



**An exploration of the theological concept of shalom
in the curriculum of the Evangelical Seminary of Southern Africa, 1980-1992**

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Abstract

This study seeks to demonstrate the presence of a *shalom* motif in ESSA's early curriculum during the founding couple's tenure, Phil and Carmena Capp. The influence of this concept is explored in the seminary's training program by examining its place across the Intended, Enacted, Experienced, and Hidden curricula. In some part, the study is also a history of the seminary during its formative years – a story that has not yet been told. Using document analysis and semi-structured interviews, it is discovered that while there is no explicit mention of *shalom* in the Intended curricula, the concept was Experienced by both faculty and students in profound ways.

Keywords: Theological education; Curriculum; Shalom

Declaration

I, Carl Ivor Brook, declare that

- (i) The research reported in this dissertation, except where otherwise indicated, is my original work.
- (ii) This dissertation has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
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Acknowledgements

For Elma, my *shalom*.

Abbreviations

EBSemSA - Evangelical Bible Seminary of Southern Africa

ESSA – Evangelical Seminary of Southern Africa

FedSem - Federal Theological Seminary

UBI - Union Bible Institute

Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction	12
1.1 Introduction	12
1.2 Background and context	12
1.3 Rationale	14
1.4 Study objectives	16
1.5 Research questions	16
1.6 Research methods	17
1.7 Positionality.....	17
1.8 Conclusion.....	17
Chapter Two: Literature review	19
2.1 Introduction	19
2.2 Historical context	19
2.2.1 The crisis of the 70s and 80s.....	19
2.2.2 The church's response	22
2.2.3 Seminaries of Pietermaritzburg	26
2.3 Key concepts	30
2.3.1 Curriculum	31
2.3.2 Theological education.....	32
2.3.3 <i>Shalom</i>	35
2.4 Studies that consider seminary curricula.....	37
2.4.1 Curriculum as formation	37
2.4.2 Curriculum as liberation.....	39
2.4.3 Curriculum as praxiological.....	41
2.5 Conclusion.....	42
Chapter Three: Conceptual framework	43

3.1 Introduction	43
3.2 How do people learn?.....	43
3.3 Concepts of curriculum.....	48
3.3.1 May	48
3.3.2 Neary.....	50
3.3.3 Smith.....	51
3.3.4 Selecting the conceptual framework.....	53
3.4 The intended-enacted-experienced conceptual framework	53
3.4.1 Porter and Smithson	55
3.4.2 Clemmons et al.	57
3.5 The student experience	59
3.6 Relevance of this conceptual framework to my study.....	60
3.7 Conclusion.....	61
Chapter Four: Research design	62
4.1 Introduction	62
4.2 Research paradigm.....	62
4.3 Research approach.....	63
4.4 Research style	63
4.5 Data generation	65
4.5.1 Sampling	66
4.5.2 Document analysis.....	66
4.5.3 Semi-structured interviews.....	67
4.6 Trustworthiness	69
4.7 Limitations.....	70
4.8 Research ethics	71
4.9 Conclusion.....	72

Chapter Five: Data presentation	73
5.1 Introduction	73
5.2 Document analysis	73
5.2.1 Article	74
5.2.2 Memoir	76
5.2.3 Archival documents	77
5.3 Interview participants	86
5.3.1 Former faculty	86
5.3.2 Former students	88
5.4 Data generated from former faculty	91
5.4.1 Attraction to ESSA	91
5.4.2 Regarding <i>shalom</i>	93
5.5 Data generated from former students	94
5.5.1 Attraction to ESSA	95
5.5.2 Regarding <i>shalom</i>	98
5.6 Conclusion	100
Chapter Six: Analysis	101
6.1 Introduction	101
6.2 Research Question 1 – What concept of <i>shalom</i> did the founders introduce to ESSA in 1980?	101
6.2.1 Data	101
6.2.2 Literature review	102
6.2.3 Theoretical framework	103
6.3 Research Question 2 – How was this interpretation reflected in early curriculum documents?	105
6.3.1 Data	105

6.3.2 Literature review	105
6.3.3 Theoretical framework	106
6.4 Research Question 3 – How did those who designed and presented the curriculum express shalom in their task of training leaders?	106
6.4.1 Data.....	106
6.4.2 Literature review.....	106
6.4.3 Theoretical framework	107
6.5 Research Question 4 – How was this curriculum experienced by ESSA students during that period?	108
6.5.1 Data.....	108
6.5.2 Literature review.....	108
6.5.3 Theoretical framework	109
6.6 Conclusion	109
Chapter Seven: Conclusion-----	110
7.1 Introduction	110
7.2 Overview	111
7.3 Findings.....	112
7.4 Reflection on this study	112
7.5 Methodology.....	112
7.6 Possible areas of further research	113
7.7 Implications for theological education.....	113
7.8 Conclusion.....	114
References.....	115
Appendix A.....	Error! Bookmark not defined.
Semi-structured interview questions for former faculty	123
Semi-structured interview questions for former students	125

List of Tables

<i>Table 1: Characteristics of adult learning and links to learning theories</i>	<i>44</i>
<i>Table 2: Role of the educator in product versus process approaches</i>	<i>53</i>
<i>Table 3: Layers of contextual analysis of case studies.....</i>	<i>63</i>
<i>Table 4: Alignment of research questions and data-generation methods.....</i>	<i>64</i>
<i>Table 5: Documents analysed in this study</i>	<i>72</i>
<i>Table 6: Quotations from selected documents.....</i>	<i>77</i>
<i>Table 7: Former faculty interviewed.....</i>	<i>84</i>
<i>Table 8: Former students interviewed</i>	<i>86</i>

List of Figures

Figure 1: The ESSA Cross.....	25
Figure 2: Community Regulation Timetable.....	38
Figure 3: Intended-Enacted-Experienced Curriculum.....	56

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This study has two foci: a) how the theological concept of *shalom* was reflected in the curriculum of the Evangelical Seminary of Southern Africa (ESSA) during its formative years, 1980-1992 (called Evangelical Bible Seminary of Southern Africa (EBSemSA) at that time); and b) how this concept was expressed in the seminary's task of training Christian leaders during that period. Notwithstanding discussions of history and context, the study primarily concerns curriculum and curriculum theory.

1.2 Background and context

ESSA is a small Bible college founded in 1980 in Pietermaritzburg by a North American missionary couple, Phil and Carmena Capp. Remembered for its innovative learning methods during the darkest days of apartheid, the seminary found itself operating in the same arena as other, more established providers of theological education, including Union Bible Institute (UBI), St Joseph's Scholasticate, and the Federal Theological Seminary (FedSem).

Though forms of training for Christian clergy have existed since the 3rd century CE, the word 'seminary' – a borrowing from Latin *seminarium* (from *semen*, seed) – has only been in use since the Middle Ages (Oxford University Press, n.d.), an era that gave rise to the university model of higher education (Cannell, 2006). In South Africa, the arrival of European colonists and the establishment of Protestant denominations led to the establishment of theological institutions, especially during the 19th century. Pietermaritzburg is home to several seminaries, some of which can trace their origins back to the early 1940s.

As will become apparent, despite their differences, these institutions shared common struggles – challenges shaped by the context of colonial history and the church's role in that history. Specifically, for the people of South Africa, the period prior to 1994 was regulated by the government policy of apartheid. The state implementation of racial segregation since 1948 has been well documented and need not be discussed here, but it is worth understanding how my own formative years were shaped by that milieu.

Attending a 'whites-only' school far better resourced than those of the majority was a legacy of the so-called Bantu Education Act, itself an indicator of intellectual colonisation (Adetayo, 2021). My contemporary Allen Goddard depicts the 1970s and 80s as decades in which:

tens of thousands of South Africans were “killed by apartheid” in the sense that apartheid’s social engineering created the grounds for lethal, racially motivated violence whether in domestic or marital conflict, police brutality, violent student protest, guerilla warfare, torture, military occupation, counter-insurgency, forced removals, racial polarization, or cultural and societal breakdown (2015, p. 5).

My sense of alienation was compounded by several years’ service in the South African Defense Force, an experience I found profoundly dehumanising. Compulsory for white males, this exercise in social engineering produced a military uniformity while engendering docility to the regime. During this period, it is plausible that most candidates entering training programs for religious ministry were themselves objects of dehumanisation: blacks, subjugated from cradle to grave – and whites, complicit in the structures of systemic oppression.

The relationship of the Christian church to the apartheid phenomenon has been well researched, historically and socio-politically (de Gruchy, 1986). A watershed moment arrived in 1985 with the publication of the *Kairos Document* which introduced itself as

a critique of the current theological models that determine the type of activities the Church engages in to try to resolve the problems of the country. It is an attempt to develop ... an alternative biblical and theological model that will in turn lead to forms of activity that will make a real difference to the future of our country (Kairos Theologians, 2010, p. 5).

While the Kairos Document was not banned, it provoked widespread reaction, in part at least for an alleged focus on violent resistance (“Kairos Document,” 2023). Still in high school when it was published, I was oblivious to its existence. Later, at seminary, I found its critique helpful in summarising the societal attitudes of the South African church, particularly those of the evangelical group to which I belonged.

It will be noted that one of the descriptors in ESSA’s name is the adjective ‘evangelical.’ In contemporary discourse, and especially in the quasi-religious party politics of the United States, it has become necessary to define what is meant by this term. Bebbington’s (1989) ‘quadrilateral’ identified four key aspects of historical evangelicalism: conversionism, biblicism, activism, and crucicentrism, which is to say that “evangelicals emphasize the importance of a conversion experience, the authority of the Bible, the need to enact faith in the world, and the centrality of Christ’s death on the cross” (Gibson & Larsen, 2012).

In South African church history, evangelicals have been accused of a ‘privatisation of faith’ (Kretzschmar, 1998) in which a dualist understanding of the gospel has produced an over-spiritualised and uncritical Christian piety. Such an understanding locates evangelicals with those who view socio-political matters “as worldly affairs that have nothing to do with the spiritual concerns of the church... Public affairs and social problems were thought to be beyond the sphere of spirituality” (Kairos Theologians, 2010, p. 21). This criticism echoes Tidball’s assertion that “because personal, private faith was dominant in which evangelism was more important than justice, and where one’s personal spiritual life tended to exclude interfacing with ‘the world,’ it was implicitly dualistic” (Houston, 2024, p. 36).

As David Moberg (1972) argues, however, such dualism is at odds with the holism of historical evangelicalism, which featured activists like John Wesley, Wilberforce, the 7th Earl of Shaftesbury, and William and Catherine Booth, founders of the Salvation Army. However, censure of evangelicalism’s apolitical stance during apartheid seems justified from at least three sources: from without (mainline Christianity, e.g., South African Council of Churches); from progressive groups within (Ntlha, 1994); and, perhaps most severely, from its own heritage.

This kind of disengaged ecclesiology had far-reaching consequences for my denomination, the (then) mostly white Baptist Union of South Africa, which found itself at loggerheads with its breakaway mostly black daughter, the Baptist Convention of South Africa. There is no need to visit the history of this split: suffice to ask that if the training institutions for these bodies reflected accurately the ideologies of their founders, what calibre of clergy was being prepared for the Rainbow nation?

1.3 Rationale

In contrast to the de facto stance of many evangelical Bible colleges, the Evangelical Seminary of Southern Africa’s learning model, inner-city location, and theological commitments stood firmly against the ‘so-heavenly-minded-no-earthly-good’ trope. As a former ESSA student, I recall a distinctive learning motif in the early 1990s: an appropriation of the vision of *shalom* in curriculum, in community, and aesthetically.

Shalom, the common Semitic greeting synonymous with peace or well-being, has been widely explored as a biblical theme and in applied theology (Brueggeman, 1976; Duchrow & Liedke, 1989; Yoder, 1987). In the Hebrew scriptures, it carries a range of connotations, especially “the fundamental meaning of welfare, prosperity, or wholeness as well as the absence of hostility”

(Greever, 2016, n.p.). In the Septuagint (an early Greek translation of the New Testament), the same word – translated *eirēnē* – finds similar usage, culminating, though, in the idea of messianic peace.

Since it was the Capps' understanding of the term that helped shape the design of ESSA's early curriculum, the question must be asked: "What concept of *shalom* did the founders introduce at ESSA in 1980?". Phil Capp's introduction of the 'Devotional Theology' module, predicated on this concept, became a staple of the Licentiate program during his tenure as principal. This period of service, 1980-1992, explains the study's time boundaries.

Beyond its place in the curriculum, the principles of *shalom* were also evident in the communal life of our student body. Though I had not conceptualised it at the time, this 'life together' was of a different order compared to the tepid camaraderie encountered in military service. As a white student at a majority black seminary, the realisation of authentic fellowship was felt acutely. Reflecting on these years somewhat later, I would describe the changes wrought by my experience of campus life as a 'second conversion.'

Like many students, I saw *shalom* in the property's physical appearance. Carmena Capp's systematic removal of fences between the buildings and their replacement with gardens and walkways were, in effect, a visual extension of the concept – a beautiful expression of wellbeing in the city.

Shalom, as a theological concept, will be explored more fully in Chapter 2, but the Capps' vision for such a possibility, manifested among learners from backgrounds often devoid of beauty, suggests a claim for *shalom* as an institutional touchstone or identity marker. The goal of this study is to explore that claim by considering the influence of the concept on the seminary's early curriculum.

While the stories of other training institutions have been told, at least in part (Denis & Duncan, 2011; Johanson, 1971), ESSA's has not. Moreover, to the best of my knowledge, no formal study of its curriculum exists. Adding our story to those of other seminaries in local and historical context would be of interest to alumni numbering in the hundreds, as well as to staff past and present.

A personal rationale relates to my current role as principal of the same institution where I was a student thirty years previously. Looking back, the vision of *shalom* expressed so cogently in

the classroom and in campus life has continued to resonate for nearly three decades of full-time ministry.

1.4 Study objectives

As argued above, I believe the concept of shalom served as an institutional touchstone and identity marker for ESSA during this period. In this study, I am exploring how this concept was reflected in ESSA's early curriculum and in its leadership training tasks. To answer it, the following objectives were identified:

1. How the *shalom* motif understood by Phil and Carmena Capp speaks to the intended curriculum. The initial objective is to determine the Capps' interpretation of the concept of *shalom*, which they introduced to ESSA in 1980.
2. The second objective is to consider how this interpretation was reflected in the curriculum documents of the 1980-1992 period.
3. My next step is to ascertain how those who designed and presented the curriculum expressed the concept of *shalom* in their task of training Christian leaders. In view here is any correlation between the intended and enacted curriculum.
4. Finally, I am interested in how the curriculum was experienced by ESSA students during this period.

1.5 Research questions

Given these objectives, the main research question is how the theological concept of shalom, as reflected in ESSA's early curriculum, was expressed in the training of Christian leaders from 1980 to 1992. The subordinate research questions may be stated thus:

1. What concept of shalom did the founders introduce to ESSA in 1980?
2. How was this interpretation reflected in the early curriculum documents?
3. How did those who designed and presented the curriculum express *shalom* in their task of training leaders?
4. How was this curriculum experienced by ESSA students during that period?

1.6 Research methods

Appreciating that reality is subjectively discerned, I am interested in how the founders came to construe *shalom* as they did in 1980, and how this shaped ESSA's training of church leaders during 1980-1992. To understand how people construct meaning (Krauss, 2015, p. 763) in and through the curriculum, I adopted an interpretivist paradigm. In keeping with this paradigm and focus, my study generated and analysed qualitative data. The subjective aspects of an interpretive paradigm suit a case study design well, and for this study, an exploratory design seemed appropriate (Cohen et al., 2000).

My data generation methods consisted of documentary analysis of texts by the ESSA founders and the annual *Principal's Reports to the Senate (Capp, 1980-1992)*, combined with interviews with former educators and students regarding the enacted and experienced curricula. I employed document analysis for curriculum documents in the archive – skimming, reading, and interpretation (Bowen, 2009) – to establish the authors' interpretation of *shalom*. Purposive and snowball sampling were used to select the respective interviewee populations.

1.7 Positionality

As a student who studied at ESSA during the period of this study, I have useful recollections. However, it must be acknowledged that memories are socially constructed: they are “a set of experiences, images and feelings that are articulated to fulfill the needs and pressures of the present” (Field, 1999, p. 4). Furthermore, my present position as seminary principal makes me an insider-researcher. As Ünlüer (2012) points out, this location has both advantages (e.g., insider knowledge) and disadvantages (e.g., bias). In this regard, a critical awareness of one's subjectivity is called for. It is hoped that triangulation with documentary analysis, together with reflection on my own positionality, will mitigate the other weaknesses.

1.8 Conclusion

In this first chapter, I briefly introduced the seminary, something of my own background in the armed services, and the setting of Evangelicals in the wider ecclesial frame. I touched on the concept of *shalom* in my rationale, mentioning the study's objectives, research questions, methodology, and my own positionality. The outline of the remainder of this thesis is as follows:

Chapter Two – Literature review

Chapter Three – Conceptual Framework

Chapter Four – Research design

Chapter Five – Data presentation

Chapter Six – Analysis

Chapter Seven – Conclusion

Attention is now drawn to my review of the literature relevant to this study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In Chapter One, I provided a brief introduction to the conditions surrounding the founding of ESSA, along with an attempt to situate myself as a student within that history. Anticipating a wider discussion here, I touched on the concept of *shalom*; how this concept featured in the seminary curriculum is the focus of my study and is explored in this chapter.

Drawing on the literature, Chapter Two starts by setting ESSA's mission of Christian leader training in a historical context – firstly, with regard to the sociopolitical emergency of the 1980s and the church's response to it. As a microcosm of the wider crisis, the situation in Pietermaritzburg is visited, and I use this juncture to introduce other institutions that provided clergy training. This introduction leads me to a second goal: a discussion of key concepts, including curriculum, theological education, and *shalom*. Thirdly, I review some of the literature written specifically on curricula in theological colleges.

2.2 Historical context

I now consider the political developments of the decades immediately preceding and coinciding with the founding of ESSA, followed by the response of the wider Christian church. A final discussion of the Pietermaritzburg seminaries concludes the section.

2.2.1 The crisis of the 70s and 80s

What follows is a brief outline of key events that shaped politics in the decades leading up to the African National Congress's (ANC) unbanning and South Africa's first democratic elections. I begin in 1955 with the adoption of the Freedom Charter, a broad-based manifesto calling for democratic rights in opposition to apartheid policies. At the subsequent 'treason trial', though all accused were acquitted, the prolonged hearing demonstrated the State's intent to quash resistance efforts by any means. Despite the remarkable unity which made the Charter possible, "the newfound ideological cohesion that was established during the campaign marginalized the Africanists in the Congress Alliance and led to their defection shortly afterward" (*Significance of the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter*, n.d.).

In March 1960 South African police opened fire on a large crowd of people protesting the apartheid pass laws (South African History Online, 2011). Into the political vacuum left by the incarceration of ANC and PAC leaders following this calamity stepped the figure of Steve Biko

and the Black Consciousness (BC) movement. In contrast to Charterist efforts, which sought inclusivity, BC focused intentionally on Black identity and experience. Seeking to counter the psychological harm inflicted by centuries of oppression, the movement's philosophy "expresses group pride and the determination of Blacks to rise and attain the envisaged self. At the heart of this kind of thinking is the realization by the Blacks that the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed" (Biko, 1978, p. xix). BC drew international attention following the Soweto uprising of 1976, and though the movement was suppressed soon after Biko's death, its legacy for Black theology endured and is considered below.

Established by the apartheid government in 1983, the concessionary Tricameral Parliament permitted Coloured and Asian representation while excluding Blacks. The United Democratic Front (UDF) was launched in the same year, with significant Christian representation: "radical churchmen such as Alan Boesak, Frank Chikane, and Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984, joined the platforms and became leading representatives" (Beinart, 2001, p. 251). Looking to overcome ideological, class, and race divisions, Boesak called for "a united front of churches, civic associations, trade unions, student organizations, and sports bodies" (Vorster, 2015, p. 3). Well-marketed and backed by overseas funding, the Front succeeded in persuading many Coloured and Indian voters to boycott the 1984 elections. In 1987, the UDF was banned, many of its leaders were jailed, and its ability to receive foreign funds was restricted. Three years later, having attained its goals, the UDF disbanded voluntarily.

By the 80s it was clear that large-scale protests springing from urban centers demonstrated effectively the power of the people, especially when organised by trade unions. Shortly after the UDF's founding came the establishment of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in 1985, with Jay Naidoo as its first General Secretary. Though unions had grown considerably between 1973 and 1985, the differences between blocs were significant, with debates about:

whether unions should be general unions or more focused industrial unions; whether they should register; whether they should include white workers; whether they should engage in community politics; and whether they should have direct links to the liberation organisations (*Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)*, n.d.)

The value of speaking with one voice was acknowledged; however, despite serious points of disagreement, a series of unity talks over several years culminated in a summit of executive committees in June 1985, chaired by Cyril Ramaphosa of the National Union of Mineworkers. COSATU was launched in November that year, and one of its first resolutions called for the lifting of the State of Emergency (SOE) then in place. This was an extraordinary dispensation that the government had previously invoked after the Sharpeville massacre. PW Botha's declaration of two SOEs, in 1985 and 1986, had precipitated mass unrest and severe state repression in response – "an estimated 26,000 people were detained between June 1986 and June 1987" (*States of Emergency in South Africa: The 1960s and 1980s*, n.d.). The last SOE remained in effect until it was lifted by FW de Klerk in 1990.

For COSATU, 1987 was a pivotal year: in July, it resolved to adopt the Freedom Charter and, the following month, it mobilised between 2.5 and 3.5 million mineworkers to down tools (*Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)*, n.d.). In 1988, it persuaded 3 million workers to strike in protest against state restrictions. Working together with the UDF, the alliance became known as the Mass Democratic Movement, or MDM.

In line with its Charterist heritage, the MDM sought to broaden its base to include whites, as well as blacks living in the 'homelands,' or *Bantustans*. These ethically defined areas were a State administrative mechanism for controlling Black movement in South Africa. During the late 70s, four were declared 'independent' by Pretoria: Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei. In reality, these lands were not economically viable.

As a result, millions of Blacks had to leave the Bantustans daily and work in the mines for White farmers and other industries in the cities. The homelands served as labour reservoirs, housing the unemployed and releasing them when their labour was needed in White South Africa (*The Homelands*, n.d.).

Despite protests from elites who stood to gain from the continued existence of the homelands, insistence on the principle of 'one man – one vote' forced the dissolution of the confederate ideal. However, dismantling the Bantustans was not easy, and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), representing the KwaZulu homeland, proved an obstacle to incorporation right up to the 1994 elections. Serving as monitors in the Natal midlands, ESSA students still recall the affixing of IFP stickers to ballot papers at the eleventh hour. Notably, Natal was the last province to have

its SOE lifted in 1990. The conflict between the UDF and IFP during the late 80s is considered below.

2.2.2 The church's response

Though complex and multifaceted, the response of Christians to the events outlined above can be summarised briefly. As training institutions for the church, seminaries and Bible colleges stand in the stream of church history and, by extension, in the church's engagement with the social crises of the day. This section seeks to convey a sense of that engagement by mentioning several significant developments during the timeframe referenced above. For a comprehensive analysis of Christian complicity and resistance during the apartheid era, a classic work by the South African academic John de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa* (1986), has proved helpful in understanding, for example, the ideologies of Afrikaner nationalism, BC, and liberation theology.

Following the National Party's accession in 1948 and the advent of apartheid proper, English-speaking mainline churches (Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians, etc.) criticised legislation, but critiques came from individuals also. Prior to his recall from South Africa, the Anglican missionary Trevor Huddleston wrote:

In opposing the policies of the present government, therefore, I am not prepared to concede that any momentary good which might conceivably emerge from them is good. Nor am I prepared to concede that the motives which inspire such policies have any quality of goodness about them. For both the acts and the motives are inspired by a desire which is itself fundamentally evil and basically un-Christian: the desire to dominate in order to preserve a position of racial superiority and, in that process of domination, to destroy personal relationships, the foundation of love itself. That is anti-Christ (Huddleston, 1956, p. 245).

Some months after Sharpeville (21 March 1960), the World Council of Churches (WCC) sponsored a consultation at Cottesloe in Johannesburg. It was attended by the eight South African member churches, including the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), and by representatives of the WCC, including its General Secretary, Dr Visser 't Hooft. Though the Cottesloe Statement was supported by DRC delegates, it was rejected by the mother church (Meiring, 2013, p. 7), which then decided to withdraw from the WCC. A fully representative church leadership would not meet together again for the next thirty years. Ecumenism in South

Africa was dealt a further blow in 1970 with the introduction of the controversial WCC 'Program to Combat Racism' which, in its goal of supporting liberation movements in South Africa, became "a public relations nightmare" (Duncan, 2024, p. 4). Criticism centered mainly on its funding of the armed struggle, which drove a further wedge between local member churches.

Post-Cottesloe, John de Gruchy notes that "it now seemed as if the only way forward for cooperation between Christians of different churches was through personal participation in a new kind of ecumenical thrust not tied to denominational structures" (1986, p. 69). In 1963, Beyers Naudé, one of the DRC delegates at Cottesloe, founded the Christian Institute of Southern Africa (CI). Among other things, the Institute provided a platform for critique of DRC policy outside official channels. As de Gruchy recalls, "the CI did more than prod the churches. It attempted to create 'a confessing movement,' something akin to the Confessing Church that arose in Germany during the Hitler regime, but something more adapted to the situation in South Africa" (1986, p. 107). In 1972, CI was investigated by the parliamentary Schlebusch Commission. Along with other anti-apartheid organisations its foreign funding was cut, effectively halting its activities. In 1977, the Institute was banned.

Emerging parallel to the BC movement of the 60s and 70s came the development of black theology, "an interpretation of American black theology that is honestly and authentically an African black experience within the complexity of the meaning of blackness in South Africa" (van Aarde, 2016, p. 1). Van Aarde notes the following stages in its development: a first wave "identifiable with Malcom X's proclamation in the 1950s and Dr Martin Luther King," a second wave rooted in 1960s "civil rights activism and James Cone, who identified it with liberation theology," and a third wave which "includes black feminism and black womanist identity" (2016, p. 1).

In South Africa, black theology was born within the University Christian Movement (UCM), formed two years after the Student Christian Association was dissolved along racial lines in 1965 (Goddard, 2015). At an early meeting in the United States, Basil Moore and other UCM delegates

met black Americans who were deeply involved in the Black Power Movement and who were subjecting the Civil Rights Movement and its political strategies to powerful criticism. Here we were also able to get hold of some of the early writings of the

influential American black theologian, James Cone, notably *Black Theology and Black Power*, and later to meet Cone himself. These encounters had a lasting impact on me, and I was persuaded of the validity of Cone's theology. (Moore, 2018, p. 88)

Amid deliberations about the need for Black students to challenge the apartheid system, UCM became midwife to the South African Students Organisation (SASO) founded by, among others, Steve Biko and Barney Pityana.

SASO, committed as it was to the development of Black Consciousness ideology was recognised as the coordinating agency for black students' politics. What the Christian members demanded of the UCM was the development of a theological counter-point to Black Consciousness which would address the issue of black liberation. (Moore, 2018, p. 88)

Such a counterpoint was pursued by theologians such as Allen Boesak. Where Biko sought black identity and dignity in African culture, Boesak saw the struggle not just as resistance but, more positively, as the restoration of "human dignity and identity, which is true freedom" (Van Aarde, 2016, p. 4).

While the church wrestled with these developments, came the publication, during the SOEs of the mid-80s, of the *Kairos Document* (KD). The Greek word 'kairos' refers to a moment of truth, of grace, and opportunity. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the KD was a critique of contemporary church responses to apartheid – specifically state, church, and prophetic theology – and "an attempt to develop... an alternative biblical and theological model" (Kairos Theologians, 2010, p. 5). Noting how both oppression and privilege shape theology, the document laid bare the divide between white and black churches and challenged them to move beyond neutrality. The imperative for struggle was understood in moral and spiritual terms, not merely political ones. Since reconciliation without justice is meaningless, unjust laws must be resisted.

Provoking intense debate locally and internationally, the KD was denounced (though not banned) by the State, while its distinction of prophetic theology versus church theology incited other groups, such as black evangelicals and Pentecostals, to declare their own stances regarding apartheid (Kairos Theologians, 2010, p. 121). The document became a landmark in contextual and liberation theology. One measure of the document's influence is the number of

similar ‘revolutionary’ statements it spawned in Latin America, Kenya, Zimbabwe, and India (Kairos Theologians, 2010, p. iii).

Late in the same decade, the simmering tensions between the UDF and the Inkatha movement led by Mangosuthu Buthelezi boiled over in the province of Natal. Greater Pietermaritzburg became the theatre of a low-intensity civil conflict between these factions: “Consequent volatility and uncertainty provided opportunity for predominantly black, rival political groupings” (Merrett, 2013, p. 20). This rivalry was exacerbated by the South African Police (SAP), who, under the SOE, had extraordinary powers to search and detain. Indeed, the SAP became the state’s “immediate mechanism” of suppression (Stemmet, 2017, p. 143). Its bias towards Inkatha against UDF and ANC-aligned groups is a finding confirmed by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) (Merrett, 2013, p. 28).

Between 1987 and 1989, more than 1100 people died in this conflict. Then,

during the single week from 25 to 31 March 1990, a small-scale war took place to the west of Pietermaritzburg. According to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), 200 people died, and 20,000 were displaced ... There are no figures for those who were injured or disabled. (Merrett, 2013, p. 19)

How did Christians in Pietermaritzburg respond to this tragedy? One of the few initiatives aimed at conscientizing whites was the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (PACSA). This agency was founded at the behest of, among others, FedSem and St Joseph’s Scholasticate (mentioned in Chapter 1 and discussed further below) to continue the aims of the recently shut-down Christian Institute (Kerchhoff, 2021). Together with the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Center, FedSem became known as “a key point for ANC activity” (Merrett, 2021, p. 179). This ‘resistance politics’ is explored by Denis and Duncan (2011) and by Duncan (2013).

It lies outside the scope of this study to discuss the conflict further, save to note that this troubled decade framed ESSA’s formative years. To grieve the tragedy of this violence, the seminary commissioned local sculptor Gert Swart to carve what has become known as the ‘ESSA cross’. This 3-meter-high sculpture contextualising the pain of reconciliation hangs from the rear wall of the Lutheran church at the corner of Langalibalele and Pine Streets. It was unveiled on 11 September 2001, a date remembered worldwide as 9/11.

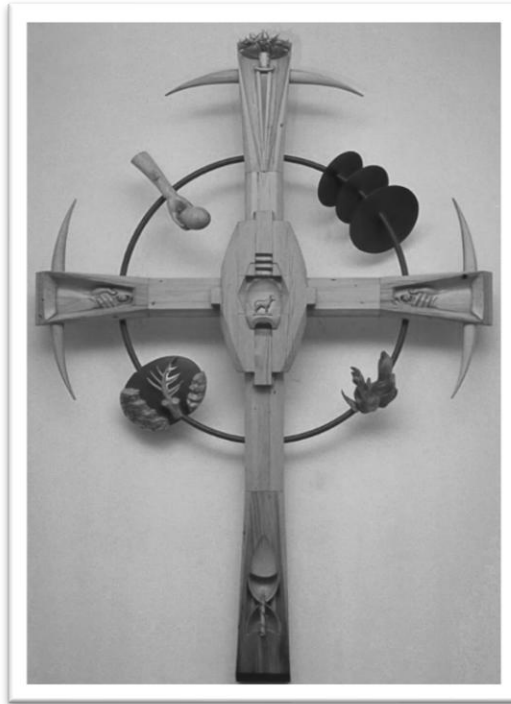


Figure 1: The ESSA Cross

2.2.3 Seminaries of Pietermaritzburg

Theological colleges are meant to ensure “that there has been sufficient ministerial formation to enable their graduates to move into effective ministry” (Harkness, 2001, p. 143). If the purpose of theological education is “the equipping of men and women for appropriate leadership and ministry within churches and associate institutions”, then formation is the process of doing so (Naidoo, 2012, p. 1). The words ‘equipping’ and ‘process’ are intrinsic to its meaning: formation is the holistic process of shaping theological students in character, spirituality, and ministerial identity. I discuss this concept of formation in more detail under *Key concepts* below. As noted below, denominations can and do weigh the components of formation differently, according to their confessional distinctives.

In the latter half of the 20th century, prior to the establishment of ESSA, three institutions provided formation for Christian ministers in Pietermaritzburg: Union Bible Institute (UBI), St Joseph’s Scholasticate, and FedSem. The first two, founded during World War II, reflected the colonial milieu of the time. FedSem, established twenty years later and linked to the Black Consciousness movement, reflected the anti-apartheid struggle. Opening its doors in 1980, ESSA was influenced similarly but found itself caught, with respect to its evangelical heritage (as discussed in Chapter 1), between conservative and liberal ideologies.

Unfortunately, although there are peripheral accounts, little has been published on the histories of these institutions. That on UBI is a single work (Johanson, 1971), while various brief accounts exist for St Joseph's (Bate, 2019). For FedSem, Denis and Duncan have provided a substantial empirical study (2011). Below, I discuss the literature on each of these institutions before focusing more closely on ESSA.

According to Johansen (1971), UBI's first vice-principal, the Institute was founded in 1942. The first thirty years of UBI's existence are described succinctly in Bernard Johanson's memoir *We watched it grow* (Johanson, 1971). The style is autobiographical but terse, with the chapters presented chronologically in three 10-year segments.

According to this account, many of the first students came from independent churches not in membership with mainline denominations. As the college grew, more Bible teachers were appointed, including the first Black lecturer in 1953, while secular subjects were dropped. Emphasis was placed on indigenous language materials, with UBI preferring to develop its own handouts rather than translate books from European languages. It is worth noting that Johanson, fluent in isiZulu, wrote many of the textbooks still in use today. Women students were accepted on campus from the 1960s. By the time of writing in 1971, UBI's student numbers had reached 120.

In the memoir, curriculum matters are treated lightly. It is apparent that the students' ages and educational standards varied considerably. Johanson recalls that the goal of education was more on 'the message' than on pedagogical methods: "The purpose of the UBI is not so much to be a training school with the emphasis on training, as a Bible school with the emphasis on the Bible" (p. 44). Entrance qualifications were thus not strict criteria for accepting students for study.

Established in 1943, a year after UBI, the two colleges, according to the limited literature, exhibit considerable contrasts in purpose and *modus operandi*. St Joseph's was (and still is) a 'house of formation' for those preparing to join a religious order, the *Oblates of Mary Immaculate*, but it is also a training center for Catholic priests. For the Oblates, training is divided between a one-year novitiate, followed by three years of philosophy and four of theology – i.e., a seven-year 'scholasticate'. Initially located in Prestbury, the institution moved to Cleland and then, in 1953, to Cedara.

Stuart Bate, lecturer at St Joseph's from 1990 -2002, describes the formation process in terms of 'socialisation through mechanisms and rhythms' (Bate, 2019, p. 7). By this is meant the development of routines and habits that shape the spiritual, liturgical, community, and academic life. During the first decade, it seems lectures and textbooks were in Latin; by the time the Institute moved to Cedara, lectures were in English. An indication of early lecture content is provided by Denis Hurley: "five classes of logic per week, three of cosmology (Aristotelian), three of scripture, two of church history, one of the histories of philosophy, one of liturgy, one of (note the name!) sacred eloquence and one of plain chant" (quoted in Bate, 2019, p. 9). Bate's analysis of St Joseph's curriculum will be considered in more detail later in this chapter.

Students also engaged in physical activities such as gardening, farming, and sports. While the Second Vatican Council brought changes in theological education, it was only after 1976 that the community began to oppose apartheid policies. There was thus "a greater stress placed on pastoral planning based on a renewed understanding of Missiology and Contextual Theology" (St. Joseph's Scholasticate, n.d.).

Denis and Duncan's book on the history of FedSem (2011) situates the institution in the geographic, social, and political contexts of its time. Its title, *The Native School that Caused all the Trouble*, acknowledges a troubled existence that perturbed Church and State alike. Founded in 1963, FedSem relocated multiple times: from Alice in the Eastern Cape to Mthatha in the former Transkei, then to Edendale and Imbali in Pietermaritzburg. For thirty years, it served as a seminary for Anglican, Methodist, Congregational, and Presbyterian students – black, white, coloured, and Indian – with an average annual intake of around 100 students. A joint venture among these denominations, the seminary is especially remembered as a "symbol of ecumenism" (Denis & Duncan, 2011, p. 1). Unsurprisingly, its first years were marked by the challenge of living and working together, while another early hurdle was the struggle for a recognised qualification. Though disputed by the Methodists and Presbyterians who favoured study at Fort Hare, a degree called 'Associateship of the Federal Theological Seminary' (AFTS) was adopted and taught until 1992 (Denis & Duncan, 2011, p. 69). FedSem's curriculum will be discussed in detail in the third section of this chapter below. Initially, the plan was for each stream (each member denomination had its own college) to teach its own theological subjects, but in practice, this changed rapidly. Colleges remained responsible for their own admissions and accommodation. The Seminary Council, consisting

of representatives from each denomination, elected a president for a two-year term. Shared sports and social events contributed to a sense of community. United worship was fostered, and institutional unity was strengthened further by the 1974 Declaration of Intent, which admitted members to shared communion and cooperation.

Across these three institutions, one might discern areas of commonality and distinctiveness that affect discussions of their curricula. It is clear, for example, that academic content formed only part of the learning process. Integrated with lectures were the disciplines of spiritual formation and the immersive experience of ‘common life’. The confessional makeup of each seminary differed considerably, shaping the purpose and design of its curriculum, while race, gender, language, and levels of education were key factors in making that curriculum accessible. The impact of international events (such as WWII and the Second Vatican Council) filtered through over time, but the shockwaves of a national crisis (such as Sharpeville) were felt immediately.

Against this institutional tapestry was ranged the new kid on the block, ESSA. From a student perspective, we became aware of other local seminaries partly through our lecturers and partly via the ‘Cluster’. Established in 1989, the Pietermaritzburg Cluster of Theological Institutions is an ecumenical body initially conceived for joint theological education (Denis, 2016, p. 26). Its first members were FedSem, St Joseph’s, and the University of Natal’s Department of Theological Studies. FedSem closed in 1993, and ESSA joined a year later. In the words of Denis, the Cluster’s first secretary, these were exciting years:

It was the time when ecumenism, which had been at its highest in the struggle against apartheid, started to lose impetus in South Africa. Yet, the Cluster was strong. For the candidates for the ministry, both Catholic and Protestant, who shared classes with students from other institutions and met lecturers from other denominations, this was a remarkable experience. The staff members of the partner institutions not only shared the desire to work together but also a common interest in contextual theology. This made Pietermaritzburg a unique center of theological education (Denis, 2016, p. 29).

While not a member of the Cluster, UBI was closest to ESSA in tradition. Indeed, merger talks between these institutions are perennial (Bishop, 2006). Like the other seminaries, ESSA took spiritual formation seriously, with chapel and formation groups part of the weekly schedule.

Similarly, manual work formed part of the learning experience – particularly in the gardens which were so important to the founders’ concept of *shalom*.

It is FedSem, however, that was closer to ESSA in age, purpose, and student makeup. It is interesting that both ESSA’s founding couple and the first dean of studies were evangelical Methodists. Another point of similarity was a commitment to the common life, with students represented at the highest level of decision-making. ESSA also shared in the struggle for a recognised degree and, like St Joseph’s and FedSem, adopted English as the language of instruction from the start (Duncan, 2013; *St. Joseph’s Scholasticate*, n.d.; Wetmore, 2005).

On the other hand, since its establishment in 1980, the new seminary exhibited marked contrasts to its peers. Some were fairly obvious, such as an intentionally urban location underlining a positive view of ministry in and to the city. Another, less apparent, distinctive was its missiological orientation. ESSA was not a ‘missionary college’ in the old colonial sense, though missionaries were present as seminary staff, students, and faculty. As is evident from the concept of *shalom* discussed below, ESSA was ‘missiological’ in that its theology of *missio-Dei* – participating in the mission of God (Duncan, 2024, p. 2) – was a core formative component. Where did this bias come from? Among other factors affecting the curriculum, this is a question that my study aims to answer.

2.3 Key concepts

The following key concepts are intrinsic to the goals of this paper: Curriculum, Theological education, and *Shalom*. I discuss each of these in detail below, though in my discussion of curriculum, I confine myself to a summary of the relevant curricula, since I will explore this concept in depth in the following chapter.

2.3.1 Curriculum

Albeit a historical study, the purpose of this study is concerned with curriculum, and hence with curriculum theory. I found Porter and Smithson's (2001) distinctions helpful in providing a greater level of both clarity and complexity. These are described as follows:

- **Intended:** “curriculum standards, frameworks, or guidelines that outline the curriculum teachers are expected to deliver” (Porter & Smithson, 2001, p. 2). This is “the composition of the curriculum described in the policy documents,” as well as “measures that characterise the policy documents themselves” (Porter & Smithson, 2001, p. 2).
- **Enacted:** “actual curricular content that students engage in the classroom.” According to Porter and Smithson, most learning is expected to occur here – acknowledging, according to Su's typology above, that there is more to curriculum than content alone.
- **Assessed:** this aspect of curriculum may be regarded as a subset of Intended, though high-stakes (consequential) testing shows a meaningful difference between knowledge valued and knowledge assessed.
- **Learned:** though achievement scores “represent just a portion of the knowledge that students acquire” (Porter & Smithson, 2001, p. 3) they are nevertheless a pragmatic measure of what was learned and indicate proficiency.

Twenty years later, Clemmons et al. (2022) applied a curriculum model to a set of undergraduate courses to align with national protocols. It simplifies the earlier Porter/Smithson model and serves as the lens I use to interpret ESSA's early curriculum. My conceptual framework thus utilises the ‘intended-enacted-experienced’ curriculum model described by Clemmons et al. Applied to ESSA's early curriculum, I seek to answer the following questions:

1. INTENDED – according to the designers of the ESSA curriculum, what should students be able to know and do after completing the seminary Program?
2. ENACTED – how did ESSA educators implement the intended curriculum in teaching and assessment, in actual modules?
3. EXPERIENCED – in response, how did ESSA students perceive the curriculum?

2.3.2 Theological education

Theological education, or ‘spiritual formation’ as classically conceived in the Christian tradition, first found formal expression in the monastic movement of the third century CE. The model of a “disciplined communal life, patterned after the communal life of the early church and expressed in service in the world, seemed the suitable context for the nurture of the spiritual life” (Cannell, 2006, p. 127). The development of two forms of instruction in these monastic schools, one for religious orders and one for clergy, is still utilised in Catholic seminaries – such as St Joseph’s – today.

By the twelfth century, the impact of scientific inquiry and foreign trade had permeated the West to a degree where a more scholarly pedagogy was required by the Church. In response to “a felt need to systematize learning” (Cannell, 2006, p. 129), European universities began to emerge. Those at Paris and Bologna became renowned as intellectual capitals. By the late Middle Ages, however, criticism began to mount against “the rational objectivity and narrow speculativeness that had come to characterise the Scholastic universities” (Cannell, 2006, p. 131). After the Reformation, reforms introduced at the Council of Trent addressed the lack of education of priests, particularly those in rural parishes.

By the 19th century, the German university became the favoured destination of intellectual learning for students across the New World. According to the tenets of this new model, theologian and pastor Friedrich Schleiermacher insisted that “clergy were to be educated first in the broadest possible knowledge base and then allowed to pursue a narrow specialization” (Cannell, 2006, p. 135). Space does not permit a consideration of the development of theological education in North America, suffice it to say that those institutions were influenced by both the professionalism of the German research university and the general piety characterising English education (Cannell, 2006).

This briefest of sketches is by way of background to the contemporary models seeking to form men and women for Christian ministry today. I now turn to the theological education scene in this country. Marilyn Naidoo, a professor of Practical Theology at UNISA, has written much on spiritual formation and clergy training. In her book *Between the real and the ideal* (2012), the training of ministers in South Africa’s various denominations is helpfully discussed by chapter. Using her outline, I have tried to capture, in short order, one or two salient features

that describe the purpose of clergy training in each tradition, followed by a remark on their approach to formation. The aim is to create a rough ‘mosaic’ of distinctives which, when considered together, convey a sense of the whole.

- Dutch Reformed. Although Christian missionary efforts in southern Africa date from the 16th century, South African church history is usually dated from 1665 with the arrival of the first Reformed minister in Cape Town. During the first two centuries of colonisation, no DRC clergy were trained locally; pastors came from the Netherlands and from Scotland. Typical of the Reformed tradition, emphasis was placed on doctrine and on the skill of preaching. Important as formation is, it occurs informally within the congregation rather than being taught (Naidoo, 2012).
- Anglican. English-speaking denominations in South Africa are historically associated with the deployment of British soldiers during the Napoleonic Wars, the English missionary thrust, and the arrival in 1820 of various groups of settlers in the Eastern Cape. A century later, “South Africa counted seven theological colleges for blacks... One of them was St Peter’s College, Rosettenville, which relocated to Alice in 1963 to become a constituent college of FedSem” (Denis & Duncan, 2011, p. 33). Along with academic study and practical preparation, Anglican formation is currently considered an essential part of clergy training and takes place at the residential college, as well as through the congregation. Indeed, formation continues throughout one’s vocation as ministers discern their roles in society and in the congregation (Naidoo, 2012).
- Methodist. While white ministers were still trained in England during the 19th century, the first black clergy attended a school at Healdtown, Eastern Cape, established in 1867. Wesley House opened at the University of Fort Hare in 1921 and became “an important training Center for Indigenous Methodist ministers” (Richardson, 2007, cited in Naidoo, 2012, p. 94). Later, white candidates attended the Faculty of Divinity at Rhodes University, while black candidates enrolled at FedSem. In line with John Wesley’s own convictions, there is a strong ecumenical spirit in clergy training (Richardson, 2007, cited in Naidoo, 2012). From my experience, this ethos may be witnessed today at the Seth Mokitimi Methodist Seminary in Pietermaritzburg, where none of its President, Dean, or Registrar is Methodist by confession.

- Presbyterian. Theological education in this tradition traces back to the Lovedale Missionary Institute, established in the Eastern Cape in the early 19th century. Early alumni include Tiyo Soga, the first black South African minister to be ordained, and Enoch Sontonga, composer of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*. Commitments to their Reformed heritage and to ecumenism marked the training of Presbyterian clergy. From 1947, white candidates were trained at the Faculty of Divinity at Rhodes University, while black candidates attended FedSem (Naidoo, 2012). Church historian Graham Duncan's observations regarding formation at FedSem will be noted in the section on seminary curricula below.
- Catholic. Mention was made previously of reforms to clergy training introduced during the 16th century at the Council of Trent. Since then, studies in philosophy and theology, together with formation, have remained at the core of seminary curricula. South Africa did not see Catholic clergy trained locally until 1922, when, again, we find a separation in the formation of black and white candidates (Naidoo, 2012). St Joseph's Scholasticate, mentioned above, opened in Pietermaritzburg in 1943. Its curriculum is considered in more detail below.
- Baptist. Since the 1820s, South African Baptists have struggled to establish their own training establishments. When they did, these were divided along racial lines, as were the other mainline denominations. Black candidates were trained in Soweto and King Williams Town in what was criticised as inferior education (Jentile, 2021, p. 2). In 1951 the Baptist Theological College (BTC) opened its doors in Johannesburg, reflecting a European proclivity for theological subjects over formation. Thus, Rinquist (2012) criticises "the impartation of knowledge that does not always translate into effective change within the candidate and their ability to minister effectively out of that change" (quoted in Naidoo, 2012, p. 76).
- Lutheran. It is noteworthy that, although Lutherans were the second Protestant group to arrive in South Africa after the DRC, local clergy training developed relatively late. This was perhaps due to the fragmented nature of Lutheran missions, which united only in 1975. At that time, two seminaries were operating: Umphumulo near Stanger, and Marang near Rustenburg. The possibility of Lutherans in Natal joining the ecumenical initiative at FedSem was discussed as early as 1959 (Denis & Duncan, 2011, p. 49), but it soon became clear that a central

institution for South African Lutherans was to be preferred. Several decades later they would opt for a university-linked solution to the education of clergy where the Lutheran House of Studies, *Luthos*, merged with Umphumulo to become the Lutheran Theological Institute (LTI) inaugurated in Pietermaritzburg in 2003 (Naidoo, 2012).

A few observations are pertinent, each worth a far deeper investigation than can be afforded here. One is to note how segregated much of this training was, long before apartheid proper. Separation of white and black candidates for clergy training was an ultimately tragic decision that led to long-standing resentments. Where formation programs did exist for black candidates, these were limited in quality and content.

A second observation is that where ecumenical innovation did occur (e.g., FedSem, LTI), these experiments lacked stakeholder support, resulting in institutional collapse. Factors contributing to FedSem's demise are discussed below. For LTI, in addition to the harm inflicted on staff, students, and ecclesial reputation, collateral damage included the loss of entire knowledge repositories (Garaba, 2019).

A further insight has to do with the struggle for accreditation and with university relations, e.g., the DRC with Stellenbosch, mainline churches with Fort Hare and Rhodes, BTC with Zululand, LTI with Natal. As discussed above, in Pietermaritzburg, these relations reached new levels of expression with the advent of the Cluster, a development that affected each member's curriculum in various ways.

2.3.3 *Shalom*

Since the Capps' understanding of *shalom* will be the subject of analysis later in this paper, I will not consider Phil Capp's article here; suffice it to note his concurrence with James Metzler, who points to a loss of meaning in the term's Greek translation:

While the predominant use of *eirēnē* in the Greek world referred to political stability and order (i.e., the absence of war which was viewed as the natural state), *eirēnē* in the New Testament reflects deep roots in the Hebrew *shalom*. Repeatedly we find the same images and associations which tie *eirēnē* to God's vision of the truly good life (1985, p. 58).

Crucial to grasping the theology of *shalom* is a restored, more nuanced understanding of the Hebrew word that was somewhat lost in translation. Writing in 1993, Cornelius Plantinga Jr. construed the concept thus:

The webbing together of God, humans, and all creation in justice, fulfillment, and delight is, of course, what the Hebrew prophets call shalom. We call it peace, but it means far more than just peace of mind or cease-fire between enemies. In the Bible, shalom means universal flourishing, wholeness, and delight, in which natural needs are satisfied, natural gifts fruitfully employed – the whole process inspiring joyful wonder as the creator and saviour of all opens doors and speaks welcome. Shalom, in other words, is the way things ought to be (quoted in Capp, 2002, p. 45).

A broader understanding of the term, unsurprisingly, leads to an increased scope of application. The theology of *shalom* has been used to support a great variety of church mission initiatives, ranging from development (Bradshaw, 1993) to creation care (Duchrow & Liedke, 1989) and social justice (Gustine, 2019; Yoder, 1987). These applications emphasise God’s intent for wellbeing in relations between people and their environment. Countering the notion of a privatised faith, the mission of the church is interpreted holistically – “ministering to the poor, sick, naked, hungry, and oppressed and preaching the message of eternal salvation is Good News” (Bradshaw, 1993, p. 17).

Holism, as an expression of *shalom*, has come under eschatological scrutiny: Is the social manifestation of God’s peace something to be pursued in the present? In what theologians have called “realised eschatology”, the legacy of what Jesus did on earth is often held dearer than end-time messianic expectations. Yet, understood as something that God (not humanity) does, *shalom* is a divine gift which his people do not build or earn, but simply receive. There can be no sense in which people ‘partner’ with God in his redemptive plan for the world. Indeed, it is

far beyond the biblical witness to talk as if we as Christians are somehow contributing to the building of the new heavens and the new earth... Just as it is God and not we who will establish his kingship over the world, so it is God and not we who will create the new earth in which that kingship is exercised. (DeYoung & Gilbert, 2011, p. 208)

Apparent in this variety of interpretations is a significant tension between evangelical and liberationist interpretations of *shalom*. The former views the concept as God’s gift and an eschatological reality, warning against the equating of Christian social action with the

establishment of God's reign. The latter understanding is, by contrast, an emphasis on the present social and political dimensions of God's peace – a peace where *shalom* is inseparable from the struggle for freedom and the restoration of human dignity. Grounded in the modern history of South Africa (see Section 2.2 above), this theological distinction was all the more relevant during ESSA's formative years, 1980-1992. It is important, however, not to view the interpretations as mutually exclusive. Both perspectives affirm that *shalom* is more than 'inner peace'; the difference lies essentially in how they understand the relationship between present human action and God's ultimate purposes. The tension arising from these points of view should call into question simplistic interpretations of the concept.

It is in this eschatological tension, then, between the 'now and not yet' that much Christian endeavour has taken place. From an ESSA student's perspective in the early 90s, the horizon of the 'not yet' seemed closer with the advent of democracy – most of my classmates had never voted before. *Shalom* acquired a tangible edge as we were deployed as election monitors in and around Pietermaritzburg; the sensation of hope at the sight of many hundreds waiting patiently to vote was real.

Thirty years on, as I write in the first years of multi-party national government, my hope for South Africa has not diminished. Authentic *shalom*, I have come to believe, remains elusive within the human grasp. But what it looks like to our leaders-in-training continues to enthuse me and provides vigour for this study.

2.4 Studies that consider seminary curricula

Of interest to this study are studies of curricula implemented at other seminaries.

2.4.1 Curriculum as formation

In his article on St Joseph's Scholasticate, Stuart Bate (2019) presents a historical study of the seminary as a 'House of Formation' for young men wishing to enter the religious order Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI). Employing analysis of archival documents, as well as primary and secondary sources, Bate constructs a history by narrating and interpreting events through St Joseph's early years, 1942-1947. The study's research design is historical-descriptive.

Following a year's novitiate where candidates undergo spiritual formation in community, those accepted continue to the seven-year 'scholasticate' phase with studies in philosophy and theology. As discussed above, an early curriculum is described by Denis Hurley, the

Scholasticate's first superior during the mid-40s. It is worth noting that Hurley's tenure there was formative for himself as well as for those around him. In his biography of Hurley, Kearney (n.d.) indicates an emerging social awareness among the faculty:

Hurley enjoyed discussions with them about the changes that would have to take place in South Africa; he introduced a course on social justice into the scholasticate curriculum so that priests in training would also confront these questions. But, by his own admission, the discussion and the training were still only theoretical. The staff were all white and, with one exception, so were the students, and there was little, if any, exposure to educated black opinion (p.?)

Studies were nevertheless highly regulated, with lecturers abiding by a timetable integrated with the Divine Office.

REGULATION

Ordinary days	
05.15	Rising
05.45	Morning prayers and meditation
06.30	Mass Thanksgiving, dormitories
07.30	Breakfast and Recreation
08.15–09.10	First Class
09.15–10.10	Second Class
10.10	Tea and Recreation
10.30	Third Class
11.25	Free time
12.00	Sext and None, Particular Examen
12.30	Dinner and Recreation,
02.30	Vespers, Compline, Study
04.00	Tea and Recreation
04.30	Study
05.30	Spiritual Reading
06.00	Oraison, Benediction or stations
06.30	Supper and Recreation
07.45	Study
08.45	Night prayers;
	Preparation of meditation
9.20	Lights out
	Rosary Visits and Scripture in private

Figure 2: Community Regulation Timetable (Bate, 2019, p. 9)

This integration enabled a formative curriculum that Bate analyses in terms of 'socialisation through mechanisms and rhythms' in spiritual, liturgical, community, and academic life. In Spiritual life, candidates are socialised through retreats, spiritual direction, and liturgical

prayer; in Community life, by living in community with commensurate values of charity and zeal. The Order's evangelistic founding identity (charism) is emphasised throughout.

Curriculum development at the seminary was guided by decisions at provincial and congregational levels, while canonical visitations and internal evaluations assessed the formation of candidates. The curriculum did not remain static but, as alluded to above, responded to international and local challenges. During WWII, sending young men for training overseas by ship was risky and thus spurred the development of local training initiatives. Apartheid legislation impacted community dynamics and formation ethos, prompting the curriculum to include contextual theology and pastoral planning.

At St Joseph's Scholasticate, the curriculum revealed by Bate was essentially a holistic formation Program that combined elements of academy, spirituality, community, and missionary preparation. Over the years, these elements wove together in ways that supported both tradition and innovation in religious education. The study is relevant in its demonstration of the scope of clergy training extending beyond academic instruction. It is limited, however, with regards to ESSA by its particular confessional focus and the historical period it reviews. Rather than serving as a direct model for the present study, its value lies in comparison.

2.4.2 Curriculum as liberation

Denis and Duncan's (2011) monograph on FedSem is not only a historical account of an ecumenical collaboration aimed at training black clergy in an era acutely aware of apartheid realities, it also an attempt to analyse reasons for the seminary's closure. Like Bate, the authors use a historical research design based on documentary analysis, together with interpretive historical narration.

By design, the seminary curriculum intended to facilitate interdenominational theological education – as discussed above, FedSem brought together four different denominations. Sharing a central library and a joint academic Program, the curriculum retained core theological subjects (Scripture, doctrine, ethics, and pastoral care) while leaving space for diversity in denomination differences.

A major influence on the curriculum was, of course, the seminary's political context that induced conflict both on and off the campus. Its multiracial makeup and close proximity to the University of Fort Hare gave rise to articulate students who opposed state ideology – indeed it

was ‘The native school that caused all the trouble’. By increasingly aligning itself with the BC movement, the curriculum encouraged critical engagement with issues of social justice.

According to Denis and Duncan, during the seminary’s later relocations, FedSem’s curriculum had to adapt to new contexts and resources. In each move, faced with loss of infrastructure, the seminary had to cope with constraints on library access and teaching faculty, as well as shared teaching spaces. This led to increased reliance on adjunct lecturers and a move to modular courses. The federal model, held so dear by the participating member churches, gave way to a unitary curriculum that integrated the Program. A pragmatic decision, perhaps, but one that increased tensions over doctrinal distinctives.

The move from Umtata to Edendale was facilitated by an invitation from the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Center which shared much of FedSem’s ethos: ecumenical cooperation, Black Christian leadership, theological training, and political conscientisation. Its founder, Enos Sikakane, “offered the Center to the seminary for a period of up to three years from January 1976. He was prepared to suspend all the Programs if necessary” (Denis & Duncan, 2011, p. 129).

A more urban learning environment (Edendale, temporarily, then Imbali) prompted a greater emphasis on contextual theology, with subjects such as social justice, pastoral care, liberation theology, and Black Consciousness introduced into the curriculum. These were not just theory. Partly as a result of constrained resources FedSem promoted practical ministry, such as field work in local churches and communities. Thus, pastoral theology became a lived experience. Despite institutional instability, the seminary was seen as relevant, preparing clergy for ministry in a hurting and divided society.

Sadly, as Denis and Duncan (2011) show, by the late 80s, financial constraints and disagreements over theological direction had taken their toll. The curriculum balancing act between academic excellence, ecumenical ideals, and denominational expectations could no longer hold. In 1993, the seminary closed. However, its 30 years of existence point to an extraordinary experiment in collaborative education with a contextual curriculum that equipped generations of clergy committed to justice.

In contrast to Bate (2019), Denis and Duncan’s study is relevant not least because FedSem represented a pedagogical integration of curriculum, context, and social justice during the apartheid period, which, at points, was congruent with ESSA’s experience: geographical

context, overlapping historical period, and practical formation. FedSem's trajectory differed in its institutional history, its theological orientation, and in its relationships to liberation theology and Black Consciousness. Denis and Duncan's study (2011) thus invites important contextual comparison without implying that ESSA followed the same trajectory.

2.4.3 Curriculum as praxiological

With regard to rising urbanisation in Latin America, Book-Satterlee's article (2014) asks how that continent's evangelical seminaries are equipping students for urban ministry. His survey of 57 degree Programs across 14 seminaries evaluates both explicit (formal Program) and hidden (institutional culture, unspoken values) curricula, in addition to the urban context where these seminaries are located. I discuss the concepts of the explicit and hidden curricula in depth in the next chapter.

The contrast he draws is between 'cloistered' and urbanised learning, where the majority traditional model focuses on classic theological subjects while ignoring the geographical setting where most ministry will occur. The alternative model preferred by the author is Integrated Praxiological Andragogy (IPA), a composite term meaning integration of theory and practice, learning through reflective action, and an emphasis on adult, self-directed learning. This approach eschews the confines of the classroom for the concrete challenges of city life.

Book-Satterlee argues that to engage meaningfully with their urban contexts, a shift to a 'praxiological andragogy' is needed – that is, following Paulo Freire, adopting problem-solving learning models "that engage their environment with true reflection, leading to action" (2014, p. 33).

Book-Satterlee's methodology does not employ fieldwork or conduct interviews but uses comparative analysis of explicit (intended) seminary curricula to gauge how inclusive these syllabi are of 'urban' categories. Utilising a praxiological lens, the author is able to assess from the syllabus each seminary's learning style: is it reflective and practice-based, or is it restricted to "classrooms, library walls, and ivory towers" (2014, p. 32)?

Turning to the hidden curriculum, Book-Satterlee uncovers how geographic and social factors have contributed to an anti-urban bias in clergy training, but also how a student's 'intentionality' can mitigate this effect: "if her intentionality tends to be in ministerial work

outside of the classrooms and less than on their academic studies, the urban social geographical environment will become her directing curriculum and true classroom” (2014, p. 39).

The author’s call for reform in Latin America’s traditional learning models, in view of urban realities, is both a critique of academic elitism and a plea for seminaries to engage with their contexts. IPA is recommended as a theoretical framework to bridge this gap and include more urban-based content in the curriculum.

The relevance of Book-Satterlee (2014) for ESSA lies both in its examination of the hidden curriculum and in its emphasis on integrating theological learning with ministry contexts – factors of concern in the present study. However, its particular focus on Latin American seminaries and on urban ministry limits its applicability in relation to ESSA’s local context during the final years of apartheid.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter considered literature concerned with a number of themes, including political developments in the socio-historical context of South Africa, the church's response, and the historical background of local seminaries in Pietermaritzburg. This was followed by a discussion of key concepts, including curriculum, theological education, and *shalom*. The last part of the review considered studies of curricula from institutions other than ESSA. Chapter 3 will consider the conceptual or theoretical framework for this study.

CHAPTER THREE: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

Regarding ESSA's vision to train leaders for Christian ministry, the issue of curriculum inevitably arises. When students arrived at seminary for the first time in 1980, the question "What are we going to teach them?" had probably been asked, mulled over, and answered many times. During the next four decades, considerable time, money, and effort would be spent on planning, implementing, and evaluating the curriculum. A solid understanding of the term is therefore essential to engage meaningfully with the objectives of this study.

In Chapter Two, I situate the founding of ESSA in historical context, introduce key concepts, and consider the literature on curricula implemented at theological colleges. As previously indicated, although this is a historical case study, my focus is on the curriculum. This chapter demonstrates an understanding of relevant curriculum theory as the theoretical basis for my research. Before going there, however, it is worth reflecting on some basic assumptions about human learning.

3.2 How do people learn?

Over the past century, different views of how people acquire knowledge have tended to coalesce into three distinct learning theories which we recognise today as behaviourism, cognitivism, and constructivism. One of the earliest of these, behaviourism, holds that learning occurs in response to environmental stimuli "over which a person has little or no control" (Elias & Merriam, 2005, p. 83). Where such responses are reinforced, either positively or negatively, certain behaviours can be encouraged or discouraged. Conditioning, the process of shaping behaviour through reinforcement, is associated directly with stimulus-response or is focused on rewards and punishment. Resultant changes in behaviour are observable and measurable. Pioneers in this school include John B. Watson, the founder of behaviourism; Ivan Pavlov, whose work on associations led to classical conditioning; and B. F. Skinner, who developed operant conditioning (Elias & Merriam, 2005).

Behaviourist techniques are still utilised in education today. One thinks of the use of rewards (gold stars, praise) and deterrents ('the naughty corner') in classroom practice to achieve structured objectives and maintain student discipline. But is the act of learning provoked only by external stimuli? What weight is given to interior processes such as memory, thinking, and

cognition? While behaviour modification may indeed follow conditioning, behaviourism as a learning theory is limited in its explanation of how information is personally processed and understood.

In contrast to a view of learning that treats knowledge as something external to be transmitted, cognitivism examines the internal processes of information acquisition, storage, and retrieval. Based on prior knowledge, learners manipulate incoming data to form patterns and models that help them remember and interpret what they see and hear. In a game of chess, for example, players will plot their moves not by relying on environmental stimuli but by actively using memory and strategy to calculate their best options. Cognitivist approaches view the learner “as a very active participant in the learning process” (Ertmer & Newby, 2013, p. 51).

Constructivists agree that learning is an active process but add that meaning is ‘constructed’ via personal experience (Ertmer & Newby, 2013). As learners interact with others in the real world, knowledge is co-constructed as problems are solved together; knowledge is thus subjective and contextual. Key theorists include John Dewey, who advocated experiential education based on problem-solving (Elias & Merriam, 2005), and Lev Vygotsky, who introduced the ‘Zone of Proximal Development’ principle – in simple terms, with someone’s help, one can learn to do more than one can on one’s own.

Project-based inquiry, in which students can explore and work on problems together, is one application of this theory in adult learning contexts. A personal example is the design of a logo for our new Palestinian support group: once the mandate went out, members freely contributed their critiques of draft sketches via *WhatsApp*. Candid opinions were shared on why a given design might or might not work, and the logo went through several iterations before consensus was reached. Much was learned via social interaction, as knowledge was constructed through experience and reflection.

Some forms of adult education build on these foundations, focusing on the peculiarities of adult learners. Here we table some general characteristics of adult learning, and how they link to the theories above:

Table 1: Characteristics of adult learning and links to learning theories

Distinctives	Explanation	Core learning theory
Self-direction	Prefer autonomy in learning	Constructivist emphasis on agency
Experience as resource	Prior knowledge and lived experience are central	Constructivism, cognitivism
Goal orientation	Content that is relevant to immediate needs	Behaviourist reinforcement
Practical application	Problem-Centered learning	Constructivist problem-solving
Internal motivation	External rewards matter... but intrinsic motivation is stronger	Behaviourism... Cognitivism, constructivism

Applications of the major theories are manifest in adult learning today: behaviourism informing corporate safety drills, for example, or constructivism driving workshops and small groups. Constructivist principles are favoured because of the rich experience adults bring with them, as well as the need for meaningful social engagement. It is also worth noting how core theories informed later adult learning models. Among the most well-known of these, in the humanistic tradition, are Malcolm Knowles' andragogy, David Kolb's experiential learning, and Jack Mezirow's transformative learning. I discuss these shortly, but first wish to set them within the framework of other philosophical traditions. For descriptions in this section, I follow the outline found in Elias and Merriam (2005).

a. Liberal

The roots of the liberal tradition may be traced as far back as Plato and Aristotle's academy, which aimed at the intellectual training of virtuous leaders, in opposition to the Sophists' lesser goal of producing skilled orators. This predilection for a leader class gave rise to the charge of elitism, which has endured. A liberal education, nonetheless, was designed to cultivate intellect and moral character, as well as an appreciation of the 'great works.' Key elements included "wisdom, moral values, a spiritual or religious dimension, and an aesthetic sense" (Elias & Merriam, 2005, p. 31). Adult learning, in this tradition, focuses on general knowledge, cultural literacy, and intellectual discipline rather than on vocational training. Its tendency to privilege

canonical texts (the ‘classics’), however, has attracted criticism from those advocating greater cultural diversity in the national curriculum (cf. May, 1994).

b. Progressive

The philosophy of pragmatism, with its emphasis on the consequences of one’s actions, undergirds this distinctly American tradition. Its primary driver was Dewey, whose approach to education was learner-Centered, attentive to social reform, and experiential. However, its “identification of progressive thought with liberal political, social, and economic thought lies at the heart of the controversy over the impact of progressivism on American life in general, and on education in particular” (Elias & Merriam, 2005, p. 57).

Eduard Lindeman built on Dewey’s emphasis on experience as a resource for adult learning – it is the learner, not ‘texts and teachers,’ who should take precedence. Malcolm Knowles drew on both Dewey and Lindeman, crediting the latter as a key inspiration (Knowles, 1980). Knowles’ six assumptions of andragogy, discussed below, resonate with the progressive principles of democratic, problem-based, experiential learning.

c. Behaviourist

Having already described this approach, it is omitted here.

d. Radical

Critical adult learning theory derives from three streams of thought: the anarchist tradition, the Marxist-socialist tradition, and the Freudian Left (Elias & Merriam, 2005). Of these sources, the Marxist stream influenced Paulo Freire most and is reflected in his views on humanity, social reality, and consciousness. His critique of traditional learning models underlines the premise that education is never neutral; it either reinforces or challenges the status quo. Nevertheless, criticism of Freire’s philosophy as idealist, too ideological, or difficult to implement remains. Earlier in this M.Ed. Program, I had the opportunity to read Youngman’s *Political Economy of Adult Education and Development* (2000). Considering the history of various development contexts in the majority world, the author’s analysis of the connection between ‘aid’ and imperialism is both revealing and disturbing.

The humanistic tradition is left to last since I wish to engage in more detail with some of the models emerging from it. As its name indicates, human autonomy and growth are central to this approach. Philosophically, its roots are found in the psychology of Abraham Maslow and Carl Rogers. Put simply, “the goal of humanistic education is the development of persons – persons who are open to change and continued learning, persons who strive for self-actualization, and persons who can live together as fully functioning individuals” (Elias & Merriam, 2005, p. 124).

In adult education, the focus is on learner-Centeredness, on facilitation rather than instruction, and on respect for individual experience. These foci are apparent in the following models:

- *Andragogy*. Knowles’ list of adult learning assumptions – four in 1980 (Knowles, 1980), later expanded to six – includes self-concept, experience, readiness to learn, orientation to learning, motivation, and need to know. It has been questioned whether this represents an actual theory of learning rather than merely describing how adults learn. Knowles himself “became persuaded that andragogy could be seen as being on a continuum with pedagogy on the other end” (Elias & Merriam, 2005, p. 136). Nevertheless, his idea that adults are self-directed learners motivated by internal drives and personal growth seems to have provided adult education with a psychological framework grounded in respect for the learner.
- *Experiential learning cycle*. Following Dewey and Piaget’s view of education as an active process, Kolb understood learning as emanating from the intercourse of action and reflection. In a continuous cycle of concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualisation, and active experimentation (Kolb & Kolb, 2009), learners construct meaning from their own experience. While this rather pragmatic approach has located Kolb in the progressive tradition, his emphasis on agency and reflection points to a humanistic education emphasises learner experience for personal growth.
- *Transformative learning*. In his theory of perspective transformation, Mezirow maintains that people “enter adulthood with a store of meanings, beliefs, and values which are the result of socialization. In adulthood, we find many of these inadequate for making meaning out of human experience” (Elias & Merriam, 2005, p. 140). The ‘transformation of perspective’ that arises from critical reflection on these assumptions leads to learning (Jarvis et al., 2003). This model seeks to move beyond growth to

transformation as an indicator of learning, but a critique is that the transformation in view is overly personal and lacks a social dimension.

To oversimplify: Knowles describes how adults learn, Kolb explains how experience becomes learning, and Mezirow shows how reflection can change both meaning and identity. Looking back to their roots in humanistic psychology, it is interesting how these models engage with successive levels of Maslow's 'hierarchy of needs': Knowles speaks to the basal requirements of safety, belonging and love, Kolb to the need for esteem, and Mezirow to the desire for self-actualisation.

3.3 Concepts of curriculum

What is a curriculum? Considering the sheer variety of stakeholders in the field, a single definition has proved elusive. Rather than aiming for a specific conceptualisation, this section includes contributions from three scholars who have considered curriculum from different points of view. They are Stephen May, Mary Neary, and Mark Smith.

3.3.1 May

In his exploration of multicultural education, May (1994) revisits the structure-agency debate, which considers the impact of social structures on individual agency. His helpful review of key sociological approaches is discussed under the categories of Consensus, Conflict, and Resistance.

- Consensus theory understands that the maintenance of societal equilibrium depends on the transmission of shared values and norms, and that it is the role of education to convey these norms in the pursuit of social cohesion. The functionalism of Émile Durkheim underpins this perspective, where education is seen as socialisation into the *conscience collective*, reinforcing homogeneity and moral order. Talcott Parsons saw schools as agencies of socialisation and role allocation, legitimating meritocracy and equality of opportunity. In this view, learning institutions are seen as neutral. In their attempt to integrate minority groups, however, they tend to assimilate these into the dominant culture, with little regard for diversity or systemic inequalities.
- Conflict theory, on the other hand, points to those inequalities and the power struggles that characterise society. It argues that institutions are not neutral, but sites

where the powerful retain advantage. In this view, “drawing heavily on a Marxian analysis of society” (May, 1994, p. 62), education is seen as reinforcing social stratification by favouring dominant culture and rendering minorities subjects of tokenism. May mentions Althusser's observation that schools function as ‘ideological state apparatuses’ reproducing capitalist relations via ideology, and Bowles and Gintis’ research on schooling in America illustrating the ‘correspondence principle’ whereby classroom relations were found to mirror those in the workplace, replicating stratified labour roles. Personally, I find May’s use of the words “minority/minorities” interesting because, in apartheid South Africa, it was the majority who were structurally disadvantaged. In such contexts, May’s terminology should be understood in terms of power relations, rather than numerically.

- One critique of conflict theory is its deterministic nature, in which persons are construed as victims “without the possibility of human agency” (May, 1994, p. 65). Countering such passive ‘victimhood,’ resistance theory holds that minorities can and do struggle against domination – both overtly, through activism, and covertly, by maintaining cultural customs. May cites the resistance theorist, such as Henry Giroux, who views schools as sites of struggle, where both students and teachers resist dominant ideologies.
- Again, while the word ‘minority’ is used, May’s reference to Willis’ study of working-class boys in Britain shows that conflict theory applies wherever education produces inequality – whether the subordinated group is large or small. Rather than a nominal resistance in informal modes, this approach proposes formal critical practices that foster agency even within structural confines.

May’s review of key sociological approaches helps me understand the processes that shaped current concepts of curriculum, including the *hidden* curriculum, “those ‘unwritten rules’ of the school” (May, 1994, p. 64). These implicit norms, values, and expectations embedded in educational practices frequently serve to fortify the dominant culture. Hidden curriculum will

be explored further below, but it is clear from May's analysis that it remains a strong guardian of the status quo.

In sum, a consensus approach perpetuates assimilation without challenging prevailing power structures. Conflict theory exposes systemic inequities but can depreciate agency. Resistance theory underlines the value of 'minority' culture for emancipation and empowerment. Though not engaging with adult education per se, May's work suggests that effective multicultural education requires structural change that critically engages with the dynamics of power and agency.

3.3.2 Neary

Moving to the development of curriculum itself, Mary Neary (2002) identifies two main models, aptly termed *Product* and *Process*. Neary argues that, drawn from the use of behavioural objectives during the late 1960s, the first is based on the earlier work of Ralph Tyler who sought the end result – or 'product' – of a curriculum by asking key questions regarding its planning, design, development, and evaluation.

Neary goes on to note how, utilising behavioural objectives, the product model brought a level of precision to determining a curriculum's goal and how it was assessed, as well as guiding educators on content structure, types of learning, and skill acquisition. In later years the model attracted substantial critique, particularly in regard to the behaviourism of B.F. Skinner, whose philosophy was deemed inadequate by many for use in curriculum development. Some of these reservations, such as the theory's focus on external behaviour and its neglect of internal cognitive processes have been mentioned already. Indeed, from the discussion of cognitivist and constructivist approaches above, it seems clear how behaviourism as an educational theory fails to capture the complexity of human learning, the importance of meaning-making, and the need for curricula that prepare students for critical engagement with society.

Neary (2002) argues that rather than focusing on learning outcomes, the second 'process' model suggests that learner experiences, teacher activities, and the learning environment are equally legitimate criteria for assessing how people learn. The learning horizon is more extended – "lifelong," claims Neary (2002, p. 62) – than that of the first model. With an emphasis on learner experience, the role of the teacher shifts from lecturing to facilitation.

While both approaches are useful in adult learning, Neary suggests that the self-motivated criteria of Knowles' andragogical model tend to favour process more than product because knowledge is constructed through reflecting on one's experience. Knowles' six assumptions, in a slightly different order to that above, are listed as follows (in Neary, 2002, p. 64):

1. *The need to know.* Adults adopt a more questioning approach.
2. *Learner's self-concept.* Adults are responsible for all their actions.
3. *Learner's experience.* Adults have a greater range of life experiences to bring to the learning environment.
4. *Readiness to learn.* Adults learn because they wish to. Internal locus of control.
5. *Orientation to learn.* Adults are life Centerd in their orientation to learn.
6. *Motivation.* Adults are generally internally motivated.

3.3.3 Smith

A more complex view of curriculum is articulated by Mark Smith (1996), who expands the number of models to four. His starting point is John Kerr's definition of curriculum: "All the learning which is planned and guided by the school, whether carried on in groups or individually, inside or outside the school" (in Smith, 1996, para. 1). This description specifies the nature of the learning (that it is planned and guided), as well as its locus (the educational institution). I have summarised Smith's four models as follows:

1. Curriculum as a *body of knowledge*. Where curriculum is equated with 'syllabus,' as it often is, this usually concerns content that simply needs to be conveyed, with little thought given to subject priorities or broader issues of learning, such as teacher agency.
2. Curriculum as *product*. This model, as Neary describes above, is predicated on Tyler's objectives: goal setting, planning, implementation, and outcome measurement. While it excels at proposing systematic procedures and measurable behaviours, the approach suffers from rigidity in that learner and teacher choices are constrained in multiple ways.
3. Curriculum as *process*. Classroom interaction and meaning-making, rather than fixed outcomes, are key features of the process approach. Flexibility and experimentation are encouraged, with a clear emphasis on learner agency. However, as Smith points out,

learner subjectivity can impact the goal of content uniformity. Teachers need to be skilled enough to ensure that learning is taking place, rather than just skill acquisition.

4. Curriculum as *praxis*. An extension of the process model, praxis seeks to integrate reflection and practice that brings “collective human well-being and the emancipation of the human spirit ... to the Center of the process and makes an explicit commitment to emancipation. Thus, action is not simply informed, it is also committed” (Smith, 1996, Curriculum as praxis). As political projects in themselves, such curricula are concerned more with a *collective* than individual understanding, while also emphasising educator values and peer review.

Smith (1996) notes that a criticism of all four approaches is the insufficient attention given to context, or learning environment. This is an acknowledgment of the hidden curriculum, mentioned above and discussed further below. Rather than a static plan or list of objectives, Smith argues for a dynamic, always-contextual understanding of curriculum. He does not dispense with any particular model but calls for a greater understanding of how each relates to the others.

As can be seen, Smith’s *praxis* category, caricatured by him as driven by ‘the social meliorists’ and alluding to the early sociologist Lester Frank Ward, is akin to May’s ‘resistance’ approach and may be construed as a critique of Western epistemologies which marginalise indigenous ways of knowing while legitimising privilege in education. This study does not attempt to decolonise curriculum theory but does recognise the importance of interrogating existing hierarchies, while making space for alternative systems.

Aoki’s ‘curriculum-as-lived-experience’ (Aoki, 2005) finds traction within the process model. Aoki recognised that teachers live in the tension between curriculum as plan (formal documents) and curriculum as lived (the student/teacher experience). Curriculum is what unfolds in practice. Pinar’s ‘reconceptualist’ movement (Pinar, 1995) concurs with the notion of lived experience but moves beyond process to understand curriculum as a deeply personal, subjective journey. His concept of *currere* shifts the meaning of ‘curriculum’ from a noun to a verb, framing it as an ongoing process of self-reflection and growth. As such, it resonates strongly with Smith’s praxis model.

3.3.4 Selecting the conceptual framework

While the curriculum theories considered above are helpful in interpreting ESSA's formative environment, they have different purposes – May, Neary, and Smith draw attention to curriculum as formation, process, praxis, and context. As such, they are relevant to the present study, which considers learning extended beyond the classroom confines. The theories are less suited, however, to serving as my primary conceptual framework since the research questions require comparison between what the founders intended, what educators taught, and what students experienced.

Porter and Smithson's distinction between Intended, Enacted, Assessed, and Learned curriculum provides a closer fit, especially for analysing documentary evidence. However, my study does not seek to evaluate student achievement or assessment outcomes. Clemmons et al.'s (2022) simplified Intended-Enacted-Experienced model provides the most economical fit with the evidence and research questions:

- Intended curriculum permits scrutiny of founders' vision and curriculum documents;
- Enacted curriculum supplies a lens to consider how faculty implemented that vision;
- Experienced curriculum allows examination of how former students perceived and interpreted their education.

The choice of Clemmons et al. should not be understood as a rejection of alternative models. Indeed, they provide complimentary perspectives to interpret my study's findings. This is true of their emphases on formation, praxis, and context – aspects of ESSA that are difficult to understand within formal curriculum categories. I adopt the Clemmons et al. framework as the primary analytic lens while acknowledging the relevance of the other approaches.

3.4 The intended-enacted-experienced conceptual framework

In anticipation of the *intended-enacted-experienced* framework I use to analyse ESSA's early curriculum, it is necessary to further explore and contrast the two basic approaches advocated by Ralph Tyler and Lawrence Stenhouse: product and process. As Neary points out, the former was known earlier as the 'behavioural objectives model' (2002, p. 60) while the latter term is used by Neary by way of contrast. Curriculum, considered as 'product' (see previous discussion), is to seek the outcome of a given learning process. Drawing on Taba's

interpretation of Tyler's key questions, Smith (1996) lists this sequence as representative of the product approach:

1. Diagnosis of need.
2. Formulation of objectives.
3. Selection of content.
4. Organization of content.
5. Selection of learning experiences.
6. Organization of learning experiences.
7. Determination of what to evaluate and of the ways and means of doing it (Smith, 1996, Curriculum as product).

From this list, it is clear that each of these activities is done before the lesson begins. In other words, a curriculum is something planned in advance. It is *intended*. Being syllabus-Centered, this approach has consequences for the mode of teaching.

Considering curriculum as 'process,' on the other hand, is focused on learning experienced *in situ*, that is, what actually happens in the classroom. As a subjective activity, learning cannot be sequenced in the neat steps of a product approach but is open to the various circumstances of both student and teacher. In class, aware of each learner's personality, the educator's role shifts from mere content delivery to active facilitating. As both Neary (2002) and Smith (1996) point out, facilitation skills are required to ensure that real learning is taking place. The two approaches are contrasted pedagogically below:

Table 2: Role of the educator in product versus process approaches

Teacher	Facilitator
Focuses on teaching	Focuses on learning
Teacher Centerd	Student Centerd
Control	Sharing
Superior – subordinate relationships	Partnership
Director	Participant
Knowledge given	Knowledge available
Treats all the same	Perceives individual learning needs

Focuses on groups	Focuses on individual
Closed learning environment	Open learning
Controls parameters of learning	Lets learner set parameters
Narrow horizon	Wider horizon

(Neary, 2002, p. 63).

Smith (1996) helpfully notes the following differences to the product approach:

- Where the product model appeals to the workshop for a model, this process model looks to the world of experimentation.
- Given the uniqueness of each classroom setting, it means that any proposal, even at school level, needs to be tested, and verified by each teacher in his/her classroom.
- Outcomes are no longer the central and defining feature.
- The learners in this model are not objects to be acted upon. (Smith, 1996, Curriculum as process).

It is in this ‘process’ sense that the curriculum becomes both *enacted* and *experienced* – ‘enacted’ in the educator’s application of curriculum in the classroom; ‘experienced’ in how that curriculum is received by learners. It stands to reason that all three modes – intended, enacted, and experienced – can operate simultaneously in a classroom, with decidedly different trajectories!

With this in mind, I turn to two studies that provide conceptual frameworks for describing, comparing, and evaluating existing curricula. While they are not prescriptive models for designing and structuring curriculum, they do offer helpful analytic categories for understanding and appraisal.

3.4.1 Porter and Smithson

Porter and Smithson’s (2001) research on measuring and analysing curriculum content clarifies how some of the concepts explored above are applied. Their study underlines the necessity of valid indicators for tracing “the chain of causality from education legislation to student outcomes” (Porter & Smithson, 2001, p. 2) – indeed, policy evaluation is the point of the study. In a slightly different sequence from that of the authors, the following curricula are distinguished:

- *Intended* – refers to “curriculum standards, frameworks, or guidelines that outline the curriculum teachers are expected to deliver” (Porter & Smithson, 2001, p. 2). It is “the composition of the curriculum described in the policy documents,” and the “measures that characterise the policy documents themselves” (Porter & Smithson, 2001, p. 2). The aim of such measures may indicate, for example, how prescriptive policies should be.
- *Assessed* – this component could be regarded as part of the Intended curriculum, since assessments are designed to effect what policymakers intend students to learn. The difference revealed between knowledge *valued* and knowledge *assessed* is significant; if these are not aligned, tensions arise between the Intended and Assessed curricula. While such a distinction may be useful, it need not represent a departure from the intended-enacted-experienced framework. For the purposes of this study, the conceptual overlap between Intended and Assessed is sufficient to treat them as a single curriculum.
- *Enacted* – means “the actual curricular content that students engage in the classroom.” Since most learning occurs here, the enacted curriculum is “the single most important feature of any curriculum indicator system” (Porter & Smithson, 2001, p. 2). Having said that, the authors emphasise the need to consider all four curricula together “in order to describe the context within which instruction occurs” (Porter & Smithson, 2001, p. 2).
- *Learned* – refers to actual knowledge and skills that students acquire from schooling, and is typically measured by outcomes: what content has been mastered, at what level of proficiency? Although grades “represent just a portion of the knowledge that students acquire” (Porter & Smithson, 2001, p. 3), they remain a pragmatic measure of learning. In contrast to my comment on the assessed curriculum above, this component deviates from its ‘experienced’ counterpart in the intended-enacted-experienced framework. While both address the learner’s side of the curriculum, the ‘Learned’ emphasis on measurable outcomes is not synonymous with how learners experience the curriculum.

Curriculum-as-experienced is important to Neary (2002) and Smith (1996). Although Porter and Smithson’s interest regards policy, they concur with Neary and Smith in acknowledging

curriculum as a multilayered, lived practice – it is not merely a document. From a diagnostic perspective, Porter and Smithson’s study helps educators and policy makers to analyse systemic strengths and weaknesses and suggest reforms.

3.4.2 Clemmons et al.

Some twenty years after Porter and Smithson’s work, Clemmons et al. (2022) applied a conceptual framework to a set of undergraduate biology courses. Its purpose was to analyse alignment between what departments intended, what educators taught and assessed, and what students perceived. Alignment is the study’s focus, but of primary value to me is its extension of the earlier Porter and Smithson framework into a three-part ‘model’: intended-enacted-experienced. While the study has the word *model* in its title it is not a blueprint but functions, rather, analytically – categorising and comparing perspectives on curriculum.

These perspectives are not original to Clemmons et al. but draw on the prior work of Porter and Smithson, who were themselves indebted to authors such as McKnight and Schmidt, credited as having “first distinguished among the *intended*, *enacted*, and *learned* curricula” (Porter & Smithson, 2001, p. 2). Porter and Smithson added the *assessed* curriculum, while Clemmons et al. adapted the framework as *intended-enacted-experienced*, foregrounding student perceptions. According to Clemmons et al.,

The first curriculum (called the intended, planned, written, or designed curriculum) establishes the curricular goals, learning outcomes, or national standards explaining what students should be able to know and do after completing the curriculum. The second curriculum (called the enacted, taught, tested, or delivered curriculum) is how instructors translate the intended curriculum into teaching and assessment in actual courses. The third curriculum (the experienced or learned curriculum) is the one students perceive in response to instruction. The most complete and accurate view of the curriculum requires examination from all three perspectives, which we refer to here as the “intended–enacted–experienced” curriculum model (Clemmons et al., 2022, p. 2).

This conceptual framework constitutes the lens I use to analyse ESSA's early curriculum.

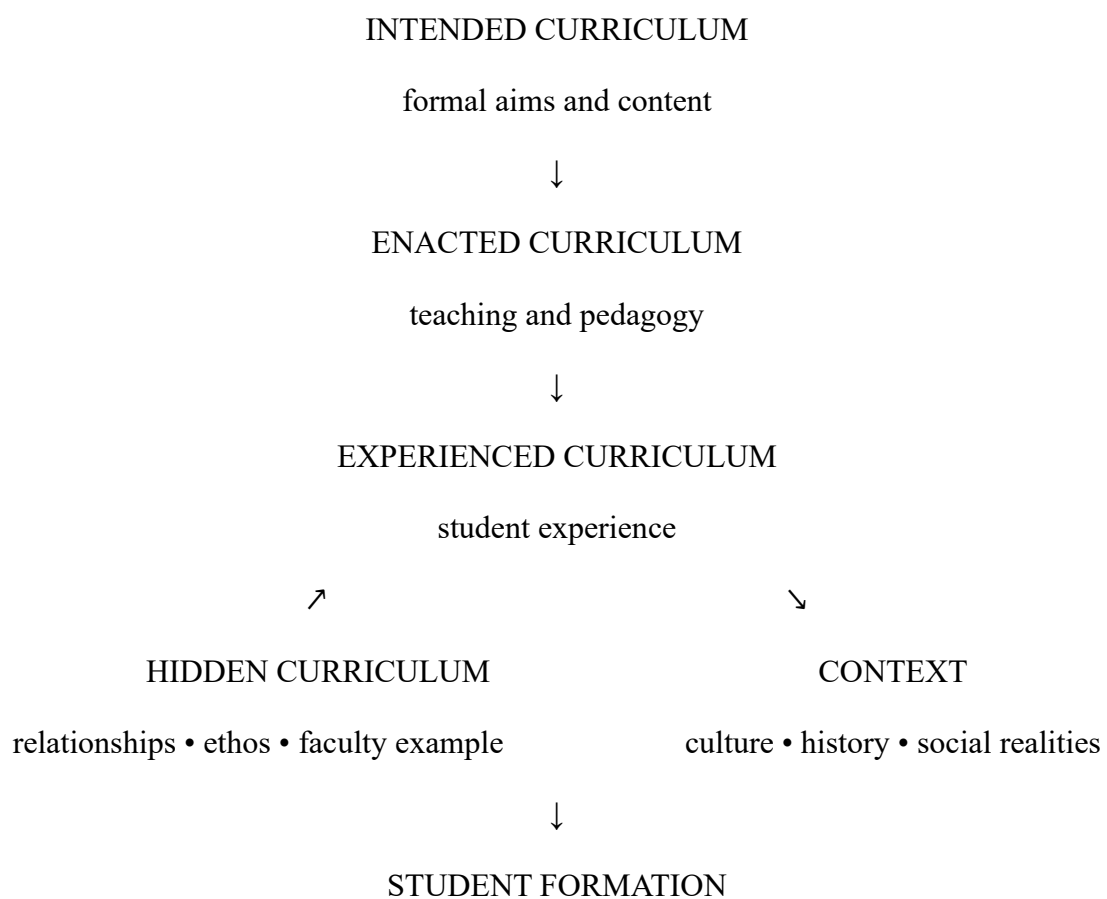


Figure 3: Intended-Enacted-Experienced Curriculum

Figure 3 illustrates the conceptual relationship adopted for this study. The framework provides an analytic lens, rather than presuming that the Intended Curriculum translates directly into student experience.

3.5 The student experience

Regarding Clemmons et al.'s integration of 'experience' into this framework, one might ask why this component was added so late. Reasons for this may be found in the relevant literature. Up to the early 1990s, when the theories of Aoki (2005) and Pinar (1995) (see discussion above) were emerging, opinions still obtained that "students are students precisely because they lack something that the teacher has (and, they hope, is willing to pass onto them); therefore, they must trust the teacher's judgement about what is most worthwhile to learn" (Marsh & Willis, 1995, p. 182).

During the mid-20th century, the dominance of a product-focused curriculum emphasised efficiency, accountability, and objectives at the expense of experiential emphases. Dewey's early ideas (he wrote *Experience and Education* in 1938) resurfaced only in the 1970s and 80s with the advent of curriculum as critical pedagogy and experiential learning (see discussion above). Smith's (1996) critique of the product model specifically targeted the omission of student experience:

...such Programs inevitably exist prior to and outside the learning experiences. This takes much away from learners. They can end up with little or no voice. They are told what they must learn and how they will do it. The success or failure of both the Program and the individual learners is judged on the basis of whether pre-specified changes occur in the behaviour and person of the learner (Smith, 1996, Curriculum as product).

A reference book on curriculum from the same era reports, "The absence of student experience from current educational discourse seems to be a consequence of systematic silencing of the student voice. Most fundamentally, student experience goes unheard and unseen for what appear to be ideological reasons" (Erickson & Schultz, 1992, p. 481). If Giroux (1983, as cited in May, 1994) is correct, that educational institutions "function in part to distribute and legitimate forms of knowledge, values, language, and modes of style that constitute the dominant culture and its interest" (p. 61), then not only is student experience shaped by the reproduction of a dominant ideology but the curriculum itself can be experienced as cultural imposition.

Corresponding to this insight is May's observation that the *hidden curriculum* enables the dominant culture. Its rules and expectations are 'hidden' because they are unwritten, yet are nonetheless assumed, impacting learners *vis-à-vis* their cultural context. May's critical lens is

discussed above, but it is worth comparing it with more holistic alternatives. Situating hidden curriculum as part of a broad ‘experiential curriculum,’ Su’s conceptualisation of curriculum *as* culture focuses on “belief systems, values, behaviours, language, artistic expression, the environment in which education takes place, power relationships, and most importantly, the norms that affect our sense about what is right or appropriate” (2012, p. 155). Her distinction between ‘high-context’ (non-verbal cues) and ‘low-context’ (word-based) conversation bears directly on how lecturers interact with their students.

In my context at a private higher education institution, I found the conceptual framework ‘for uncovering the hidden curriculum’ offered by Rossouw and Frick (2023) helpful in aligning our institution's practice with our educational values. Congruent with Su is a view of curriculum as the totality of student experience, as well as the impact of implicit values and norms on institutional culture. The authors’ insight that private institutions operate in and compete within a market system highlights how employability pressures and workplace expectations shape the hidden curriculum.

Regarding May’s concern about the reproduction of dominant ideology, Rossouw and Frick acknowledge the potential of the hidden curriculum to entrench social stratification. Citing the research of Jackson (on how schooling reinforces divisions) and Snyder (on how unstated norms undermine student independence and creativity), they acknowledge the research's pitfalls. Yet, by its very nature – that it is contextual, relational, dynamic – hidden curriculum can be harnessed for positive student development.

Key to this exercise is the intentionality with which lecturers transmit it. Aware of the adjunct faculty issues at my own workplace, a theological seminary, I appreciate the observation that lecturers are often bi-vocational, teaching while working in the same sector where their students are either employed already or seeking deployment. In such contexts, the connections between vocation ‘calling’ and classroom interaction are rich.

3.6 Relevance of this conceptual framework to my study

It is helpful to recall, at this point, the foci of this study: a) how the theological concept of *shalom* was reflected in the curriculum of the Evangelical Seminary of Southern Africa during its formative years, 1980-1992, and b) how this concept was expressed in the seminary’s task of training Christian leaders during that period.

In considering the influence of *shalom* on the seminary's early curriculum, the intended-enacted-experienced framework provides an appropriate lens of analysis.

- The 'intended' curriculum permits an examination of how the institution's originating documents, syllabi, and objectives were impacted by the founders' interpretation of the concept of *shalom*.
- The 'enacted' curriculum considers how faculty translated this interpretation into classroom practice, pedagogical choices, and communal life.
- The 'experienced' curriculum gives attention to how students received, interpreted, and lived out what was taught both explicitly and implicitly.

Such a framework can reveal both alignment and dissonance between ESSA's vision and practice, and evaluate how *shalom* was not only taught but also embodied in the seminary's early years.

By distinguishing what was planned, what was delivered, and what was lived, the reduction of curriculum to documents or measurable outcomes alone is avoided. Instead, the dynamic interplay between theological vision, pedagogy, and learner experience is highlighted. For an institution invested in the holistic training of Christian leaders, it is important that *shalom* is assessed not merely as a doctrinal concept but as lived experience.

The intended-enacted-experienced framework provides clarity of both concept and practice for evaluating ESSA's curriculum during 1980-1992.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter presented the theoretical and conceptual framework framing the study. This chapter has situated the founding of ESSA within its historical context, introduced key concepts, and engaged with curriculum literature, while establishing curriculum theory as the study's foundation. By reflecting on behaviourism, cognitivism, and constructivism, it has highlighted the diverse ways in which learning is understood whether through external stimuli, internal cognitive processes, or socially constructed meaning. These perspectives not only frame how curricula are designed and experienced but also provide the theoretical lens through which ESSA's curriculum can be critically examined, thereby bridging historical context with pedagogical analysis and preparing the ground for subsequent chapters. I now turn to the research design that will help me answer my four research questions.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 Introduction

1. In the previous chapter, I considered some modern theories of learning that led, over the past century, to various philosophies of education. The humanistic tradition, in particular, gave rise to several models of adult development that have proved influential, including andragogy, experiential learning, and transformative learning. Turning to curriculum theory, I discussed the contributions of key thinkers whose ideas shaped the adult education discourse. Drawing on these approaches, especially the view of learning as ‘process,’ curriculum is understood as simultaneously enacted and experienced. Drawing on two curriculum studies, I described the evolution of an intended-enacted-experienced conceptual framework, with an emphasis on integrating student experience.

In keeping with the dual foci of this study, a) how the theological concept of *shalom* was reflected in the curriculum of the Evangelical Seminary of Southern Africa during its formative years, 1980-1992, and b) how this concept was expressed in the seminary’s task of training Christian leaders during that period, it is important to recall my research questions:

1. What concept of shalom did the founders introduce to ESSA in 1980?
2. How was this interpretation reflected in early curriculum documents?
3. How did those who designed and presented the curriculum express *shalom* in their task of training leaders?
4. How was this curriculum experienced by ESSA students during that period?

Chapter 4 explains how I conducted my research and why certain methodologies were selected to accomplish this. I begin with a brief review of basic research concepts.

4.2 Research paradigm

A paradigm is “an overall theoretical research framework” (Mack, 2010, p. 5). To understand how people construct meaning through curricula (Krauss, 2015), I adopt an interpretivist paradigm. Interpretivist research assumes an ontological position of relativism and an epistemology of subjectivism (Scotland, 2012). Accepting that reality is subjectively discerned, I am interested in how the study’s actors – founders, lecturers, and students - came to construe

shalom as they did during the seminary's formative years. These perspectives are meaningfully described within a paradigm that takes the social, cultural, and institutional contexts of the actors' experiences seriously.

Since the qualitative methods used in an interpretivist approach (interviews, textual analysis) are adapted to the participants' understanding of reality, the subjective nature of the findings limits the study's generalisability; its results are not readily transferable (Mack, 2010). Furthermore, the researcher's role as an active participant influences the study's subjectivity, implying the need for a high degree of reflexivity (Krauss, 2015). Another implication related to a study's dependence on participant perspectives is the ethical sensitivity and respect to which a researcher must adhere (Scotland, 2012).

4.3 Research approach

My study generated and analysed qualitative data. The documentary material was examined for the meaning and interpretations of *shalom* evident in the texts, while the semi-structured interviews generated participants' accounts of their experiences. Yilmaz (2013) describes qualitative research as concerned with the meanings people associate with the world around them, an approach consistent with the interpretivist paradigm adopted in this study.

Consistent with this paradigm and focus, the study therefore employed qualitative data generation and analysis which facilitates a rich understanding of human behaviour and experience (Scotland, 2012). Its attention to context elicits greater nuance from the subject being studied, with flexibility given to different methodologies (Mack, 2010) – in my case study, documentary analysis and interviews. As noted above, however, this attention to specific contexts limits generalisability, making the study difficult to replicate. Inherent researcher bias is a further weakness of the qualitative approach (Mack, 2010). Thus, since the researcher is an active participant in constructing meaning, reflexivity must be maintained (Krauss, 2015).

4.4 Research style

A case study “focuses on individual actors or groups of actors, and seeks to understand their perceptions of events” (Hitchcock & Hughes, in Cohen et al., 2000, p. 182), making it particularly suited to the interpretivist paradigm. According to Yin's 1984 classification, the outcomes of case study research may be descriptive, exploratory, or explanatory. For this study,

the exploratory type seems appropriate (Cohen et al., 2000). Other benefits of this method include rich descriptions, chronological narratives, and blended analyses of events.

In this thesis, ESSA and its early curriculum are the subjects under study. Since it occupies a defined historical period (1980-1992), it may be understood as a historically situated case study, drawing on documentary and retrospective interview evidence to reconstruct and interpret the educational experience of that period.

One way of exploring its context during 1980-92 is to consider it in terms of ‘microcosm’ (reflecting its environment), ‘outlier’ (proving exceptional to its environment), and ‘catalyst’ (impacting its environment) (Rule & John, 2011). Reflecting on how the seminary contested traditional formats of clergy training at the time (as discussed in Chapter 2), ESSA may be construed as an outlier.

Rule and John’s discussion of the discursive context, i.e., discourses that institutional forces bring to bear on the case, is helpful in situating the case within multiple layers of context. These layers, depicted as *background*, *foreground*, *liftground*, and *underground*, may be tabulated as follows:

Table 3: Layers of contextual analysis of case studies (Rule & John, 2011)

Contextual layer	Description	Case study application
<i>Background</i>	The case’s wider environment.	Provides the setting.
<i>Foreground</i>	Aspects of the case are most clearly apparent.	Draws attention to observable phenomena.
<i>Liftground</i>	Hermeneutics elevates the case into the public arena.	Points to the wider debate (discursive context).
<i>Underground</i>	Aspects of the case are less apparent.	Exposes relevant, underlying issues.

Attempting to understand the case from the perspective of each layer affirms that context is never neutral – the case is embedded, as it were, in a web of influences where every strand touches on another. Attention is given not only to what is immediately apparent (foreground) but also to those larger trends and structures surrounding it (background). By *liftground*, Rule

and John refer to “genres and uses of language that are adopted to make sense of prevailing circumstances within the public imagination” (2011, p. 49) – connecting the case to the ideas and theories of current discourse generates knowledge. No less important is an *underground* layer that reveals the norms and assumptions influencing the case. Chapter 6 applies this framework in the analysis of the data.

Regarding the intended/enacted/experienced curriculum, the case study’s actors include the ESSA founders (deceased, but whose perceptions survive in documents), former educators who recall the enacted curriculum, and former students who experienced it. Case study limitations in the interpretivist paradigm include lack of generalisability, subjectivity, and observer bias (Nisbet & Watt in Cohen et al., 2000). As discussed below, triangulation through documentary analysis and semi-structured interviews, together with reflection on my own positionality, helps mitigate these weaknesses.

4.5 Data generation

My data generation methods consisted of documentary analysis combined with semi-structured interviews. The relationship between the four research questions and the sources of evidence is summarised in Table 4.

Table 4: Alignment of research questions and data-generation methods

Research question	Primary evidence	Data-generation method
RQ1 What concept of shalom did the founders introduce to ESSA in 1980?	Phil Capp's <i>Principal's Reports</i> and other contemporary documents	Document analysis
RQ2 How was this interpretation reflected in early curriculum documents?	ESSA curriculum documents, 1980–1992	Document analysis
RQ3 How did those who designed and presented the curriculum express shalom in their task of training leaders?	<i>Principal's Reports</i> ; accounts of former faculty and educators	Document analysis + semi-structured interviews

RQ4 How was this curriculum experienced by ESSA students during that period?	Accounts of former ESSA students	Semi-structured interviews
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4.5.1 Sampling

If a research ‘population’ is the whole group (or universe) of units relevant to a study, the ‘sample’ is a smaller subset of that group selected for study that is somehow representative of the population (Cohen et al, 2000). In this study, my research population includes all ESSA staff and students associated with the seminary during the period 1980-1992. As I mentioned below, sampling for RQ 1 and RQ 3 is not applicable, while RQ 2 and RQ 4 utilise different types of non-probability. I used purposive and snowball sampling.

Purposive sampling, used in RQ 2, is where “researchers handpick the cases to be included in the sample on the basis of their judgment of their typicality” (Cohen et al, 2000, p. 103). Considering the large quantity and diversity of records in the ESSA archive, this sample does not aim for generalisability but meets the study’s need to analyse a certain category of documents.

Snowball sampling, used in RQ 4, is where “researchers identify a small number of individuals who have the characteristics in which they are interested. These people are then used as informants to identify, or put the researchers in touch with, others who qualify for inclusion and these, in turn, identify yet others...” (Cohen et al, 2000, p. 104). As stated below, the passing of time has prompted this type of sampling.

4.5.2 Document analysis

Bowen (2009) defines document analysis as “a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents – both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted) material. Like other analytical methods in qualitative research, document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning” (p. 27).

Of course, since documents are not published with the intent of being researched, necessarily, a limitation of this method is a lack of detail – they may not answer the research question. Retrievability may also be an issue, while another disadvantage is selective bias: “In an organisational context, the available (selected) documents are likely to be aligned with

corporate policies and procedures and with the agenda of the organisation's principals" (Bowen, 2009, p. 32).

Harris (2015) argues, therefore, that archival records cannot reflect 'reality' – if there is a sense in which they do, it is in collusion with "the people who created them, the functionaries who managed them, the archivists who selected them for preservation and make them available for use, and the researchers who use them in constructing accounts of the past" (p. 65). Concurring, Tesar (2015) notes the power of institutions to "decide on what they will archive, display and allow researchers to see, and how this will be done. They therefore cannot be considered to be neutral" (p. 102).

Coming to the documents themselves, similar questions present themselves: "How is the text positioned or positioning? Whose interests are served by this positioning? Whose interests are negated? What are the consequences of this positioning?" (Janks, 1997, p. 329). The texts themselves, Janks argues, are "implicated in relations of power" (1997, p. 329). Regarding this study, in those documents that allude to the concept of shalom, the founders' interpretation may have been privileged compared to others'.

4.5.3 Semi-structured interviews

Since research based on written sources alone runs "the risk of presenting only the views of the dominant groups and classes" (Field, 1999, p. 3), this study also used semi-structured interviews. The positionality of sources also applies to interviewees – this is the concern of oral history. "How people remember the past, speak about the past, and what they did in the past, will reveal complex insights into the storyteller's agency (or lack of agency) in the past and present" (Field, 1999, p. 3). This observation is worth keeping in mind during interview sessions, regarding the enacted and experienced curricula.

Cannell and Khan define the research interview as "a two-person conversation initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information, and focused by him [*sic*] on content specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction, or explanation" (Cohen et al, 2000, p. 269). Standard interviews include the following types: structured (content and procedure organised in advance), unstructured (content, sequence and wording entirely up to the interviewer), and focused (questions guided by subjective responses to a known situation) (Cohen et al, 2000). In accordance with the qualitative nature of the research question and its known focus, I used a semi-structured interview.

While using interviewees' recollections conveys a narrative, experiential character to the data, this study did not employ narrative inquiry or phenomenology as methodological approaches. Participants' accounts were treated as evidence within the confines of the case study and interpreted alongside the documentary evidence, rather than being analysed primarily for the structure of their narratives or the essence of their lived experience.

In summary, this research was structured as an exploratory case study. Its participants included the founders, as reflected in their writings, past educators, and former students. My data generation methods included documentary analysis of the ESSA founders to ascertain the intended curriculum, combined with interviews with former educators and students to explore the enacted and experienced curricula.

Regarding the actual research questions, then, my methodology is explained as follows:

- **RQ 1** applies content analysis to two documents to establish their authors' interpretation of *shalom*. The first is an empirical article written by Phil Capp; the second, an autobiography by Carmena Capp, ghostwritten nearly two decades later, towards the end of her life. The challenge here is synthesising two different genres of literature. As Bowen points out (2009, p. 32), document analysis involves the following processes: content analysis – “organising information into categories related to the central questions of the research,” and thematic analysis – “pattern recognition within the data, with emerging themes becoming the categories for analysis.”
- **RQ 2** asks how the interpretation established in RQ 1 is reflected in the relevant curriculum documents. The physical archive is located in the ESSA library. While the archive was recently digitised, there has been little attempt to organise the documents thematically or chronologically. It is uncertain at this stage whether these documents represent a fair reflection of the whole or if there are significant gaps in the record – answers to these questions will become apparent as the analysis proceeds.

Key primary sources (curriculum reviews, policy statements, academic minutes, syllabi, etc.) that are found will undergo document analysis, the iterative process of “skimming (superficial examination), reading (thorough examination), and interpretation” (Bowen, 2009, p. 32). Data from this analysis will then be combined

with evidence from interviews (used to answer RQs 3 and 4) “to minimise bias and establish credibility” (Bowen, 2009, p. 38).

- **RQ 3** – In view here is the enacted curriculum, which requires interviews with former faculty from the 1980-92 period. Due to its mean age, this population has shrunk considerably – I was able to identify fewer than 7 who are still alive and might have had a hand in shaping and implementing the curriculum. Since the entire research population was included, no sampling was necessary; I endeavour to interview them all.
- **RQ 4** considers the learned or experienced curriculum, requiring interviews with former students from the same focus period. Since it will be difficult to locate this population four decades on, I used snowball sampling to select interviewees. In view will be any correlation between the enacted and the experienced curricula. Though fraught with issues of positionality, my own recollections as a student who studied at ESSA in 1992 will be useful. It is worth keeping in mind that memories are socially constructed, “a set of experiences, images and feelings that are articulated to fulfill the needs and pressures of the present” (Field, 1999, p. 4). Thus, as I carefully consider what former students have to say, a constant self-awareness of this liability helps me candidly reflect on my personal experience.

4.6 Trustworthiness

This study aims to meet the following criteria of trustworthiness in qualitative research as suggested by Stahl and King (2020), drawing on the framework of Lincoln and Guba (1985):

Credible. I trust that the combination of document analysis and semi-structured interviews with faculty and students in this research design will yield credible data. Essentially, this means that my findings are believable and aligned with participants’ realities (Stahl & King, p. 26). Using multiple data sources and member checking (sharing research write-ups with participants post-interview and requesting their feedback) will enhance the veracity of my interpretations.

Transferable. A qualitative study is not replicable, but I hope my description of findings is rich (thick) enough to be applicable in other similar situations, e.g., urban-based theological colleges. “Transfer is only possible when a thick description provides a rich enough portrayal of circumstance for application to others’ situations” (Stahl & King, p. 27) – that is, sufficient

detail about participants, setting, and processes to permit reasonable assessment of the study's applicability.

Dependable. Are my findings stable and consistent over time? Dependability is a check on the research process, whether it remains logical, traceable, and documented. One way to ensure this is peer scrutiny: a colleague examines my observations and interpretations to enhance reliability. This is done without sharing actual data with them, preserving interviewee confidentiality. The peer may also assist with reflexivity, interrogating my own role in shaping the study.

Confirmable. Confirmability, or “getting as close to objective reality as qualitative research can get” (Stahl & King, 2020, p. 28), highlights the degree to which findings are influenced by participants rather than researcher bias. Were someone to follow an ‘audit trail’ that precisely documents my decisions, use of data, and methodology and arrive at similar conclusions, my study would have demonstrated confirmability.

4.7 Limitations

As I have discussed above, there are inherent weaknesses in the case study. These include a lack of generalisability, the approach's subjectivity, and observer bias (Nisbet & Watt in Cohen et al., 2000). However, since generalisability is not an aim of this study, I do not regard it as materially significant. As I have discussed above, with thick descriptions, transferability may be possible.

Of course, as a past student and as the seminary's current principal, the issue of positionality arises – primarily, vis-à-vis my location as an insider-researcher. As Ünlüer (2012) points out, this location has both advantages (e.g., insider knowledge) and disadvantages (e.g., bias). Adopting preventative measures can minimise the latter. In historical case studies, Goddard (2015) emphasises the need to “constantly recognize and ‘stand apart’ from relational biases arising from such proximity” (p. 24). In this regard, an awareness of one's subjectivity is called for. It is hoped that triangulating documentary analysis with reflection on my own positionality will mitigate the other weaknesses.

Finally, as I have discussed above, because documents are not necessarily published with the intention of being researched, a limitation of document analysis can be insufficient detail. A further disadvantage of this method is the selective bias of document authors or curators, which

must be acknowledged, thereby ceding the impossibility of archival neutrality (Harris, 2002; Tesar, 2014).

4.8 Research ethics

From the discussion of Trustworthiness above, particularly regarding a study's credibility, it follows that ethical responsibility is not merely a moral obligation but a safeguard to research design. Several standard ethical concerns relate to this study:

Informed consent. The participant's autonomy must be respected first. Participants need to be briefed on the study's aims, methods, risks, and benefits. Their consent must be completely voluntary, with a right to withdraw at any time without consequence.

Confidentiality. Generally, this means protecting the personal and private information of research participants from illegitimate exposure. The principle also extends to the storage of interview data, that it is kept secure for a limited duration of time. In my study's case this period is five years, after which transcripts will be shredded and digital files deleted, in keeping with the requirements of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Nonmaleficence, or the principle of doing no harm (Cohen et al, 2000, p. 58), is to insist that researchers avoid causing physical, psychological, or social harm to participants. Incumbent on the researcher to reduce any stress, embarrassment, or reputational damage that the participant may incur from the investigation as much as possible.

Beneficence might be considered a corollary of nonmaleficence, implying that researchers not only avoid causing harm but also act for the good of participants and society at large. This concept forms part of a researcher's responsibility, that any pursuit of knowledge must consider the welfare of participants. It echoes Strike's principle of 'client benefit' which "requires that evaluative decisions are made in a way that respects the interests of students, parents, and the public, in preference to those of educational institutions and their staff" (cited in Cohen et al, 2000, p. 69).

Autonomy, related to the principles of confidentiality, consent, and nonmaleficence, refers to due respect for a participant's independence and dignity. Practically, it means participants have the freedom to make informed decisions about their involvement in the research. Any sense of coercion or manipulation, particularly where power differentials exist in hierarchical relationships, should be avoided.

As these issues pertain to my study, specifically with reference to the interviews, informed consent forms were issued to all participants. The form cited the necessary permissions and assurances of confidentiality and autonomy, together with an option for anonymity. Feedback on research outcomes, in the form of a findings summary, is provided to all participants.

The issue of positionality discussed above (Introduction 1.7) is, of course, an ethical one. As both a former student and the current principal, I was aware of the possibility that participants might feel obliged to participate or moderate their responses due to their relationship with me or the institution. The voluntary nature of participation, the option of anonymity, and the assurance of confidentiality were thus crucial to the interview process.

4.9 Conclusion

In this fourth chapter, I recapitulate the study's foci and research questions before explaining some fundamental research concepts, such as paradigm and the qualitative approach. The suitability of the case study style is then discussed, with specific reference to Rule and John's discussion of the discursive context (2011).

Regarding data generation, I considered the risks and rewards of documentary analysis – a source used alongside semi-structured interviews to mitigate researcher bias and enhance the study's credibility. As they apply to my research questions, these two methodologies are explored in some detail.

A discussion of the four dimensions of trustworthiness in qualitative research, according to Lincoln and Guba (as cited in Stahl & King, 2020), is followed by remarks on the study's limitations and an acknowledgment of its ethical concerns. Chapter five, on Data Presentation, will present the data generated by the research.

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA PRESENTATION

5.1 Introduction

After initial chapters introducing the study, presenting ESSA's historical context, and exploring the learning and curriculum theory relevant to this study, Chapter 4 considered the research design used to answer my research questions. This discussed the study's research paradigm, approach, and style; the tools used for data generation (documentary analysis and semi-structured interviews); the approach to data analysis; and how I ensured the study's quality and ethical practices. The goal of Chapter Five is to present the data generated.

5.2 Document analysis

Three document types were included in the study:

Table 3: Documents analysed in this study

Document type	Author	Published	Purpose	Location
Article	Phil Capp	2005	Academic	Online
Memoir	Carmena Capp	2000	Autobiographical	Personal copy
Archival documents	Multiple	1980-92	Various	Digital copy

I begin with the article since, as the founding principal for the years 1980-1992, Phil Capp was tasked with setting the direction of the seminary. Surprisingly, perhaps, he did not often write for publication. The article included here is a paper presented at a denominational consultation convened in 2002 “to develop a theology of mission that would inform the development of policy and practice for Free Methodist World Missions” (Sheffield, 2005, p. 7). Written some years after his retirement from ESSA and return to the USA, it represents the mature fruit of Phil's thought on *shalom* and remains his clearest articulation I can find of the concept. As such, his ‘final form’ may differ from his construal of *shalom* a quarter-century earlier.

The memoir was written by Carmena French, Phil's wife and the mother of their four children, wrote a 333-page memoir, *Pursuing Shalom*, towards the end of her life together. Julie Capp, the wife of her brother-in-law, served as recorder and compiler of her memories. Despite its length, I describe it as a ‘memoir’ because it is not fully biographical: the narrative begins in 1958 when Phil and Carmena depart the USA for Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia) with their first

child and ends in 1994 with their return to America. The periods prior and subsequent to this 36-year span are not narrated, though there are anecdotal references. The book is self-published.

Finally, the documents making up the ESSA archive were digitised in 2024, a process taking stock of approximately 40 000 pages. Before being scanned these were organised into rough chronological categories, namely ‘pre-1980,’ ‘1980-1992,’ ‘1993-2005,’ etc. My primary reading was chiefly in the second category, though I looked in others for related data. The genres include administrative, academic, promotional, and financial documents. There is much typed correspondence to individuals and organisations both within and outside of South Africa.

5.2.1 Article

Shalom: God’s unreasonable mission (2002) is introduced thus:

The understandings presented here have grown out of two decades of serious reflection and teaching on the issues surrounding the Biblical notion of devotion, justice/righteousness and shalom. This reflection has furthermore been set in the context of nearly two decades of serious concern with the shaping and nurture of a theological learning community in South Africa and against the background of nearly two decades of experience in the process of shaping and nurture of a mission community in what is now Zimbabwe (2002, p. 42).

Phil credits the authors who influenced his thinking thus far, particularly the Wesleyan theologian Howard Snyder, before explaining his subtitle: *God’s unreasonable mission*. The article then follows a conventional structure:

1. What is shalom?

An exploration of the term’s etymology, use in the Hebrew Bible and – in its Greek form – in the New Testament. The contention is made that the original meaning is lost, or at least diluted, in translation. Three lists are presented: *shalom* analogies contrasted with their antonyms, Biblical images of *shalom*, and the term’s actual usage in Scripture. The author then offers a caveat: “Shalom is not utopian - that is, it does not appear in the Bible as disconnected from the hard realities of life, the suffering, the incomprehensible, and the unexplainable... Evil upsets Shalom, but it does not upset

the God of Shalom, nor God's power to continue to bring Shalom into the worst of human circumstances” (2002, p. 45).

2. Shalom and notion of mission

The idea of *shalom* as God’s presence in the community of his people is now linked to mission. In other words, the church is “bearer of the face of God. It becomes a viable incarnation of God, bearing witness to God in the midst and the bearer of God's good news through the interaction of God's love through themselves toward the larger community in which they live” (2002, p. 46). *Shalom* is thus recognisable as what the Kingdom or Rule of God is supposed to look like.

3. Some reflections on the implications for mission practice

Aware of the application of his paper for the conference’s goal – to inform the development of policy and practice for Free Methodist World Missions – Phil outlines the value of *shalom* as a conceptual image for Christian mission, as a corrective to the old ‘colonial’ idea of mission, as how mission should be done (generally and in the city), and as a continuation of Wesleyan practice.

4. Evidences of Shalom Mission

The article concludes with three concrete examples illustrating what authentic *shalom* mission looks like: a) socio-structural renewal in Uganda since 1986, including the reduction of HIV infection rates, attributed to church cooperation and participation in their nation’s upliftment; b) the *Ubunye Cooperative Housing project* in Pietermaritzburg where “The welfare of the city directs the ministry and energy, and the needs and concerns of the congregation are placed in the background when necessary” (2002, p. 51); c) a street children ministry in Belfast, Ireland – “here is a ministry getting the serious attention of several churches who are participating beyond their denominational barriers, praying for a single end” (2002, p. 52).

5. A shalom vision applied to Free Methodist Mission sending

Several pertinent questions regarding the establishment of ‘shalom mission communities’ as a “typical unit of mission sending” (2002, p. 52) now emerge, perhaps as pointers to further discussion at the Consultation. They are couched primarily in terms of changes ‘we’ must make to realise *shalom* community, e.g., “How can we

incorporate creative disagreement and contention that forces us to God instead of pushing dissent into or beyond the margins?” (2002, p. 52).

5.2.2 *Memoir*

Pursuing Shalom, Carmena’s memoir, consists of ten biographical chapters followed by several appendices containing anecdotes from the Capp history, including the poignant story of Carol Capp’s passing. The epigraph, placed directly under the book’s title, is an extract from Phil Capp’s seminary address during their visit to ESSA in 1999. As such, it belongs more properly to Phil’s article, but suggests that Carmena Capp understood the extract as important enough to want to highlight it. The extract consists of nine statements:

1. Shalom is the wholeness that God created for us in the midst of our sin-blunted lives
2. Shalom is wholeness toward which we move in our lives
3. Shalom is the healing of forgiveness for the past
4. Shalom is the healing of God’s unconditional, deliberate love toward us—and our love toward those whom God brings into our lives
5. Shalom is a promise—a promise of what God is bringing into being through the Holy Spirit at work in his people and in the world—it is the only way in which we can manage the future which would otherwise be without hope
6. Shalom is the style by which we live: doing justly, behaving righteously no matter what the stress to do otherwise, bringing order from disorder, pursuing peace instead of contention or violence
7. Shalom is the ethics of a community in whom the Holy Spirit dwells
8. Shalom is creating beauty instead of tolerating or increasing ugliness of our environment—in our homes and communities, in our streets, in our world
9. Shalom is the model of a world that can be—that God promises will be

Despite its title, the term *shalom* is not found in the main body of the book until the appendices, where it is mentioned three times in *Carmena’s Talk on Gardens* (8 May 1999) and numerous times in *Philip’s Talk at an EBSemSA Chapel* (9 May 1999) – the full sermon from which the epigraph is extracted. Despite this lack, the memoir provides much of the context Phil Capp

refers to in his article's introduction regarding the "shaping and nurture of a theological learning community in South Africa" (2002, p. 42), discussed above.

5.2.3 Archival documents

As discussed in Chapter 4, there are some 40 000 documents which have been digitised in the ESSA archives. I focused primarily on the Principal's Report. The value of these annual reports lies in their executive status and regularity over time. The table below presents select quotations on aspects of *shalom* from these reports, with a few caveats:

- Usually written by Capp throughout his time as principal, in 1987-88 and in 1990 the acting principal, Moshe Rajuili, submitted the report while the Capps were away on home assignment in the US. Compared to the reports by Capp, Moshe's style is succinct with little by way of theological rumination on aspects of *shalom*.
- I include in this series an extraordinary appeal written in 1982 by Phil Capp to a wider audience that includes the Senate. Its gist appears to be a financial situation more desperate than usual.
- Like Carmena's memoir referred to above, there is no direct mention of the term *shalom* in these reports. However, Phil's descriptions of the challenges facing the budding seminary are rich with allusions to aspects of *shalom* crucial in the creation of a theological learning community, e.g., multiracial student housing inside the city. The quotations below are selected for their reference to these aspects.

Table 4: Quotations from selected documents

Date	Title / Author <i>Quotation</i>
Nov 1980	<p>Principal's report to the Senate / P. Capp</p> <p>- <i>Students may be viewed as consumers of the academic commodities we manufacture to stay in business, or they can be viewed as the raw material with which we, together with them and with the Holy Spirit, help to shape a new work of art in the name of Jesus. I choose the latter.</i></p> <p>- <i>The credibility of the seminary will be determined partly by the faculty. Our model of Evangelical Knowing-Being-Doing in multi-racial, cross-cultural and missiological perspective will need to begin there.</i></p> <p>- <i>Housing is not a peripheral area of concern. Because of the Group Areas Act, and the Seminary commitment to actively seek for ways to transcend the racial barriers amongst Evangelicals, promote understanding and model Christian community, housing becomes a central concern out of all proportion in another context.</i></p>
Nov 1981	<p>Annual report of the Principal to the Senate / P. Capp</p> <p>- <i>I believe we have seen progress in our commitment to shaping an educational process that is building deeper understanding of one another among future leaders of the churches and encouraging participation as a redeeming community, not only a community of the redeemed.</i></p> <p>- <i>Our credibility as a multi-racial institution could be approaching a crucial point because we do not have suitable lecturers from the African, Indian or Coloured communities. A major difficulty in this connection, especially for an African lecturer is the housing situation... without some viable alternative to the Imbali Hostel housing for African students we will not be able to maintain recruiting amongst African students who do not have local housing. I suggest further that the credibility of a major goal of the Seminary is at stake. That is, the breaking down of barriers between Evangelicals and the modelling of Christian community that does not take on the categories of racial or cultural apartheid.</i></p> <p>- <i>Carmena Capp has continued her leadership and personal involvement with the</i></p>

	<i>development and care of the Seminary grounds and buildings. Flowers inside and out have been a touch of beauty and grace daily.</i>
Apr 1982	<p>A personal letter to Senate representatives, heads of Senate bodies, Board of Reference members and a few closely associated friends / P. Capp</p> <p><i>- One of our important distinctives is ... the intention of the Seminary to bring Christians of all races together to learn to understand the word of God and each other in that context. This is happening. The power of God to bring His people together is being experienced. None of these young men will ever be the same again. Deep friendships as brothers in Christ are being formed <u>after</u> the problems of power, separation, misunderstanding, fear, hate, discrimination and hurt have been shared and, in some measure, understood together in the light of the Word of God. The process is both painful and beautiful.</i></p>
Nov 1982	<p>Principal's interim report to Senate / P. Capp</p> <p><i>- Faculty building is of great importance. Is there no-one from the Black Evangelical Community who represents the kind of scholarship and evangelical leadership that is part of the vision for the Seminary? Tho need is great for a good Black lecturer, representative of the Evangelical interests which have brought the Seminary into being. Alternatively, and perhaps a better alternative would be a principal from the Black Evangelical Community. In any case, the vision of a Seminary in which multi-racial means a healing community led by healed, whole faculty is dependent on finding that faculty. The Seminary should develop out of its Evangelical ethos, not by an ad hoc collection of persons from outside.</i></p>
Mar 1983	<p>Annual report of the Principal to the Senate / P. Capp</p> <p><i>- The first EBSemSA Graduation on 19th November, 1982 was both miraculous and absurd. Absurd because no thoughtful executive group would propose to produce a three year theological Program at the post-matric level for which: (a) no participating group pledges to send even one student; (b) no participating group underwrites the finances; (c) virtually all the faculty and staff have to be volunteer; (d) no capital development funds exist; (e) commitment and confidence by Evangelical churches is uncertain in the light of denominational and social organisation. Miraculous because such a program has survived for three years,</i></p>

	<p><i>had a graduation with about 250 in attendance, and produced three men with the Licentiate in Theology and one with the Diploma in Theology.</i></p> <p><i>- I do believe the Seminary was called into existence by God. I believe we are doing something not being done in other places in South Africa, even though we have much to learn about our own tasks. We must respond to the fact that no matter how discouraging the finances are, God has given us great people resources in faculty and staff as well as materials to work with – He has sent us students. He has somehow kept us alive.</i></p>
Mar 1984	<p>Annual report of the Principal to the Senate / P. Capp</p> <p><i>- Some sites for possible multi-racial housing have been investigated. A strong possibility, but expensive, is a location near the Seminary. It is controlled land... [A short-term goal is to] locate a permanent venue for the Seminary where multiracial living is possible by the end of 1984.</i></p>
Mar 1985	<p>Annual report of the Principal to the Senate / P. Capp</p> <p><i>- We expect to move the library before mid 1985 into 190 Pine Street. By crowding we will make do for 1985. In 1986 it will be absolutely necessary to take the first floor of 200 Pine street for Seminary usage. None of the above indicates the enormous amount of loving care and hard work that has gone into the process of making these properties beautiful.</i></p> <p><i>- On the more fragile side of the situation, no progress has been made in the search for a multi-racial venue.</i></p>
? 1986	<p>Annual report of the Principal to Senate / P. Capp</p> <p><i>- Unwritten, but articulated often, is a growing consensus on educational philosophy assuming that we are a group of adults, dealing with adults. We are all learners together, with some of us called faculty who are trained facilitators of learning. We work together with the combined resources of faculty, staff, students, library and larger community to establish a process that is both a learning experience and a learning how to learn experience.</i></p> <p><i>- The curriculum design uses the outline "Knowing, Being, Doing". The focus is on the whole person. In order to accomplish this, we have two weekly chapel programs in which worship as well as exposure to mission and church leadership</i></p>

	<p><i>are in focus. We have a coordinated field work program that tries to link each student into a practical weekly involvement in the church, and intensive practical experience during June-July or December-January break periods. This functions with varying success depending on the student and the interest of the church or some para-church agency. Moshe Rajuili is working with both of these programs and developing what should become strong features of our Seminary life.</i></p> <p><i>- One of the major thrusts in curriculum and syllabus development is the concept of cross- cultural understanding. Our context in South Africa is multi-racial. The missions thrust of the Seminary gives it an ideal foundation for building a cross-cultural perspective into the whole curriculum - evidenced by the course recommendations - as well as attempting to carry this understanding into each syllabus. It is a process not an achievement.</i></p> <p><i>- For several years, we have struggled with the needs of student housing. Through 1985 we had nothing available. In 1986 we have made available one floor of 200 Pine Street for student housing. It functions as a co-operative residence. They manage their own food, service and house keeping... It is working very well and minimal facilities are gradually being made available. Students have expressed deep appreciation for this new development.</i></p>
<p>Jan- Jun 1987</p>	<p>Acting principal's report to Senate / M. Rajuili</p> <p><i>- At the last Senate meeting we were concerned about the crowding at 200 Pine St. Phil Capp's former workshop has now been refurbished and re-named "Bethlehem" for use by those students who had no place in the Inn. We give thanks to the Lord for a good spirit among the students in spite of the over-crowding. Several gave their skills and labour to keep the Seminary looking good.</i></p> <p><i>- Phil Capp's departure left a big gap in our faculty ranks. His absence has been especially felt in the Missions stream, an area of speciality for him. We are extremely grateful to the Lord that Harold le Roux accepted the invitation to join faculty as of 1st July 1987. He is a missiologist at heart, though he has other gifts as well - Bible teaching and administration.</i></p>

n.d.	<p>Senate agenda notes – incorporating Acting-Principal’s report for 1987</p> <p><i>- The student residence in 200 Pine St. is a matter of real concern. It worked out well last year when there were fewer students, but this year, because of the overcrowding, the fact that there is no resident member of staff and the inability of some of the students to adhere to the rules – these factors have caused many problems:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>- interpersonal problems among the residents;</i> <i>- Residents pressurised to conform to group pressure;</i> <i>- cash flow problems;</i> <i>- “squatting”.</i> <p><i>ACTION: Take a firm stand to limit the number of residents;</i></p> <p><i>The rest of the students helped to find accommodation elsewhere.</i></p>
Mar 1988	<p>Acting principal’s report to Senate / M. Rajuili</p> <p>-</p>
Sep 1988	<p>Acting principal’s report to Senate / M. Rajuili</p> <p>-</p>
Nov 1989	<p>Principal’s report to Senate / P. Capp</p> <p><i>- In many ways EBSemSA is at a turning point. We have established a fair measure of credibility. We have a growing enrolment pattern. We have had increasing financial support. We have a competent staff team. We have an opportunity to acquire reasonably adequate facilities. There are opportunities for building relationships with various church bodies, for taking advantage of a new climate in Evangelical thinking that could result in mutually satisfying relationships. At the same time we are over-extended financially and in terms of staff work load. We lose two key people in mid-1990. We have an opportunity for facility expansion that needs to be grasped now - but we are ill prepared to do so. There is danger that we can go back to sleep and just exist. There is danger that we can become obsessed with existing because we have existed. There is a fragile opportunity to continue to be on the cutting edge of confrontation with evil, to risk a certain unpopularity with the rich and the powerful and therefore to remain dependent on the poor and the powerless amongst God's people. Can we become</i></p>

	<p><i>a powerful modelling structure in Southern Africa's Evangelical world without succumbing to the power syndrome? How do we remain powerless and poor while finding adequate funding? How much is adequate? I raise these questions not because I have answers but because I believe they must remain as part of the tension in our "in the world but not of the world" calling.</i></p>
Mar 1990	<p>Principal's report to Senate / P. Capp</p> <p><i>- The sine qua non of being an evangelical is our common experience that, because of our faith in Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour, the triune God is at work in our lives, forgiving, cleansing, transforming and empowering us as persons and as the people of God, and through our lives, proclaiming, demonstrating and producing the flavour and texture of the Kingdom of God in this world.</i></p> <p><i>- As I look into the future, I see the following as priority areas for Senate attention: Curriculum. The continued development of a program which enables leadership in the Body of Christ by men and women who know Jesus as Lord, have begun to practice the shaping of their lives according to the purposes of God for justice, harmony, wholeness and beauty and have begun to acquire the skills and information necessary to make them effective.</i></p>
Oct 1990	<p>Acting principal's report to Senate for period Jul-Sep 1990 / M. Rajuli</p> <p><i>- We are living in times of dramatic and unprecedented changes. A unification of Germany, talk of open schools in our country, relaxation of Group Areas Act, imminent scrapping of the Land Act and the unification of the two major DRC churches formed part of the news items this week. To many this constitutes a threat and an uncertainty, but to the believer all these are opportunities to give glory to the Lord.</i></p> <p><i>- Two years ago P Capp investigated the possibility of the Seminary participating in a Cluster of Bible Colleges (Fedsem, Lutheran Seminary attached to the University, and St Joseph's Institute) in the PMB area. The initial guarded response of the Cluster Council has changed so dramatically that we have been invited to attend, as observers, the Cluster Council this month... Staff met with the Cluster Co-ordinator, Philippe Denis, and decided, in view of the facts that</i></p> <p><i>- Participation does not mean losing our evangelical ethos;</i></p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participation will not change our fees structure very much; - There would be advantages of cross fertilisation; - We are aware of similar modes in the UK and USA; <p><i>that we take up the offer, pending the approval of Senate. I therefore recommend to Senate that we send observer participants to the Cluster Council.</i></p>
Mar 1991	<p>Principal's report to Senate / P. Capp</p> <p><i>- I am now beginning my 12th year of reporting to the EBSemSA Senate. The years have seen the cycles of joy and pain, yet perhaps the best metaphor remains in the imagery of the poet of Proverbs 4:18 -</i></p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;"><i>"The path of the just is like the first gleam of dawn, growing brighter till the full light of day."</i></p> <p><i>If we think of EBSemSA as an institution seeking to be just or righteous - or glorifying God - then perhaps we can see that it is no longer still the first gleam of dawn - yet neither have we come to the full light of day. We have had a past, we have yet a future.</i></p> <p><i>- So much has been accomplished through the committed efforts, prayers, and financial support of so many different people over the past 11 years that we have great grounds for "remembrance" before the Lord. We also have grounds for hope that God Who has led will continue to lead. The part that is frightening is the ever-present temptation to accumulate the power God has made available to us and to lose the sensitivity to the fragility, the finiteness, and the obligation to enable and empower leadership for the Kingdom through what God is doing in our midst. So my prayer is that we continue to focus on the making of history at EBSemSA as God's story not our story.</i></p>
Aug 1991	<p>Principal's report to Senate / P. Capp</p> <p><i>- VISIONS. I have 5 areas in which we have only talked or made no progress: First of all is a call to Senate to begin now a serious staff development program... Secondly I believe that the time has come to renew our earlier process of putting in place a post graduate program that would lead to an MA or MDiv. I propose that active ground work and investigations for this be revived.</i></p> <p><i>Thirdly, the area of university accreditation is now a major issue. I propose that</i></p>

	<p><i>Senate agree to delegate authority to the Principal and staff to proceed with and finalise negotiations with the PMB Cluster, UNISA and ACTEA - as mutually congruent and not contradictory programs...</i></p> <p><i>Fourthly, the early vision for EBSemSA as a Center for creative Evangelical thinking, which has received passing attention, now needs to be renewed and pursued...</i></p> <p><i>Finally, I propose that Senate make a commitment to a structure of leadership that will be organised around a team concept, incorporating staff and students with the purpose of providing continuing leadership through development of persons in the Seminary as opposed to a policy of competitive recruitment of persons developed outside the Seminary.</i></p>
Oct 1991	<p>Principal's report to Senate / P. Capp</p> <p><i>- Toward the future then we need to be constantly aware that who we think we are and what we are doing is not the determining factor, but rather the perception in the understanding of our publics - and the effect of the interaction of these publics. Furthermore, this perception will be most affected by participation - also an interactive process - us with the other publics and the other publics with us so that the process itself will reflect not the "advertising impact" but the community awareness and sense of participation in a process.</i></p>
Jun 1992	<p>Principal's report to Senate / P. Capp</p> <p><i>- The student community has functioned extremely well and demonstrated their maturity. There has been a rising sense of ownership both of the seminary process and the program. Community work days are well supported, and there is an active social program as well as an active prayer program that are student initiatives. Testimonies in Chapel indicate that those who have come to EBSemSA have come with a special sense of God's guidance and at considerable cost to themselves. In some cases they have turned down full bursary support to another institution.</i></p>
Oct 1992	<p>Principal's report to Senate / P. Capp</p> <p><i>- EBSemSA now represents a community of Christian Scholarship, a rich resource of library, facility and people in which the dominate ethos and motivation is to empower the church with leadership that has knowledge, skill and depth of</i></p>

	<i>spiritual insight. It is the vision for enlarging this ministry in the light of our own mission statement, the determination to keep open to the leading of the Holy Spirit, and the realisation that we exist today only because in some way God is pleased to keep us in existence. That does not have to continue. It is a matter of Grace. Our future is certainly a function of vision, faith and prayer, just as the past has been.</i>
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5.3 Participants' Interviews

As discussed in Chapter Four, I included two discrete groups of interview participants in this study. The first group consisted of former ESSA faculty; the second comprised former students. Conscious of the chronological 'gap' since both groups were at ESSA, I chose to send the interview questions in advance: the risk of preformulated responses weighed less, I felt, than the risk of the interviewees' (some quite elderly) difficulty in recalling circumstances and details from a previous era, especially within the constraints of the online meeting window.

Almost all participants were interviewed online using common internet applications such as Microsoft Teams, with transcription technology. One participant was unable to access a stable Wi-Fi network and submitted text responses to the questions via email, while another was located close enough for me to visit and interview in person.

5.3.1 Former faculty

Since these participants taught at the seminary during the Capp years (1980 to 1992), some forty years ago, many interviewees who could have shared valuable information have passed away. During the writing of this thesis, two key people – former seminary chaplain Jim Johnson and former senate member Vic Lazarus – passed before I reached the data collection stage.

Nonetheless, I found five participants who served as faculty members during the 1980-92 period. Perhaps as a function of their age, they tend to occupy the latter end of the period under review. Since none of them opted for anonymity, I introduce them by name below, listing them in order of their arrival year:

Table 5: Former faculty interviewed

Faculty member	ESSA years	Nationality
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Richard Capp	1985	USA
Harold and Annette le Roux	1987-2007	South Africa
Dan Sheffield	1989-1990	Canada
Steve Hardy	1991-1992	USA
Jackie Smallbones	1991-1993	South Africa

- Richard Capp (1985)

At the time of writing, Richard is the last surviving sibling of Philip Capp. He and his wife Julie, who helped Carmena narrate her life experiences in Zimbabwe and South Africa in *Pursuing Shalom* (see Document details above), came to Pietermaritzburg from the United States with their children in 1985. Richard is a music teacher. With Phil's encouragement, he came to support his brother's work by providing music instruction at the seminary. The family stayed for one year.

- Harold le Roux (1987-2007)

For most of his two decades at the seminary, Harold served as academic dean. His wife Annette (who also participated in the interview), served as librarian during that time. Due to the length of their tenure, they are among the most well-remembered of ESSA's faculty. Harold is South African and has a background in teacher training. After seven years with Scripture Union in Cape Town and a year at Fuller Theological Seminary in the US, he and Annette began work at ESSA in 1987.

- Dan Sheffield (1989-90)

Dan, a Canadian, spent a year teaching at the Free Methodist Bible College in Egypt before relocating to Pietermaritzburg at age 29 or 30, together with his wife and child. Although the Capps were also Free Methodist, he had no knowledge of them before the denomination sent him to ESSA. Dan was attracted to the seminary for its stand against apartheid ideology, and for its promise of equitable theological education.

- Steve Hardy (1991-92)

An American lusophone educator working with Africa Evangelical Fellowship in Mozambique, Steve came to ESSA as part of his visits to various training institutions, trying to understand how they organised, created curriculum, and resourced themselves. From 1990 he was involved with Overseas Council (OC). With ESSA being a school OC supported, he began visiting more regularly. Steve authored the book *Excellence in Theological Education*, published by Langham in 2016.

- Jackie Smallbones (1991-93)

Originally from Durban, Jackie met Phil Capp while she was teaching at Rosebank Bible College in Johannesburg. Declining his initial invitation, she joined ESSA when the seminary began paying lecturers – indeed, she was the first lecturer on the seminary payroll, a point of departure for the previously church-supported faculty. Phil’s ‘servant-leader’ style of leadership left a lasting impression on Jackie, in contrast to her previous experience with her superior.

5.3.2 Former students

Via snowball sampling, I found it easier to source students than faculty. While ESSA has no alumni organisation currently active, contacts from my work and social networks yielded nine former students whom I was able to interview. Several potential interviewees declined to participate. Probably because of my own involvement in finding participants, they are clustered towards the end of the period under study, when I was a student. Again, these participants did not wish to remain anonymous and so are listed by name in order of their arrival year.

Table 6: Former students interviewed

Student name	ESSA years	Gender	Age	Race	Locale
Mike Caister	1985	Male	24	European	Pinetown, KZN
Andrew Brooks-Neill	1987	Male	31	European	Johannesburg, GP
Luzuko Mdubeki	1987-1990	Male	19	African	Bizana, EC
Rob Lindsey	1991-1992	Male	27	European	New Hanover, KZN
Xolile Kosi	1991-1993	Male	24	African	Gqeberha, EC
Lazarus Mokobake	1991-1993	Male	20	African	Sekhukhuneland, LP

Marilyn Naidoo	1991-1993	Female	21	Indian	Richards Bay, KZN
Nontando Hadebe	1992	Female	32	African	Bulawayo, ZW
Themba Sokhulu	1992-1993	Male	24	African	Pietermaritzburg, KZN

- Mike Caister (1985)

Mike came to ESSA having worked as a survey technician for Eskom in New Germany near Durban. While a member of Pinetown Baptist church, he experienced a sense of God's call into ministry. Distance from the Baptist seminaries and a lack of financial support influenced his decision to study closer to home. Mike would go on to marry Karen Capp, Phil and Carmena's daughter. Recently retired, he lives in Pietermaritzburg.

- Andrew Brooks-Neill (1987)

Andrew studied civil engineering at UCT, before working at the Department of Water Affairs. Both he and his late first wife felt a call into ministry. Before coming to ESSA, Andrew studied at Rosebank Bible College and began a B.Th. degree through UNISA. As a Presbyterian he considered Rhodes University, but opted for ESSA – his connection with Bill Houston, then director of Students Christian Association, was influential in this regard. Andrew is retired and lives in the coastal town of Mtunzini.

- Luzuko Mdubeki (1987-90)

Luzuko grew up in the former Transkei, a former *Bantustan* (see 'Historical Context' in Chapter 2 above). His father was a Free Methodist pastor based in Bizana. Attending a graduation service at Union Bible Institute where Free Methodist ministers were trained, Luzuko met Phil Capp who recommended ESSA. Luzuko enrolled on that day, apparently the first Free Methodist student to do so and just 19 at the time. Luzuko is a minister with the Global Methodist Church.

- Rob Lindsey (1991-92)

A Baptist, Rob hails from New Hanover, a farming community outside Pietermaritzburg. Like Andrew he studied at Rosebank but, at that institution, did not feel like his faith was sufficiently challenged. His choice of ESSA, over and above one

of the Baptist colleges, was made for similar reasons. Not long after his studies Rob moved to Sao Paulo, Brazil where today he continues to live and work.

- Xolile Kosi (1991-93)

From the “dusty townships of Port Elizabeth,” Xolile served for a year with Youth for Christ (YFC) after leaving school. Wishing to study theology, he was pointed to ESSA by YFC director Brian Cheyne. YFC also assisted him with a bursary for his student fees. Rev Kosi currently lives in the Western Cape where he has just published a contextual Bible study, entitled ‘Faith Beyond the Odds.’

- Lazarus Mokobake (1991-93)

Looking for training institutions that trained missional priests, Bishop Philip Le Feuvre visited ESSA and recommended it to a young Anglican from Sekhukhuneland in Limpopo province. Lazarus, who had never travelled beyond Gauteng, found the language not only a culture shock but also a pedagogical obstacle. The faculty cared for him, however, and spent time upgrading his command of English. From there, his career flourished. Today, Col Rev Dr Mokobake is a high-ranking chaplain in the National Defense Force.

- Marilyn Naidoo (1991-93)

Marilyn’s early church experience was with the Full Gospel church. As a Pentecostal she expected to attend Bethesda Theological College in Durban but was persuaded to rather enrol at ESSA. A drawcard was the student accommodation on offer – at Bethesda she would have had to stay with extended family. Marilyn is currently a professor in Practical Theology at UNISA in Pretoria, with interests in theological education and the formation of religious leaders.

- Nontando Hadebe (1992)

Another Rosebank student, Nontando came to ESSA as a temporary staff replacement. Jackie Smallbones, whom Nontando knew from Rosebank, suggested that she apply for the post. When she began work, the question was put to her: “Why not study as well?” Nontando continued her studies and is now an established feminist theologian with an interfaith NGO working for gender justice.

- Themba Sokhulu (1992-1993)

Although Themba came to ESSA at the end of the Capps' tenure, he remembers their impact on the seminary well. His interest in social studies led him into a joint venture between ESSA and African Enterprise, where he enrolled in a 'Diploma in Social Empowerment and Development.' An arrangement for Themba to teach carpentry skills to street children was concluded with ESSA in exchange for accommodation and tuition fees. He is currently seeking to publish his memoir, 'From the Cane Fields to the Nations.'

5.4 Data generated from former faculty

Between them, the five individuals I interviewed taught at ESSA for 22 years (1985-2007). From their responses to my questions, I fixed on two themes that seemed to resonate across the interview: a) distinctives that drew faculty to ESSA, and b) the cultivation of a *shalom* community ethos. Below, I discuss interviewee responses in each category. There is some thematic overlap between the categories.

5.4.1 Attraction to ESSA

As a fairly new 'startup' in local theological education, I found it interesting to learn which characteristics of the seminary appealed to former faculty.

Firstly, and clearly identified by most participants, was Phil Capp's leadership. Richard Capp alludes to his brother's workload as a reason he brought his family to Pietermaritzburg: "I had for many, many years wanted to visit Phil and spend some length of time there and do what I could to help because I knew some of all the things that he did, other than being principal and a lecturer. You know, he had to be a carpenter, plumber, and bottle washer."

That is how both staff and students remember him: chalk dust from the blackboard on his shirt, pliers and a screwdriver in a pocket of his faded jeans. His work ethic was not an end in itself, however; it embodied purpose. As Harold le Roux, who served the longest of all the faculty members, reflects: "It was very small in those days. It was the beginning. Philip Capp did everything and anything... he worked in the afternoons doing maintenance, so it was a very small seed, and we were quite attracted by the vision of what this could become."

The observation regarding a 'seed' of what ESSA would become is astute, touching not only on Phil the person but also on his dream of a *shalom* community of learning – the theme of the

next category. As pioneer of this dream, one might expect a charismatic, ‘alpha’ type of leader. On the contrary, Phil is remembered as one who led from below. Recalls Smallbones,

I was in line with the concept of the servant-leadership type model, which was very much Phil Capp. He really modelled that amazingly. He was actually a wonderful boss, because he didn't need to be in the limelight... To come to Phil, who thought you were wonderful, and let you have your way was a great relief and healing for me. So that's how I came into it, and then just watched him – how he actually lived that, he truly lived servant-leadership.

In a private conversation, former ESSA principal Bill Houston (mentioned above in connection with interviewee Andrew Brooks-Neill) told me that when he arrived at the seminary to take up his post, he went to meet the principal, whom he found repairing a toilet. While Carmena's memoir mentions Phil's maintenance skills, there is little indication there of the leadership style discovered in these interviews.

A second attraction, appealing to the North American educators, was the promise of transformation implicit in the learning model. Sheffield puts it thus:

At the outset was the notion of this college that was, in itself, kind of a protest against apartheid. I had picked up that much, the notion of theological education for people who may not otherwise have opportunities... It was this sense of a college ministry that was trying to be holistic. That was the language of the 80s: holistic mission. And I was certainly tuned into that perspective. And so that was what resonated with me, I guess, to want to join.

Applied to theological education, holism can mean many things, but at the least, it embraces learning which is not merely cerebral but affective and experiential as well – encompassing head, heart, and hands. Hardy remembers some of its cultural implications:

I was fascinated by the vision... philosophically dealing with some of the racial discrimination issues [that] were the same biblical-theological issues as gender issues... there was just a package on ‘how do you use education’ so that people can be profoundly changed to see the world as God sees the world. And that was EBSemSA's view. How can we do this transformation, this holistic learning? And it was more than Bible knowledge per se. It was a Bible transformation. And I had never met a school that had

that broad of a vision to try to see people change for the good of society, for the good of the church.

It should be noted that when Sheffield and Hardy first came to ESSA, in 1989 and 1991 respectively, South Africa was on the cusp of democracy – or chaos. Much remained uncertain about the nation’s future. The model of an urban, multiracial learning community expressing, in its lifestyle, an ideology of peace was, in itself, attractive and transformative.

5.4.2 Regarding *shalom*

The concept of *shalom* did not seem to feature overtly. That is to say, among the five former faculty, there is no indication that the term was a ‘buzzword.’ Richard Capp states that “we didn’t talk about *shalom* specifically,” and Smallbones remarks:

I don’t remember that [Phil] talked about it very much. We talked a little bit about his devotional theology course that came up to it. And a little bit with Carmena with what she was trying to do with the garden. And bring it all together like that. But I don’t recall discussions exactly on *shalom*... And I think that’s where Phil failed. He didn’t talk about it. He lived it, beautifully. But if you’re not articulating it, people are not going to realise, ‘Oh, this is the way we should be.’ This was Phil, and he was great. So that’s the lesson that I learned from Phil, that it needs to be articulated as well as lived. You’ve got to do both.”

While it may not have featured explicitly, Richard Capp qualifies his statement by adding that *shalom*

was kind of built into Phil’s being. He wanted the students to understand not only biblical principles that were being taught, but the concept of getting along with each other, with the people that they were going to be serving. His vision for the seminary was that it becomes a self-sustaining, multiracial, interdenominational institution. And that sort of permeated everything that he *did* [emphasis added].

Rather than depending on words, Harold le Roux maintains that the concept

found more practical expression in the Capps’ quiet insistence that this is why they were *doing* what they were *doing* [emphasis added]. It was just something which was the air that we breathed, it wasn’t kind of a slogan on the wall. It was something which we

absorbed as we went along, in our relationships with students, with staff, with the people who worked in the garden...

Among these interviewees, mention of the garden was muted, but former librarian Annette le Roux insists that “The emphasis on beauty and order was always there, and [Carmena] often would bring that scripture up in the Chapel, almost annually, just to remind the students that this was part of our underlying idea... Our seminary needed to look beautiful.”

Shalom was also apparent in relationships. According to Hardy:

I was seeing transformation. I mean – and it’s part of ACTEA, for example, they want character formation. Every school wants character formation, but for most Programs, it’s a wish list. In those days at EBSemSA, it was more than a wish list. It was part of the strategic plan... You’d see it in the prayer groups, because who was in a prayer group, you know, was not just simply a subset. I mean, it wasn’t just a student prayer group, or maybe you require the faculty to sit in. It was the entire EBSemSA community becoming part of their own spiritual growth and health.

Despite the lack of an explicit articulation of *shalom* remembered by former faculty, the concept was hardly ignored. As Smallbones points out it formed part of the ‘Devotional Theology’ module. Annette le Roux recalls Carmena’s talks on *shalom* aesthetics in the chapel, and Sheffield recalls discussing it one-on-one with the principal:

I remember specifically having conversations with Phil about *shalom* and the Hebrew conception and he was certainly drawing in voices from that time – let’s say from the 80s, early 90s. Things around the land. So, you got Brueggemann and Wolterstorff on *shalom* as well. Then John Perkins and *Let Justice Roll*, and they had John Perkins come to teach a module... Phil was quite influenced by John Perkins and the hands-on practice of living out *shalom* in a mixed-race Christian community in Mississippi. That was something that was pretty significant for Phil. So, faculty meetings, the business of the grounds and the gardens and that interaction between student and faculty, we’re breaking down the barriers. That’s part of *shalom*.

5.5 Data generated from former students

While the students occupy a narrower time band (1985-1993) than the faculty (1985-2007), participants from both groups coalesce at the same period – late 80s to early 90s – allowing for

a remarkable degree of comparison. For this reason, I used categories similar to those utilised for faculty, namely: a) factors attracting students to ESSA, and b) their experience of a *shalom* community ethos. Again, it should be noted that the categories are not completely discrete; there is thematic overlap.

5.5.1 Attraction to ESSA

The mean age of this sample at the time they started at ESSA was 24.67 years. This is mentioned because some of the factors that draw students to the seminary are common among younger students, e.g., cost. When I came to ESSA as a 24-year-old in 1992, that was relevant, together with the academic worth of the qualification offered. There were other practical factors. As Caister recalls,

The fact that it offered a Diploma or a Licentiate... appealed to me. So that you would exit with something from similar to a bachelor's degree. That was an important issue. I think I didn't notice when I started, but after I started, the mix of the background of the lecturers, lecturers from overseas and local, and local people living overseas – just so many different people, all of whom were really high calibre people. Yeah, so that I think was a big issue. And I think the small size. I am an introvert, so big groups, big situations are kind of hard for me to go to. So, the smaller size of the place and the classes was quite attractive.

The worth of the qualification was important also to Brooks-Neill, an older student who planned to study further: “[My] earlier ministry convener was quite happy for me to go to ESSA, and so that's why I did the one-year course, in such a way that if I moved to Rhodes, I would have my Greek, and I'd carry some of that work to Rhodes as well, which I did in the end.” Sokhulu, who compared ESSA to prior studies at a technical college, concurs:

Studying at ESSA was exceptional for me because it was at a university level and promoted self-study more than anything, which prepared me for future studies at UKZN and other institutions. The fact that it was assignment-based helped to foster and hone my writing skills. I was lucky in some ways – it was the first academic institution after Plessislaer Tech...

On the other hand, the seminary's commitment to critical thinking drew comparisons from students who had attended other Bible colleges. Comments Lindsey,

Having studied at Rosebank [Bible College] for a year, I realised that being a Baptist and studying formally in a Baptist college, you're not challenged to think about why you believe what you believe... I wanted a challenge in the studies. I wanted to be able to say that when I left my studies, that I believed what I believed because I really believed it. I wasn't getting that challenge at Rosebank. People there just accepted what was being said. And I decided not to go to Baptist College because of that.

Hadebe said that she also studied at Rosebank,

where a lot of the things were spiritualised... I think ESSA really took it deeper in terms of the rigour of the ideology and the ethics and some of the topics that I'd never done before in Rosebank. The scholarship, the depth and the passion of the lecturers, the way they were so passionate about justice, about mission, about faith... Your Moshe, your Jackie, your Jim Johnson are really going deep into our spirituality, our faith, and retreats. And so, you had that inner journey where you were seeking to be authentic in your faith. And then you had the models of justice around you.

The link between learning and a diverse, 'high caliber' faculty, made here by Hadebe, references Caister's observation from 1985 and was echoed multiple times throughout the student interviews. Hadebe names those who made an impact on her (Rajuili, Smallbones, Johnson) and so does Kosi: "the late Rev Rajuili...Phil himself and his wife... the visiting lecturers, Harold le Roux and others – all these were people who were very much down to earth. But they were strong in their field."

A strong faculty, then, who produced a good curriculum. According to Naidoo,

It is still for me the best example of a very good curriculum. And the reason for that is this whole concept of *shalom* which you're looking at... the curriculum is not seen as a course of modules that you have to churn out, but it was everything. They had a very expansive idea of what a curriculum was about... It involved everything: community life, the devotional life, the social justice aspects, the pedagogy even was part of that... We didn't learn in a vacuum. We sucked up everything that was around us. We were living, experiencing as teaching material, which was interactive, it was participatory, and it just came to life. All the content came to life because of that.

The language used here of an integrative curriculum recalls the faculty observations (see above) of Sheffield who remembers ESSA as “a college that was trying to be holistic,” and of Hardy who projects the question, “How can we do this transformation, this holistic learning? ... I had never met a school that had that broad of a vision to try to see people change for the good of society, for the good of the church.”

As radical as the holistic vision may have been, the challenge of interracial living was not pushed under the carpet. Lindsey recalls “a multicultural learning experience [where] we had some heated discussions” and, like Naidoo (see former student introductions above), Kosi appreciated the ESSA accommodation which afforded a certain “level of independence... Because in some seminaries, you go in and all of you sleep in a dormitory and you're always at each other's face.” But the frustrations of living and learning together on campus were mitigated by two key interventions:

Kosi remembers “the community involvement part, where they connected us with the community so that your work, your being at seminary was not just a theoretical exercise, but that you had outlets where you could try these things out.” Students were expected to involve themselves with churches and ministries external to ESSA campus.

Another attraction was staff care. This relates to the justice struggle mentioned above regarding student accommodation but was experienced more deeply than at just an ideological level. Mokobake shares a personal story, the upshot of which is recounted below:

When I arrived at EBSemSA, the first most important part that I recall was the communal life that embraced me. And here is the most interesting part, Carl. I was not the smart guy... Coming from the rural area, the English was completely broken. It was the worst. And nevertheless, Mrs le Roux and Jim Johnson, they worked on our language so that we could cope. And they invited us in their homes as well... They shared with us their lives, so to speak. So, it was a very close-knit community of people that were training, but at the same time learning and growing.

Space does not permit the retelling of similar instances of pastoral care from staff to students but, in the interviews, these were a refrain. In many respects the Capp and le Roux couples were surrogate parents to young students hundreds of kilometres from home. Kosi draws attention to the non-dualism of the faculty who, though they “were strong in their fields,” were prepared to rub shoulders with students and share in their troubles.

And it is here where I believe, certainly for the Black students, the seminary's real drawcard lay: in the struggle for justice, ESSA was perceived to be in the students' corner. Mdubeki recollects:

ESSA was distinguished by being in the city. And that made ESSA the center of the tension during the apartheid years, because that's where black people commuted to town. And yet, they had to leave before the sunset... So, whilst FedSem would have been in the heat of the fight of the struggle (and UBI I think would have been a lot cooler – there were incidents there, but it was a lot cooler than being in a township), EBSemSA was in the heat of things because black people came to town and white people resisted... The issue of our residents at 200 Pine St was a big deal. It became one of the struggles that distinguished EBSemSA at the time, as it was in the city center. Yes, it was one of the distinguishing factors about EBSemSA at the time, accommodating black people in the city during those years.

5.5.2 Regarding *shalom*

Whereas the concept of *shalom* among former faculty did not seem to be public or explicit, former students' encounter with the concept appeared to take concrete form towards the end of the decade.

For Caister in 1985, "I don't remember him teaching or preaching on *shalom*. Yeah, I don't remember that. Grace, I remember grace. Yeah, grace was an issue that came up. He lectured on Homiletics, I think, and the history of missions, a lot of the missions' courses – but I don't remember *shalom* being there..." Brooks-Neill, two years later, says "I don't remember the term ever being explained. It might have been used in passing in a devotion or a prayer, I don't remember doing any Old Testament course that actually focused on the full Hebrew meaning of *shalom*. I learnt a lot of that myself."

Concurring with the faculty's recollection of *shalom* as praxis, Lindsey maintains, "it was more the way [Phil] did things – it was his life." Then, referencing Carmena, he says "peace was the environment, the context she lived in. So, her whole garden experience was living in peace, peace with the environment. So, I think the concept of peace for them was more than just a spiritual concept."

It is worth noting that by 1991, when Lindsey was a student, the ESSA gardens were a feature of the campus grounds. A decade's worth of rubble removal, fence lifting, selective planting, and laying of walkways had brought beauty into this corner of the city. Sokhulu remembers that "The garden was inviting for one to sit, enjoy nature, and pray. The university grounds were also good, but not as peaceful as ESSA, since the garden was looked after with much love and dedication." Naidoo recalls Carmena taking "great pride in moving plants around and keeping it top notch, reminding us that we were part of God's creation and that beauty was a thing of God, and respecting that."

The impact of the gardens on students was not merely in terms of artistic impression. By the late 80s, students were experiencing the contrast of the *shalom* community *vis-à-vis* the reality of Pietermaritzburg's low-intensity civil war (see Historical Context in Chapter Two). It is in this context that I heard some of the more memorable utterances from former students, which are quoted below. In the interviews, several of them invoked Phil's dictum that 'Peace is not merely the absence of violence.' In this vein Mdubeki relates,

Some of our [white] classmates were coming from the army... They really believed that the riots in the townships are unwarranted. Now they had to go and quell these riots in the townships because these black people are not appreciating what the government is doing for them. You can imagine having to interact with that kind of thinking in class and then begin to bring *shalom* to it. And what Dr Capp was known for is that he used to say, "Peace is not absence of violence." It is the wholeness, the complete openness. It doesn't mean there are no challenges, but the openness allows you to reach what you can call 'peace.' Because in spite of everything that you are different on, that you're talking about – still, you are able to relate. And we related.

Kosi adopted a very personal interpretation:

The idea of *shalom* was quite powerful in that you were creating a peace which was not just absence of war, but peace in terms of harmony and tranquillity within a very chaotic space. It had such an impact on me to a point, you recall, I was blessed 1999 with my firstborn son – his name is 'Shalom.' You will recall that South Africa was not a peaceful place at the time when we were doing this... There was nothing about peace. So, to introduce the concept of *shalom* in spite of all of that and demonstrate it [in a]

small garden project was so profound. That, to me – I took away from that. I still sit with it every time I look at my son because that's a direct link.

Mokobake extended the profundity of the *shalom* space to include its therapeutic value:

It was a time when most of us Africans and, in particular, those of us who come from the struggle background, we needed to find a space within theological milieu that will actually help us find a grounding and find a place where we will grow and understand ourselves as not stepchildren of God, but actually children of God... Now, what then the whole concept of *shalom* brought was the whole therapeutic healing ministry for us to say, 'Look, we are drawing you into a space where you are not just going to have this peace, but actually it is a peace that has healing in its wings.'

I believe Hadebe had her finger on the pulse of ESSA's desire for *shalom* when she described it as "The whole culture of sensitising us to really understand the gospel as being engaged in the actual lives of people, and participating in what was going on in politics, and being sensitive to suffering, to apartheid, to injustice. That permeated everything, even students.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter commenced with a brief description of the three types of documents analysed, followed by a presentation of the data contained therein. The second half of the chapter was occupied with the other data source, consisting of interviews with former faculty and students. After an introduction of the participants, select quotations from both groups were provided in two categories, along with a discussion comparing the responses.

Chapter six will address the study's four research questions using this data, the literature, and the theoretical framework.

CHAPTER 6: DATA ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

Chapter Five was devoted to presenting data emerging from documents and interviews. The first half of the chapter considered three document types (an academic article, a memoir, and a series of letters from the principal to the ESSA senate), while the second half presented data from two groups of interviewees (former faculty and former students). Chapter six seeks to answer my Research Questions using this data, my literature review, and my theoretical framework.

6.2 Research Question 1 – What concept of *shalom* did the founders introduce to ESSA in 1980?

6.2.1 Data

The evidence relating to this question is found in Phil Capp's correspondence with the ESSA senate, supplemented by interviews with former faculty and students. His later article and Carmena's memoir are useful for understanding the subsequent development of their thinking but do not point to how *shalom* was understood at the seminary's founding in 1980. Two features of the emerging concept are striking.

Multiracial community: Repeatedly instanced in the Principal's Reports are references to the breaking down of racial barriers and the development of Christian community as central to ESSA's purpose. The struggle to secure accommodation for African, Indian, and Coloured students was not construed as a logistical issue but as a test of the seminary's stated commitment to Christian community. Interviews with both faculty and students confirmed this commitment as a distinctive feature of ESSA.

Transformative learning:

Notable is Phil's early correspondence is the idea of education as a process of transformation. His description of students participating in a 'redeeming community' underlines what the pedagogy was meant to accomplish, rather than just what students were expected to know. Similarly, former faculty and students recall their experience at ESSA in terms of holistic learning, critical engagement, relationships, and pastoral care. Evidently, the founders' understanding of *shalom* incorporated both the formation of an inclusive community as well as an educational process in which the participants themselves were transformed.

6.2.2 Literature review

Chapter Two begins with the historical context of the seminary's founding. The Soweto Uprising of 1976 was still fresh in the nation's memory. The struggle against apartheid was being championed across the country, but encountered specific obstacles in the province of Natal, which boiled over in savage internecine violence. Though this conflict took place ten years after the Capps came to ESSA, it capped off a decade of profound disquiet; the national climate was, in many respects, the antithesis of *shalom*. For its part, it seemed that the church's response was intractably divided – as the Kairos Document pointed out.

In Pietermaritzburg the city's various seminaries got on with the business of training clergy, with varying degrees of awareness and participation in the struggle. In 1980 ESSA joined this group of institutions, exhibiting similarities and differences with each of them. It is known from my interview with the alumnus Mdubeki that Phil Capp had contact with UBI which trained ministers of the Free Methodist denomination and, from the Principal's Reports, that Phil was favourably inclined to collegial relations with other institutions via the Cluster.

From the brief survey of theological education history among major church traditions in South Africa, it was noted how tragic the consequences regarding the segregation of black and white students. As I have explored above, this issue was met directly by the founders' unequivocal commitment to a multiracial learning community. A further observation from the survey described the sad collapse of innovative seminaries that "lacked the support of their stakeholders." For ESSA, this is a point of congruence: in the Principal's Reports Phil repeatedly lamented the dearth of support from churches represented by Senate members.

The three modes of curricula employed at other seminaries, which conclude Chapter 2, have certain parallels to the ESSA founders' notion of *shalom*.

Curriculum as formation: In the Catholic tradition, exemplified by St Joseph's Scholasticate, a heavy premium is put on spiritual formation for both religious orders and clergy which, judging only from the number of years invested, exceeds that found in Protestant seminaries. Nevertheless, there remain rhythms and mechanisms common to the practice of formation in most other confessions. This is true of the Evangelical tradition, in which stream ESSA stands. In his first Principal's Report of 1980, Phil lays out his view: "Students may be viewed as consumers of the academic commodities we manufacture to stay in business, or they can be

viewed as the raw material with which we, together with them and with the Holy Spirit, help to shape a new work of art in the name of Jesus. I choose the latter.”

Curriculum as liberation: The fascinating experiment in ecumenical collaboration that was FedSem bears some comparison with ESSA. While its constituent makeup differed confessionally (though ESSA had students from mainline denominations), FedSem shared the vision for equitable access to theological education, a commitment to communal student living, and student representation at the highest level of governance. A point of departure for ESSA, however, was in its theological *raison d'être* found in the Missio Dei – the mission of God. Its curriculum had a missiological core, understanding liberation in terms of *shalom* and not merely political emancipation.

Curriculum as praxiological: To recap, Book-Satterlee distinguishes between ‘cloistered’ and urbanised learning – the former traditional model adheres to a classical curriculum while the latter embraces a praxiological andragogy emphasising adult, self-directed learning. He questions, “Is the syllabus reflective and practice-based, or is it restricted to classrooms, library walls, and ivory towers?” The point, in the context of that continent's rapid urbanisation, is that most of the seminaries in his study were not training clergy for effective ministry. As a critique of academic elitism, it must be asked how engaged ESSA was in reflecting on its urban situation. In response, one can point to certain modules that did this, as well as mandatory field trips designed to immerse students in practical ministry. By and large, however, the campus – not the streets – was the center of learning. For reasons already discussed, the Capps’ notion of *shalom* was tied to the buildings and grounds.

6.2.3 Theoretical framework

Of the various philosophies of learning, it is worth recalling here the goal of the humanistic tradition, “the development of persons – persons who are open to change and continued learning, persons who strive for self-actualization, and persons who can live together as fully functioning individuals” (Elias & Merriam, 2005, p. 124). It is uncertain to what extent the Capps ‘bought into’ contemporary models of adult education, although there are pointers in the Principal's Reports. In 1986, Phil notes:

Unwritten, but articulated often, is a growing consensus on educational philosophy assuming that we are a group of adults, dealing with adults. We are all learners together, with some of us called faculty who are trained facilitators of learning. We work together

with the combined resources of faculty, staff, students, library and larger community to establish a process that is both a learning experience and a learning *how to learn* experience.

Where Phil writes “unwritten” he is not referring to the hidden curriculum but to established adult learning theory which was, in fact, already published in the form of Knowles’ andragogy. His use of the terms ‘facilitators,’ ‘process,’ and ‘experience,’ together with the disregard of a traditional lecturer stance – “we are all learners together” – points to some familiarity with the Process approach to learning. In the same letter Phil goes on to write, “The curriculum design uses the outline ‘Knowing, Being, Doing’. The focus is on the whole person...” then lists various ways in which the seminary goes about achieving this.

Of the three theorists mentioned in Chapter three – May, Neary, and Smith – it is May who first mentions the ‘hidden curriculum’ albeit, in the context of his article, as guardian of the status quo. In terms of Neary’s discussion of the Product and Process approaches to learning, I do think there was intention towards the latter. One of the earliest students interviewed, Caister, appreciated the small class size and I, for one, recall the U-shape of the seating arrangement in contrast to seats all facing forward. Smith’s addition of ‘praxis’ as a curriculum model echoes Book-Satterlee’s praxiological alternative above although, for Smith, this entails a collective rather than individual understanding. I believe this harmonises with the Capps’ concept of *shalom* which, by definition, is communal.

While the founder’s concept encapsulated an institutional and pedagogical vision, it did not become an explicit component of the Intended Curriculum as defined by Clemmons et al. This distinction carries import for my subsequent research questions: RQ2 interrogates the absence of *shalom* in the Intended Curriculum; RQ3 explores how aspects of the founders’ vision were nevertheless expressed in educational practice; and RQ4 examines how these were experienced by students.

The Intended-Enacted-Experienced framework helps distinguish the founders’ vision of *shalom* from its formal curricular expression. The theological concept was clearly important to the founders, particularly regarding multiracial community and transformative learning, but this does not mean that *shalom* was an element of the Intended Curriculum as defined by Porter and Smithson or Clemmons et al. Neither can it be maintained that the documents examined in Chapter Five identify the concept as a formal learning goal or outcome. Rather, the distinction

is between a pedagogical vision and its articulation in the curriculum. This distinction is foundational to the next three research questions: how the vision was reflected in curriculum documents, how it was expressed by educators in practice, and how it was subsequently experienced by students.

6.3 Research Question 2 – How was this interpretation reflected in early curriculum documents?

6.3.1 Data

The early curriculum documents provide little evidence that *shalom* was an explicit component of the formal curriculum. The term appears once, in the course description for one module, where it is listed among several biblical topics available for a word study. Searches of the remaining documents up to 1992 produced no further occurrences. Archival evidence contrasts, therefore, with the founders' vision of *shalom* identified in RQ1.

Interview evidence, presented in Chapter Five, is consistent with this finding. Former faculty did not recall the concept as an explicit teaching theme, while references from later students were more associated with their experiences of the campus community and environment than with any particular syllabus or course. Phil Capp's later article and Carmena's memoir explicitly reference *shalom*, but they date to well after the period under investigation and cannot be taken as evidence for ESSA's early curriculum.

6.3.2 Literature review

In discussing the other seminaries – UBI, St Joseph's, and FedSem – mention was made of their curricula, though more in terms of the overall learning schema than actual content, e.g., the balance of lectures with spiritual formation and the practice of community life. Clearly, confession and tradition influenced the curriculum's makeup, while access to it was limited by factors such as race, gender, language, and educational level. The net is cast wider in the brief survey of the histories of theological education among the major South African denominations. While these comparisons help to locate ESSA within the broader patterns of theological education, they do not affect the finding that *shalom* was not explicitly represented in the seminary's early curriculum documents.

6.3.3 Theoretical framework

In terms of Smith's (1996, para. 1) four depictions of curriculum, ESSA's early curriculum documents as archived pertain only to the first: curriculum as a *body of knowledge*, or syllabi – content needing to be conveyed. In the Intended-Enacted-Experienced framework these documents represent the Intended Curriculum, recording the content and expectations that students were to encounter. On this evidence, *shalom* was not explicitly included in that curriculum. This finding does not establish that the founders' vision had no impact on the wider curriculum but merely suggests that the concept was not formally articulated as a learning goal or outcome – an important distinction for my subsequent research questions that examine whether aspects of Phil and Carmena's vision were nevertheless expressed in the teaching practice and student experience.

6.4 Research Question 3 – How did those who designed and presented the curriculum express shalom in their task of training leaders?

6.4.1 Data

Continuing on from RQ2, which found no explicit concept of *shalom* in the early curriculum documents, the question necessarily presents itself: in the absence of syllabi featuring *shalom*, how then was the concept conveyed? The answer must concern the Enacted Curriculum and those who taught it.

Teacher development is a key theme in Phil Capp's *Principal's Reports*. In the first (1980), he states that the seminary's credibility depended in part on a faculty able to incarnate a model of "Evangelical Knowing-Being-Doing in multi-racial, cross-cultural and missiological perspective." His later concern about the absence of suitable African, Indian, and Coloured lecturers links faculty composition to ESSA's identity as a multiracial institution. In 1982, he described the vision as a "healing community led by healed, whole faculty," while his 1991 call for a staff-development program and a team-structure put a premium on the development of people within the seminary.

6.4.2 Literature review

As regards ESSA's historical setting, the plethora of movements and organisations which arose to counter the apartheid narrative, the desire of some lecturers to join the faculty as 'protest' have been noted. Their solidarity with students in the struggle for justice, not just in theory but

pastorally, was a function of the transformative learning that characterised the campus life (see under Research Question 1 above).

In Book-Satterlee's call for reform in Latin American traditional learning models, as discussed under Research Question 1 above, I asked how engaged ESSA was in reflecting on its intentionally urban location. The answer was that, despite some field trips and practical student interaction in certain modules, it was the campus – not the streets – which formed the locus of learning.

While I did not detect an anti-urban bias in the training (on the contrary!), Book-Satterlee's comments on a student's intentionality are instructive: "if her intentionality tends to be in ministerial work outside of the classrooms and less than on their academic studies, the urban social geographical environment will become her directing curriculum and true classroom" (2014, p. 39). For ESSA, *shalom* may have been expressed most clearly through the relational dimensions of its educational environment than through formal classroom content.

6.4.3 Theoretical framework

Considering curriculum as a process rather than a product (Neary, 2002) drew attention to the learner's own experience and to the role of the teacher as a facilitator. Prior life experience, we have seen, is especially important in adult learning. It is in the creative tension between curriculum as product and as process that the teacher lives (Aoki, 2005); he or she moves between content delivery and active facilitation. Chapter 3 reached the conclusion that curriculum becomes both 'enacted' (as the educator applies the curriculum in class) and also 'experienced' (as that curriculum is received by learners).

As the "the actual curricular content that students engage in the classroom," Porter and Smithson regard the enacted curriculum as "the single most important feature of any curriculum indicator system" (2001, p.2). Also known as the 'taught,' 'tested,' or 'delivered' the enacted curriculum is "how instructors translate the intended curriculum into teaching and assessment in actual courses" (Clemmons et al, 2022, p. 2).

It was in this dynamic, then, extant between the intended and enacted curricula, that ESSA lecturers taught. But how did they 'express *shalom* in the task of training leaders'? If the concept did not feature in the Intended Curriculum, could it feature in the Enacted? Strictly speaking, according to both Porter and Smithson, and Clemmons et al, the answer is no:

Enacted means student engagement with actual curricular content; it is the translation of the Intended curriculum.

That ESSA lecturers managed to convey a sense of the concept of *shalom* in their teaching, then, poses a quandary. There are two explanations: a) it was something ‘not taught but caught’ (hidden curriculum, considered below), or b) it arose, directly or indirectly, through teachers facilitating discussion with adult learners whose experiences were located in the South African context of activism and repression (the ‘background’ in Rule and John’s discursive context – see Research Style in Chapter four).

6.5 Research Question 4 – How was this curriculum experienced by ESSA students during that period?

6.5.1 Data

For Research Question 4, we turn to the student interviews to recall their actual experience. They show that *shalom* was experienced in various dimensions of campus life rather than in a particular course or syllabus. Students recalled the multiracial struggle and transformative community experience, the holistic and integrative nature of the curriculum, and remembered certain lecturers both for their teaching and their pastoral care. Other testimonies associated the concept with open classroom discourse, or with the seminary gardens as a place for reflection and healing. Together, these accounts suggest that learners experienced *shalom* through relationships, practices, and environment at ESSA rather than through explicit curricular instruction.

6.5.2 Literature review

It is important to consider, at this point, the so-called ‘Hidden Curriculum’ (briefly mentioned in connection with May under Theoretical Framework in RQ1 above), described by Su as unwritten rules of behaviour, influencing learners via their cultural contexts (2012). The hidden curriculum may underlie anti-urban bias in Book-Satterlee’s study of Latin American seminary programs (2014).

Considering four approaches to curriculum (body of knowledge, product, process, and praxis), Smith (1996) critiques all of them as deficient in their due attention to context or learning environment – a critical factor for understanding how people learn. So much so, argues May (1994) that hidden curriculum can and does function as an enabler of the dominant culture.

Rossouw and Frick (2023) recognise this risk but argue for its potential for student development.

If the concept of *shalom* was ‘more caught than taught’ during the 1980 to 1992 Capp years, then although it may not have featured in the Intended Curriculum, aspects of it were grasped by students through the Experienced Curriculum and through the unwritten practices and expectations of ESSA’s Hidden Curriculum.

6.5.3 Theoretical framework

Smith’s inclusion of ‘praxis’ in his four curriculum models frames it as an emancipatory practice that is contextually and socially committed. Much of the appreciation felt by ESSA learners towards certain lecturers related to the ethical and political values of these teachers, sometimes leading to a student’s transformative experience. Indeed, part of the experienced curriculum was that learners felt these values and commitments. The significance of these commitments lies not only in what lecturers taught but in what students encountered through their embodied practice.

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to answer each of my four Research Questions from the three previous chapters: Data (Chapter five), Literature Review (Chapter two), and Theoretical Framework (Chapter three). The next chapter will draw my final conclusions.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

Coming from the South African Defense Force during the final years of apartheid, I encountered the seminary, Evangelical Bible Seminary of Southern Africa (EBSemSA, later ESSA), as a student in 1992. Having been established for 12 years, it had a track record strong enough to attract a candidate for Christian ministry like myself.

Winding forward the clock some thirty years, I returned to my *alma mater* this time as Principal. To my surprise, I found that, despite a profoundly transformative student experience, the story of ESSA had not been told. It is a story that will resonate, I believe, with hundreds of other alumni, as well as staff both past and present.

It is my conviction that the founders' concept of *shalom* served as an institutional touchstone and identity marker during Phil and Carmena Capp's tenure (1980-1992). This study explores how this concept was reflected in ESSA's early curriculum and in its task of leadership training. To answer it, the following objectives were identified:

- How the *shalom* motif understood by Phil and Carmena Capp speaks to the Intended Curriculum. The objective is to determine their interpretation of the concept, which they introduced to ESSA in 1980.
- A second objective is to consider how this interpretation was reflected in the curriculum documents of the 1980-1992 period.
- My next step is to ascertain how those who designed and presented the curriculum expressed the concept of *shalom* in their task of training Christian leaders. In view here is any correlation between the Intended and Enacted curriculum.
- Finally, I am interested in how the curriculum was experienced by ESSA students during this period.

Thus, my research questions were:

RQ 1 – What concept of shalom did the founders introduce to ESSA in 1980?

RQ 2 – How was this interpretation reflected in early curriculum documents?

RQ 3 – How did those who designed and presented the curriculum express *shalom* in their task of training leaders?

RQ 4 – How was this curriculum experienced by ESSA students during that period?

7.2 Overview

In brief, I have tried to demonstrate the presence of a *shalom* motif in the ESSA curriculum during the Capp years, and its influence in the seminary's training Program. These goals were met by considering the concept's place across the Intended, Enacted, Experienced, and Hidden curricula.

Regarding the flow of my thesis, I followed a standard layout:

Chapter One – Introduction, where I briefly set out the study's foci, background, rationale, research questions, methodology, and my positionality as a researcher.

Chapter Two – Literature review, in which the study's historical setting is constructed, together with a discussion of key concepts such as curriculum, theological education, and *shalom*. Other studies considering seminary curricula are explored.

Chapter Three – Theoretical framework, in which I briefly examine some basic philosophies of learning (with emphasis on adult learning models) before considering curriculum theory and the intended-enacted-experienced conceptual framework.

Chapter Four – Methodology, where I review basic research concepts and explain how I conducted my research, with reasons for selecting certain methodologies.

Chapter Five – Data presentation, in which the data emanating from the document analysis and interviews are presented in reader-friendly fashion.

Chapter Six – Data analysis, where my research questions are answered from research in preceding chapters, namely Data (5), Literature review (2), and Theoretical framework (3).

Chapter Seven – Conclusion.

7.3 Findings

The founders' conception of *shalom* at ESSA in 1980 is best understood through Phil's Principal's Report, which highlights two defining elements: the pursuit of a multiracial community and transformative learning. These emphases, shaped by ESSA's urban context and the theological imperative of the *Missio Dei*, positioned *shalom* not simply as an abstract ideal but as a lived practice of reconciliation and growth. While other seminaries shared similar curricular orientations—formation, liberation, and praxis—the ESSA interpretation of *shalom* was distinctive in how it integrated theological vision with social realities, thereby establishing a curriculum framework that was both contextually grounded and missionally driven.

The evidence reveals that while the founders' vision was not fully embedded in ESSA's formal curriculum, it was nonetheless enacted through faculty relationships, pedagogical practice, contextual engagement, and seminary life. Concepts such as the Process model of adult learning and the Hidden Curriculum help explain how meanings and commitments absent from the syllabus were still encountered by students. Interviews confirm that *shalom* was experienced primarily through community, relationships, holistic learning, faculty example, and the seminary environment. Rather than a linear progression from intended to enacted to experienced curriculum, the study points to a complex interplay of institutional vision, pedagogical practice, hidden curriculum, and student experience, underscoring the dynamic ways in which values and commitments are transmitted in adult learning contexts.

7.4 Reflection on this study

Frankly disappointed to learn that the concept of *shalom* is absent from the Intended curriculum, I welcomed its presence in the Experienced curriculum. Personally, I wonder why the concept was so foregrounded in my imagination that it became the rationale for a Masters-level thesis. The concept of *shalom* has stayed with me for over thirty years of full-time ministry and continues to nourish my spirituality.

7.5 Methodology

I thought the triangulation afforded by both document analysis and semi-structured interviews contributed to the accuracy of the data. The scope of the documents analysed could have been expanded to cover far more than just the Principal's Reports to Senate. With character recognition software, many thousands of typewritten documents could be searched without

ethical compromise. Qualitatively, the methodology of document analysis could have been upgraded to critical discourse analysis (CDA).

7.6 Possible areas of further research

As is evident from Phil Capp's article, the concept of *shalom* is extremely rich – more so when one considers the socio-historic context of theological seminaries in South Africa during the 20th century. It is a pity, therefore, that the study focused only on the Capps' early years at ESSA when their concept was slowly but steadily evolving. What could it have looked like had Phil and Carmena stayed on for another ten years?

Another area of research might be an expansion of the timeframe given to the study, say, 1980 – 2000. Or an expansion of the subjects examined: how was *shalom* conceived at UBI, at St Joseph's, and at FedSem during the same period? There is not much written on the history of these seminaries. A further, thornier field of enquiry lying beyond the scope of this study could interact with the discourse on decolonised theological education.

7.7 Implications for theological education

The significance of this study extends beyond the reconstruction of a particular period in ESSA's history. Its contribution lies in demonstrating how a seminary's formative influence may point beyond its documented curriculum. The ESSA case shows the distinction between what an institution formally intends, what is expressed in educational practice, and what learners ultimately experience. It also shows, moreover, that the relationship between Intended, Enacted, and Experienced is not necessarily linear – ethos, relationships, faculty example, and the Hidden Curriculum all mediate movement from curricular intention to student formation.

While this study engaged with a particular institution and historical period, several implications emerge for the design and evaluation of Christian leadership training.

a) Intended-Enacted-Experienced

The study's findings suggest that the Intended-Enacted-Experienced framework could be used by theological institutions as a practical tool for evaluating formation Programs. Rather than checking if stated curricular intentions were incorporated into syllabi, institutions might compare what they intend students to learn with what educators actually enact and what students report experiencing.

b) Hidden curriculum and leadership formation

The continuing significance of the Hidden Curriculum is evident in theological education, as training Christian leaders involves more than knowledge acquisition. Students are keen observers of how lecturers ‘walk the talk’: how they exercise authority, respond to difference, handle disagreement, relate to marginalised people, and embody the values they profess. In this regard, the ESSA experience suggests that institutional ethos and faculty modelling may be formative in ways not expressed in formal curriculum documents. Thus, the question for contemporary seminaries is not merely, “What are we teaching?” but also, “What are students learning from the way we live out our institutional life?”

c) ***Shalom* as curriculum principle**

Finally, the ESSA case study raises the possibility of treating *shalom* not only as an institutional value but as a curriculum principle. In contexts of socio-cultural diversity, the concept may provide a framework for asking how theological education forms leaders for reconciliation, community, justice, and constructive engagement in their social settings. Such a principle needs to extend beyond the inclusion of the term in course descriptions to consider how curriculum content, pedagogy, relationships, institutional structures, and student experiences shape the development of leaders who can flourish in diverse communities.

This last point is particularly relevant in post-apartheid South Africa, where theological education continues in a society fractured most recently by xenophobic unrest. The ESSA experience suggests that contextual learning cannot be evaluated by its formal curriculum alone – the community in which the learning takes place and the practices through which theological commitments are made tangible are formative in themselves.

7.8 Conclusion

Shalom is, in itself, a transforming concept. How it impacted the staff and students of ESSA at various points has been the earnest focus of this study. From the documents surveyed and the interviews conducted, I know that this ‘touchstone’ of the seminary community glows on in the lives and ministries of many who experienced the warm, gracious ministry of Phil and Carmena Capp. May those memories form a garden in which our frayed souls find rest. In the words of one alumnus, *shalom* is a peace “that has healing in its wings.”

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Appendix 1

Semi-structured interview questions for former faculty

Dear, thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview.

The title of this study is “An exploration of the theological concept of *shalom* in the curriculum of the Evangelical Seminary of Southern Africa, 1980-1992.” As a former ESSA student, I am interested in how the Capps’ vision was implemented on campus and in the classroom, in what might be called the Enacted Curriculum. Please keep in mind that you are not obligated to answer any of the questions, and that you may cease the interview at any time. Having said that, your input is highly valued and certainly appreciated!

Please supply some biographic details as these were *when you joined ESSA*. [circle applicable]

Age: **Gender:** **Race:** African / Coloured / Indian / European / Asian / Other

Marital status: Single / Married / Divorced / Widowed / Living with a partner

Area you were from: Urban formal (city, town) / Urban informal (informal settlement) / Peri-urban (location, township) / Rural (village / farm community)

Level of formal **education:** Secondary school / Diploma / Bachelor’s / Masters / PhD

1. When did you first associate with the Evangelical Bible Seminary of Southern Africa (ESSA) and how did you become involved with the seminary?
2. At the time, what were your thoughts about the vision and mission of the seminary? Which factors may have motivated you to join the faculty?
3. What was your role, if any, regarding the design and implementation of the curriculum?
4. Please describe how you may have influenced, or had an impact, on any of the following:
 - Vision casting meetings, seminary policy discussions
 - Senate/council / board meetings
 - Academic committees

- ACTEA accreditation
 - Relations with other higher education institutions, e.g. Union Bible Institute, University of Natal
 - Any other meetings or interactions that influenced the ESSA curriculum
5. Regarding *shalom*:
 - What understanding did you personally have of the concept?
 - What was your impression of the Capps' interpretation of it?
 - Was there harmony, do you feel, between your understanding and that of the Capps?
 6. To the best of your recollection, was the concept discussed at staff / faculty level? If so, how might this have been expressed?
 7. How do you think the concept of *shalom* was implemented at ESSA, during the period 1980 – 1992? Please consider any academic modules, chapel services, aesthetic interpretations, etc. in your response.
 8. In what ways do you think *shalom* was expressed in the seminary curriculum, directly or indirectly? Can you recall any specific teachings on the concept?
 9. How do you think the concept was understood by the students during this period?
 10. Please share any other comments that you feel may be important to this study.

Thanks again for undertaking this interview. Afterward, should anything else come to mind, please feel free to email me. I will be in touch with a transcript of our interview in any case.

Appendix 2

Semi-structured interview questions for former students

Dear, thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview.

The title of this study is “An exploration of the theological concept of *shalom* in the curriculum of the Evangelical Seminary of Southern Africa, 1980-1992.” As a former ESSA student, I am interested in how the Capps’ vision was experienced on campus and in the classroom, in what might be called the Experienced Curriculum. Please keep in mind that you are not obligated to answer any of the questions, and that you may cease the interview at any time. Having said that, your input is highly valued and certainly appreciated!

Please supply some biographic details as these were *when you began studies at ESSA*. [circle applicable]

Age: **Gender:** **Race:** African / Coloured / Indian / European / Asian / Other

Marital status: Single / Married / Divorced / Widowed / Living with a partner

Area you were from: Urban formal (city, town) / Urban informal (informal settlement, shacks) / Peri-urban (location, township, e.g. Umlazi) / Rural (village / farm community)

Level of **schooling:** Primary / Grade 8 / Grade 9 / Grade 10 / Grade 11 / Matric certificate (Gr 12)

1. When did you enrol for studies at the Evangelical Bible Seminary of Southern Africa (ESSA)? During which years were you a student at the seminary?
2. Why did you choose ESSA for your training? What characteristics about this institution were you attracted to?
3. Can you recall any aspects of your learning that were exceptional, or which ‘stood out’ from those at other training institutions? What were they?
4. Please rate, on a scale of 1 (LOW) to 5 (HIGH), your appreciation of the following experiences. Any explanation given for your ratings would be very helpful.

- Academic instruction
- Communal living
- Interaction with ESSA staff (including admin, adjunct lecturers, fulltime faculty)
- Learning environment (e.g., external noise, classroom, campus spaces, etc.)
- Missional experiences (personal outreach, mission weeks, church deputation)

- Spiritual growth (chapel services, formation groups, ESSA chaplaincy)
4. During the time you were a student, can you recall encountering any teaching or learning on the subject of *shalom*? If so, please provide details of how you came across it.
 5. What did you personally understand by this concept?
 6. Please describe what you can remember of your learning experience of *shalom*. For example, was it ‘abstract’ in the sense of a feeling or impression of *shalom*, or was it ‘concrete’ in the form of a teaching module?
 7. What connections can you recall making between the concept of *shalom* and the circumstances around you? (Your responses to Question 4 above may assist you, here.)
 8. To what extent did the concept of *shalom* stay with you, after your studies at ESSA?
 9. Please share any other comments you feel are important to this study.

Thanks again for undertaking this interview. Afterwards, should anything else come to mind, please feel free to send me an email. I will be in touch with a transcript of our interview in any case.