- Education is a tool for protecting children in emergencies.
- Education provides a channel for conveying health and survival messages and for teaching new skills and values, such as peace, tolerance, conflict resolution, democracy, human rights, environmental conservation....
- Education for All is a tool for social cohesion, whereas educational discrepancies lead to poverty for the uneducated and fuel civil conflict.
- Education is vital to reconstruction for the economic basis of family, local and national life and for sustainable development and peace building.

With regard to the vulnerability context of the refugees, another negative outcome is the loss of dignity. That is to say, in the context of the Great Lakes Region refugees, due to their exclusion in the society, some of them created a self-image. They don't have dignity among the local citizens who treat them as "makwerekwere." The word dignity is a twofold word involving political and theological meanings. Beyleveld and Brownsword show that "the idea of dignity looms large in the post-war landscape of public ethics and add that human dignity has received prominent billing in numerous national and international declarations and constitutions."¹⁵² However, the idea of dignity also has a rich historical and philosophical tradition behind it. Iglesias shows that "dignity was a kind of personal excellence that only a few possessed to any significant degree, and adds that later dignity was attributed by some philosophers to all men, describing it both as a characteristic and a requirement."¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Philip, Alston; Steve Parker and John, Seymour (Eds). 1992. Children, Rights and the Law (Oxford: Oxford University Press) p71.

¹⁵² Roger, Beyleveld and Roger, Brownsword. 2001. Human dignity in bioethics and biolaw (Oxford : Oxford University Press) p47

¹⁵³ Teresa, Iglesias. 2001. Bedrock Truths and the Dignity of the Individual (San Francisco : Logos Publications) p114- 134.

In the context of our research, we viewed human dignity as defined Medieval Christianity that argued that “the dignity of man was based on the belief that God had created man in His image, allowing man to share some aspects of His divine reason and might and this dignity was viewed as an essential characteristic of the human being, possessed by each one of us, independent of social rank and personal excellence.”¹⁵⁴ Therefore, it is often assumed that at least all normal human persons have the same level of human dignity. Kass uses a political word and relates human dignity to human rights which is a set of inalienable rights possessed by all beings that have full moral status, and adds that we might have a strict duty not to violate human rights, and an imperfect duty to promote respect for human rights.¹⁵⁵

However, the attitude of xenophobia from local citizens and the policies and structures of South Africa seem to contradict that Universal Declaration. Paradoxically, Nyamu-Musembi and Cornwall show that all countries have ratified at least one of the seven core United Nations human rights treaties and 80 per cent of States have ratified four or more, giving concrete expression to this universal recognition, and South Africa is one of these countries.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, the Anglican Cathedral could stand on behalf of the marginalized and poor refugees by its prophetic voice, and based upon the Holy Scriptures, affirm that everyone is created in the image of God and needs to be treated with dignity.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with analysing the data collected using the principles of Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF). Mainly, it has focused on identifying the strengths and strategies used by refugees to survive in Pietermaritzburg. By using SLF, it has presented the main factors that affect refugees’ livelihoods, and the relationships between them. In analysing the data collected, it has used the five main elements of SLF, namely, vulnerability context, asset portfolio, transforming structures and processes, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes. It has realized that despite the refugees’ own devices they are able to use their ingenuity to construct

¹⁵⁴ Leon, Kass. 2002. *Life, liberty, and the defence of dignity: the challenge for bioethics* (San Francisco, Encounter Books) p103- 111.

¹⁵⁵ Leon, Kass. 2002. “Life, liberty, and the defence of dignity ...”, p52.

¹⁵⁶ Celestine, Nyamu-Musembi and Andrea, Cornwall. “What is the ‘rights-based approach’ all about? Perspectives from the international development agencies.....”, p23.

and maintain sustainable livelihoods, although they still need the solidarity of the local citizens and authorities, as well as charitable organizations. The next chapter will focus on the role that the Anglican Cathedral of the Holy Nativity can play in enhancing the livelihood of the Great Lakes Region refugees.

CHAPTER SIX

THE CHURCH'S RESPONSE: A WAY FORWARD

6.1 Introduction

Chapter five has dealt with data analysis by using the principles of Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF). It has focused on the five main elements of SLF, namely, vulnerability context, asset portfolio, transforming structures and processes, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes in relation to the identified strengths and strategies used by refugees to survive in Pietermaritzburg. This chapter will now deal with the role that the Anglican Cathedral could play in enhancing the livelihoods of the Great Lakes Region refugees in Pietermaritzburg.

6.2 Background of the Anglican Cathedral of the Holy Nativity

Davies summarizes the background of the Anglican Cathedral of the Holy Nativity as follows¹⁵⁷ : In 1946, the Diocese of Natal agreed to build a new Cathedral to replace the decaying St. Saviour's Cathedral on Commercial Road, Pietermaritzburg. At that time the project was conceived primarily in practical terms of substituting one building with another. In the intervening years a great deal of rethinking had taken place, which led to the development and expansion of the original scheme. Instead of simply providing a church building the project was expanded to include a centre for reconciliation for the city of Pietermaritzburg and for Natal as a whole. It was also designed in such a way that the Cathedral would be the focal point of the Diocese of Natal. This expanded vision of the leaders of the Church demonstrates the Church's awareness of its responsibility to the society and is in line with the function of old Cathedrals.

The delay in building was caused primarily by the problem over the positioning of the new Cathedral centre. St. Saviour's site itself had in extent 4181 square metres and was inadequate and badly placed for redevelopment as a Cathedral centre. The Diocese purchased a new site, in extent over 3 acres in 1964 on lower Church Street,

¹⁵⁷ Geoffrey F. Davies. 2000. "Save our Future: A Christian Response to the Social and Environmental Threats Facing Humankind" (Poynter Print, Johannesburg) p9.

Pietermaritzburg. However, in recent years it was agreed that in the interests of reconciliation in the Church, an attempt ought to be made to reunite these two congregations. Subsequently the two previous congregations were reunited to form the new Cathedral congregation of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity on 2nd June 1976. This was the name that was kept in the post-apartheid period until now.

During that transition, the issue of refugees was known neither by churches nor by the South African community as a whole. The strangers in the apartheid political system were economic migrants, known as temporary workers, entering through back-door channels as contract migrants under bilateral agreements between the apartheid government and its neighbors such as Lesotho, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe.¹⁵⁸ Therefore when the influx of ordinary political refugees came to South Africa after 1994, especially from the Great Lakes Region, they were strangers to the South African community and were taken as “makwerekwere” or “invaders” by the local community that had never experienced the phenomenon of refugees before. Moreover, information from anonymous South African students show that during apartheid, black Africans identified themselves as refugees, given the fact that from the homeland settlements, they needed passports to move within South Africa being thus treated like aliens in their own country. But still, although they identified themselves like that, still they didn’t have an idea of a refugee as an outsider.

On the other hand, in the apartheid era, as the congregation of the Anglican Cathedral comprised mainly privileged white members who were controlling the economic and social system, we can imagine that the real image of the poor within such a congregation was not there. The poor blacks were in the ‘homelands’ and had their own congregations there. Moreover, from the apartheid point of view, it was natural for different population groups to have different expectations of life.¹⁵⁹ This means that there was no special program to care for the aliens and the poor in general. In the post-apartheid period, for the sake of unity and reconciliation, Christian congregations became mixed; black Africans, Indians, coloreds and whites and started worshipping

¹⁵⁸ Migration information source. *Global Profile: South Africa: New Nation, New Migration Policy?* By Jonathan Crush, Southern African Migration Project (SAMP), June 2003. <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?id=131>
¹⁵⁹ Migration information source. “*Global Profile.....*” Ibid.

together. However, the issue of the strangers and the poor still remained a challenge to the ministry of the Anglican Cathedral.

In our discussions with a friend from the Anglican Cathedral, she argued that now the leadership of the Anglican Cathedral is making a good effort to approach the poor and the marginalized, but she argued that there are still big socio-economic gaps within the members of the congregation but this does not seem to be of much concern to anybody, despite the assertion that they are brothers and sisters in Christ. On the issue of the refugees, she said that she always meets some refugees in the Cathedral but she doesn't know where they stay in Pietermaritzburg.

6.3 Attempts to reach the poor

Despite the limitations of resources, the Anglican Cathedral manages to do something towards the poor and the marginalized. A tangible example is the ministry to the street children. During our visit to the Anglican Cathedral, we realized that there is a good ministry among the street children in Pietermaritzburg. When we went to the associate dean of the Anglican Cathedral for more information on that ministry, he advised us to visit the street children ministry on the field. Together with two sisters in charge of that ministry in the Anglican Cathedral, we distributed bread and the sisters held a short meeting with the street children in Zulu and translated in English for me.

During the fieldwork, we noted that there are very many children who live and work on the streets: begging, peddling fruit, cigarettes or trinkets, often resorting to petty theft, and we were informed that some young girls among the street children are engaged in prostitution in order to survive. As we understood from the sisters, some of them have family links, but many others have been abandoned, rejected or orphaned, or have run away from home because of abuse or poverty. Many are addicted to drugs, often use inhalants such as glue, which are cheap and easily accessible but cause irreversible brain damage as well as a host of physical debilities. In that situation our view was that the Anglican Cathedral and other communities of believers in Pietermaritzburg should create a place where these street children could meet and enjoy the standard of living adequate for their physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development.

We appreciated the good work being done by the Anglican Cathedral among these street children. From the contact with these children, the Anglican Cathedral reaches their parents/relatives with whom they are living. Through such contact, it was found that some of the parents used to be street children themselves and are sending their children on to the streets as a source of income. Some children are sent out when they don't have classes, either in the mornings or in the afternoons, so that their families can make ends meet. Our opinion is that urgent action needs to be taken to prevent these disadvantaged children from leaving their schools to become street children. The Anglican Cathedral's approach is a good model in that it seeks to understand the root cause of the problem in order to come up with an appropriate solution.

During our visit, the sisters testified that these children living and working on the streets come to hate the society that has rejected them. We were informed that there are some churches in Pietermaritzburg that co-operate with them in this work, playing a vital role in responding to the cry of "a generation lost in the wilderness", reuniting some street children with their families and reintegrating them into the society. However, as we understood, some evangelical churches trying to help these children along with the Anglican Cathedral need to move away from a traditional charity-based approach as the magnitude of the problems faced by children intensifies.

Turning to the case of the Great Lakes Region refugees, the case of the street children shows that the Anglican Cathedral is able to do something for other marginalized groups, like refugees. Therefore, we suggest that the Anglican Cathedral could take time to listen and visit the Great Lakes Region refugees staying in Pietermaritzburg, in order to investigate the real livelihood challenges that they meet in Pietermaritzburg, and to come up with appropriate strategies to face these challenges.

In our discussion with the Dean of the Cathedral, he affirmed that there is a possibility for them to see what can be done for refugees in the light of what they do for street children. Although the background of both groups is different, their challenges are similar and according to the Dean, the will to do something is there. Indeed, refugees from that region and the marginalized in general need solidarity in order to feel part of the body of Christ and full members of the Christian community of the Anglican Cathedral. In fact, referring to the Bible, not only was Jesus, in his flight to Egypt, himself a refugee, but Peter reminds the believers that followers of Christ are

"foreigners and strangers" on earth since their real home is in heaven (Phil. 3:20; 2 Pet. 2:11).

6.4 Enhancing the livelihoods of refugees

Although the Anglican Cathedral has taken steps to help the street children, the journey to help the poor and the marginalized in general is still long, especially the support of refugees. There are many things that need to be done, but we should not forget that the Anglican Cathedral is limited, especially in terms of financial capital and human capital. However, from our fieldwork, we realized that the support that is needed from the Anglican Cathedral towards refugees is not only financial, but that support involves the whole issue of solidarity, the preaching of justice, empowering their existing capital, advocacy, and also thinking about going back home.

6.4.1 Promoting the culture of hospitality and solidarity

From the fieldwork, we stated that refugees from the Great Lakes Region and strangers in general in Pietermaritzburg are victims of xenophobia and different kinds of crime. They live on the margin of the community of Pietermaritzburg. Therefore the responsibility of offering refugees a welcome, hospitality, solidarity and assistance lies first of all with the Anglican Cathedral as a church, because it is called on to heed the demands of the Gospel, reaching out to all people without distinction, caring for these people in their moment of need and solitude. In other words, the task of the church should take on various forms: personal contact, defense of the rights of individuals and groups, the denunciation of the injustices that are at the root of this evil, and action for the adoption of laws that will guarantee their effective protection. In addition, there is a need for education against xenophobia.

In this process, the first place where the Church's attention to refugees should be concrete remains at the level of the parish community, which has the task of sensitizing its members to the plight of refugees, exhorting them to welcome as Jesus taught: "I was a stranger and you welcomed me" (Mt 25:35).¹⁶⁰ It should not view the new arrivals as a threat to its cultural identity and comfort, but as an incentive to walk

¹⁶⁰ George, Webber. 1979. *Today's church: A Community of Exiles and Pilgrims* (Abingdon, Nashville) p37

together with these new brothers and sisters who are themselves rich in particular gifts, in an ever-new process of forming a people capable of celebrating its unity in diversity. Emerson and Smith argue that benevolence, respect, trust and sharing are practical expressions of a culture of solidarity and hospitality.¹⁶¹ Therefore, the Christian community must overcome fear and suspicion toward refugees, and be able to see in them the Savior's face.

Indeed Christians, strong in the certainty of their faith, must demonstrate that by placing the dignity of the human person with all his or her needs in first place, the obstacles created by injustice will begin to fall. Emerson and Smith add that God, who walked with the refugees of the Exodus in search of a land free of any slavery, is still walking with today's refugees in order to accomplish his loving plan together with them.¹⁶² Moreover, human solidarity as witnessed by any community that welcomes refugees and by the commitment of national and international organizations that care for them, is a source of hope for the real possibility of living together in fraternity and peace.¹⁶³

From that perspective, we can say that cooperation among the various Christian Churches and the various non-Christian religions in this charitable work should lead to new advances in the search for and the implementation of a deeper unity of the human family. The experience of exile can become a particular time of grace, just as it was for the people, who, when exiled in the desert came to know the name of God and to experience his liberating power (Exodus 16).

6.4.2 Need for preaching justice

On the one hand, the Anglican Cathedral (as any other church) has a mandate to continue the 'missio-Dei' in the world. Therefore, the Anglican Cathedral is called to the duty of announcing the good news of salvation through Jesus Christ, by highlighting that we human beings are created in the image of God, and this implies

¹⁶¹ Emerson, Michael O. and Smith, Christian. 2000. "Divided by Faith: Evangelical Religion and the Problem of Race in America" (New York: Oxford University Press) p54.

¹⁶² Michael O. Emerson. 2000. *Divided by Faith: Evangelical Religion and the Problem of Race in America* (New York, O.U.P Publications) p18.

¹⁶³ David, Walker. 1997. *Rwanda: Which Way Now?* (New Edition: An Oxfam Country Profile: Oxfam UK and Ireland) p37.

the duty to protect human dignity, in opposition to the xenophobic attitude of the local South African citizens highlighted in chapter four. Indeed, every human being, regardless of ethnic background, sex, age or religious or social affiliation originates from God and is a bearer of God's image. For that justice to happen, the contribution of the church is needed, through its prophetic voice advocating for the awareness and caring for the stranger, the marginalized and the poor.

On the other hand, bearing the 'missio-Dei', the Anglican Cathedral like any other church has a social mandate. It is called to responsible participation in human society, including working for human well-being and justice towards the stranger and powerless in general. This is confirmed by de Gruchy who says that "there are many connections between the Christian faith with its concern for love and justice, and the struggles to make life better for those who are poor and marginalized."¹⁶⁴

In other words, the Anglican Cathedral, as a church, has a mission from God to proclaim justice for the poor and the marginalized. It doesn't exist for its own sake, but as a community, sent by God into the world with the mission to proclaim by words and deeds, the gospel of God's liberating love in Jesus Christ. Therefore, the church should raise up signs of the reign of God by defending the powerless. The church also should preach truth, justice and peace for everyone and should highlight a fair distribution of the resources of the earth and protect the God-given dignity of every human being that many people seek. Indeed, Jesus' purpose for his followers was that they should be "salt for everyone on earth" and "light for the whole world" (Matthew 5:13, 14), and his final message to his church was that they were to take the gospel to the ends of the earth promising them the provision of the necessary resources to do it (Matthew 28:18-20; Luke 24:45-49; Acts 1:8).

Furthermore, the main mission of the church is to bear 'shalom' in the world, based on the fact that as Christians, we confess our faith in God who creates humanity in the Divine image, in Jesus Christ who has reconciled all people and opened to humankind a future of fellowship, peace and well-being. However, poverty prevents human beings from realizing their potential; it creates barriers of inequality between people,

¹⁶⁴ Steve, De Gruchy. "Like Moses, we always perish outside the promised land : Reinhold Niebuhr and the contribution of Theology and development" in Lyn Holness and Ralf Wusternburg (eds) *"Theology in Dialogue: The impact of the Arts , Humanities, and science on contemporary Religious Thoughts"* (Grand Rapids : Ferdmans) p133.

and bars people from experiencing their 'shalom' and the abundance of creation as mentioned in John 10: 10. In such a situation, the voice of the church in its preaching and practical action on behalf of the poor needs to be seen.

6.4.3 Promoting participation and the spirit of sharing

In the process of enhancing the livelihood of the Great Lakes Region refugees, the Anglican Cathedral needs first to welcome them. Indeed, in an African culture, if you are a stranger in a place, the way people welcome you shows how they will be helpful to you. From the example of Acts 2: 48-52 one can see that the poor were welcomed and integrated into the early church. Thus, all believers lived in community: 'All the believers were together and had everything in common'. We can learn from this that true solidarity in a Christian perspective is the kind that considers each member of the community as a person who can contribute something. Vinay and Sugden show that the early community of believers founded a whole new system of distribution that included each person in a process of giving and receiving according to ability and need.¹⁶⁵ Indeed, as we stated in the interviews, Great Lakes Region refugees have different skills that can be used for building communities since they benefit from solidarity and consideration from the local communities. Still referring to the above biblical reference, the approach of a communitarian life affirms people's vocation. It shows us that God has a calling for each person, poor and rich - they are all called to do specific tasks in *missio-Dei* in the Christian community.

In the same way, Vinay and Sugden add that, the early Christians saw that nothing was their private property and that resources were to be shared and freely given for the good of the body rather than for any individual advantage.¹⁶⁶ Our view is not for the congregations to put their belongings together with those of refugees and share according to the needs of everyone, but we want to highlight that, since refugees are integrated in the Christian community of the Anglican Cathedral, the congregation will realize that, while attempting to help refugees, they will in turn benefit from their experience and skills for the building up of the Anglican Cathedral. As a matter of fact, the women need to be integrated into the mothers' union, young girls and boys

¹⁶⁵ Samuel, Vinay and Chris Sugden. 1987. *The Church in Response to Human Need* (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan, Regnum Books. Oxford, UK) p22.

¹⁶⁶ Samuel Vinay and Chris Sugden. 1987. "The Church in Response to Human Needs", p22.

need to be integrated into the youth ministry of the Anglican Cathedral... Otherwise, they will always feel relegated to being second-class members of the Anglican Cathedral community.

From the example of the early church noted above, we learn that the early Christians adopted a good approach to the empowering of each other, and Christians could use social opportunities to meet their basic human needs. Indeed that solidarity empowered everyone, and there were no powerless or poor. It is in this context that the church could discuss and see how to create a space for the voiceless of the congregation, from strangers to street children, so that they may express their views and feel themselves part of the Christian community in the Anglican Cathedral and be able to contribute to something for the building up of the church. Indeed, the Bible teaches that human beings are not only the image of God, but also created for fellowship with God and one another, and the stewardship of creation (Gen. 1: 28).

6.4.4 Building on the existing assets portfolio

On this point, a system is needed for empowering Great Lakes Region refugees through recognizing that they are people with God-given talents, gifts, human and social capital like any other people in the Anglican Cathedral's congregation. In other words, there is a need to promote each one's freedom to use his/her gifts, skills and talents in order to develop him / herself and to develop the society. In this process of recognizing all of this capital, the philosophy of Kretzmann and McKnight can inspire the Anglican Cathedral. This approach is a community-based development that is founded on the principle of the recognition of strengths, gifts, talents and assets of individuals and communities that are more likely to inspire positive action for change than an exclusive focus on needs and problems.¹⁶⁷ Therefore, as this approach focuses on the merits of all members, it implicitly and explicitly encourages a spirit of egalitarianism and solidarity between all those who bear the image of God.

Even if the above approach is not written from a Christian perspective, this model carries Christian values. As mentioned above, this model enables people to use their assets or capital that God has given them for His glory. That is to say, all activities in

¹⁶⁷ John Kretzmann and John L. McKnight. 1993. *Building Communities from Inside Out: A Path toward Finding and Mobilising Community Assets* (New York, ACTA Publications) p35.

the community are meant to maintain His creation, and belong to Him, and He has given us enough gifts to do the work. The Apostle Paul addressing the Romans says, 'We have different gifts, according to the grace given us' (Romans 12:6). These are teaching, prophesying, serving, encouraging, helping others, leadership, and the Bible goes on to say that 'each one should use whatever gift he has received to serve others, faithfully administering God's grace in its various forms' (1 Peter 4:10). Here there is no specific task based on the social status, rather everyone contributes to the community wellbeing. In the same way, the whole congregation of the Cathedral is an asset for the Cathedral, and that asset is constituted by different people with different gifts and capital that can be used for the upbuilding of the Cathedral community. As refugees are part of the Cathedral, it would be a good step to give a space for them to use their gifts, talents or capital for the upbuilding of the Cathedral community.¹⁶⁸

In other words, the presumption of justice and solidarity is that all people are equal. In fact, refugees need to be rescued from their feelings of separateness, inferiority and self-contempt in the community of those who recognize themselves sisters and brothers in Christ. Indeed, the basis of sustainable human livelihood is not only materialistic well-being, but as Bruce and Wood highlights "the raising of the cultural standard of refugees, permitting them to live a fuller life, or to practice their talents and raise their capabilities."¹⁶⁹

6.4. 5 A people-centred system of development

As highlighted, the church is the bearer of 'shalom', and 'shalom' means well-being. However, well-being is not only concerned with the spiritual side, but the physical as well. Indeed, every person is theologically constituted by the spirit and the body. In fact, when Jesus announces good news to the poor, this news is not primarily spiritual, but has concrete economic and social implications. Likewise the preaching and proclamation of the Anglican Cathedral will be authenticated to the extent that it will be linked with praxis which results in 'good news for the poor, the marginalized and the oppressed.' Therefore, the Church cannot afford to simply turn its focus outwards, without also critically addressing its own economic or developmental practices to

¹⁶⁸Bruce, J. Nicholas and Beulah, R. Wood. 1996. *Sharing the good news with the poor: A reader for concerned Christians* (Baker Book House, Bangalore, India) p1.

¹⁶⁹ Nicholas J. Bruce and Wood R. Beulah. 1996. "Sharing the good news with the poor", p171.

insure that they do serve the cause of the poor and the marginalized. In addition, the poor and the marginalized are not simply the responsibility of government and social welfare programs, they are members of our own community, and the Anglican Cathedral and all the churches in general in Pietermaritzburg must continually ask themselves whether their proclamation and practice benefits the weak or the powerless, without violating the rights of the powerful.

In chapter four, we have seen that on their journey to sustainable livelihood, refugees from the Great Lakes Region meet different challenges, among them policies, institutions and processes that prevent them from accessing the community capital. Therefore, the Anglican Cathedral as a faith-community, could call attention to the moral dimensions of public policy and pursue policies that uphold the human dignity of each person, all of whom are made in the image of God. Indeed, from our understanding, it would not be deviating from its mission if the church engages the immigration issue with the goal of fashioning an immigration system that facilitates legal status in the interest of serving the God-given dignity and rights of every individual.

The Anglican Cathedral must affirm that human, social, and economic development is not alien to the Christian concept of mission. The reality is that “a holistic understanding of mission reaffirms that God is not only concerned with the supernatural, but it is active to humanize the world as we know it, and that power is active in the secular life of humankind.”¹⁷⁰ However, the reality is that previously the church's business seemed to be primarily a matter of saving souls. But now with clear understanding of the above, there is a need for the church, as the Bride of Christ, to engage with social justice and human development as related to the Kingdom of God. The call for Christians and the church in general to be involved in some form of development action is perhaps best summarized by the powerful statement from James in which he asserts that, “just as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead (James 2:26).”¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ Steve de Gruchy. *Of Agency, Assets and Appreciation : Seeking Commonalities between Theology and Development*, in “*the Journal of Theology for Southern Africa 117*” (November, 2003) p 20-39

¹⁷¹ Steve de Gruchy. “*Of Agency, Assets and Appreciation : Seeking Commonalities between Theology and Development, ...*”, p 27

Indeed, Nyerere was very right when he stated that “the church will become irrelevant to people and the Christian religion will degenerate into a set of superstitions accepted by the fearful.”¹⁷² He further observed that unless the church, its members and its organizations, express God’s love for people by involvement and leadership in constructive protest against the present conditions of people, then it will become identified with injustice and persecution.”¹⁷³ Therefore, it would seem that faith, without the works of development, is not only dead, but it deserves to die. In other words, as Christians, we cannot afford allowing our theological expression to remain mere words. Words do not feed the poor. Our confessions of faith are tested and authenticated when they translate into concrete action.

6.4.6 Promoting sustainable solutions

The situation of the refugees from the Great Lakes Region requires a comprehensive approach of encouraging the search for solutions while addressing the underlying causes of mass movements of refugees. This approach is deeply rooted in the promotion of human rights, as violation of human rights is rampant in most African countries and it is a major cause of refugee flows. Therefore, The Anglican Cathedral needs to highlight in its preaching that protection of refugees in general and of women refugees particularly, is based on respect for human rights. In addition to this, UNHCR argues that the problems of refugees, not only from that region, but rather worldwide are directly related to the quest for peace and security, and this must be put at the forefront of the international agenda.¹⁷⁴

A genuinely durable solution means integration of the refugees into a society, such as reintegration in the country of origin after voluntary repatriation as it was highlighted by refugees themselves in their responses in chapter four. However, Tim and Hubert argue that many repatriation and returnee reintegration programmes in Africa and on the other continents are not being properly supported and funded by the international

¹⁷² Julius K. Nyerere. 1973. “The Church and Society” in *Freedom and Development* (Dar Es Salaam: Oxford University Press) pp214-228

¹⁷³ Julius K. Nyerere. 1973. The Church and Society “in *Freedom and Development*”, p220

¹⁷⁴United Nations: High Commission for Refugees. 1991. *Image of Exile* (UNHCR Publications, New York) p 13.

community.¹⁷⁵ This is confirmed in the 1990 Executive Committee of UNHCR, where Sweden delegation noted: “because of lack of contributions, ongoing repatriation programmes were being hampered or even halted.”¹⁷⁶

The heart of the problem with repatriation and reintegration assistance is the nature of temporary returns. Most returns take the form of repatriation under conflict without a resolution of the political issues that originally caused an exodus. A lack of peace, failure to reconcile, and continuing conflicts are not conducive to long-term development programmes. Moreover, as the problem of refugees from that region is reinforced by the issue of refugees and migrants from the Southern African countries, regional groupings such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) will need to increasingly address the root causes of refugee movements. Therefore, this would “entail a political and economic agenda aimed at eliminating ethnic strife and conflict, curtailing the arms trade, establishing a firm foundation for democratic institutions and governance, respect for human rights, and the promotion of economic development and social progress.”¹⁷⁷

In that situation, the lack of information constitutes a big barrier to repatriation. Therefore, the Anglican Cathedral could help by providing newspapers containing articles on the progress of security in the Great Lakes Region, and if possible, the Cathedral should help the refugees in the access to internet, so refugees may hear daily information of their countries. In the process, we would like to suggest that the Anglican Cathedral should co-operate with the Anglican Churches in the Great Lakes Region in the process of encouraging refugees for repatriation. Hopefully, this approach will be attractive to the donor governments and organizations involved in the issue of the repatriation of refugees. Otherwise, donor governments are singularly unimpressed by the argument that development assistance can precede and produce peace, since refugees come back home. Allen and Morsink argue that their “show me”

¹⁷⁵ Gaim, Kibreab. 1983. Research Report no 67: *Reflections on the African Refugee Problems: A Critical Analysis of some Basic Assumptions* (Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala Motala Grafiska AB) p74.

¹⁷⁶ Gaim, Kibreab. 1983. “Research Report no 67: *Reflections on the African Refugee...*”, p74.

¹⁷⁷ UNHCR (2000): *Rwanda Recovery*. UNHCR’s Repatriation and Reintegration Activities in Rwanda from 1994-1999. UNHCR Rwanda Publications (CTP Book Printers) p27.

attitude demands progress towards political reconciliation by the governments of origin before investments will be done.¹⁷⁸

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter we have been dealing with the role that the Anglican Cathedral could play in enhancing the refugees' livelihoods of the GLR in Pietermaritzburg. We have seen that the Anglican Cathedral is not the only church to be concerned with the issue of refugees. This should be the concern of all Christians who confess that every human being bears the image of God. We have seen that the Cathedral could help by creating a space for the refugees to express their views in the process of integrating them in the community of the Cathedral and so that it becomes a place of solidarity for refugees living in Pietermaritzburg.

In addition, looking at the complexity of this research, we would like to suggest further research on the issue of refugees and strangers in general in Pietermaritzburg. This is a small research that has only focused on the challenges posed by the Great Lakes Region to the ministry of the Anglican Cathedral. However, I didn't ignore the fact that there are other refugees from different parts of Africa, especially the Southern African countries. There are also ordinary migrants who are treated as refugees by the local citizens, and who are even put in the same box as refugees by the local authorities. The livelihood of all of these groups in Pietermaritzburg needs the attention of the researchers.

¹⁷⁸ Tim, Allen and Hubert M. Morsink. 1994. *When Refugees Go Back Home*", p68.

Appendix 1: Interview Schedule: Open ended interviews with Rwandan Refugees

1. Please tell me about yourself, and how you came to be in Pietermaritzburg.
2. Tell me about your family. Are they in the Great Lakes Region? Here with you? Who are you living with?
3. How do you put food on the table and pay for the other things that are necessary to live?
4. What are the things that make life difficult for you here in Pietermaritzburg?
5. What are the things that help you cope with these difficulties?
6. What relationships are important for you in this city? Which other people help you when there are times of difficulty?
7. Tell me about your church involvement in the church of the Holy Nativity? Does the church help you in any way?
8. In what ways does the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity emotionally, spiritually and physically?
9. If you could make changes to your livelihood, what would be the most important changes would you like to see?
10. Are there any other things that you would like to tell me about your life here in Pietermaritzburg?

APPENDIX 2: CONSENT FORM

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN AN INTERVIEW.

I agree to participate in an interview with Celestin Hategekimana concerning the ways in which Rwandan Refugees are managing to live in Pietermaritzburg.

I understand that my comments and answers will be combined with those of others to form the basis of his MTh thesis at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

I understand that this research may help the Anglican Cathedral respond to Rwandan refugees.

I understand that there is no payment for involvement in this interview.

All information will be anonymous, and will be kept in protective storage during and after the research. False names will be used in the thesis.

I understand that a report on this interview will be made available to me if I request it.

I understand that I may withdraw from this process at any time.

Name

Signature

Date

Contact details for Rev Celestin Hategekimana, 083 762 5237

Research Supervisor: Rev. Dr Beverley Haddad, UKZN. 033 260 6273