

Multiculturalism's challenge to Sydney Anglican Identity:

A study of a Minority Radical Tradition (1987 – 2000)

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Abstract

This is a study of the origins, activities and closure of the Department of Cross-Cultural Ministries (DCCM) within the Home Mission Society (HMS) of the Anglican Church, Diocese of Sydney. The story is told in the third person by the Co-ordinator of the Department. It is told from her perspective and therefore cannot lay any claims to objectivity. But it is based on original, primary sources as well as on the recollections of those who participated in the activities covered by this research.

In the 1970s and 1980s Australian governments, in response to the demographic tidal wave of post-war immigration, sought to re-orient social attitudes towards the creation of a genuinely multicultural community. This necessitated a greater openness to non-Anglo-Celtic cultures from Europe and Asia and also to Australian Indigenous cultures. Some leaders in the Anglican Church, first in Melbourne, and then in Sydney, supported this development. They were mainly socially-aware evangelicals, who departed from their more conservative co-religionists under the influence of the 1974 Lausanne Congress which committed evangelicals to social action as well as evangelism. Those leaders are identified in this thesis as belonging to a 'minority radical evangelical tradition' within the Diocese of Sydney.

These evangelical radicals were responsible for the conception of the DCCM and the appointment in 1987 of Mersina Tonys-Soulos as Co-ordinator. She, with others, conceived and trialled in some Sydney parishes and area deaneries what this thesis has called 'the Christian community development' agenda. This involved ESL ministries and other evangelism/welfare ministries for people of NESB (non-English speaking background). Run by clergy and parishioners, these ministries achieved considerable traction within the Diocese by the mid-1990s. Sometimes they were assisted by government grants, but (significantly) others continued without government help, for it was important for the Co-ordinator and other 'radical evangelicals' to develop ministries not subject to government ideological and financial control.

A conservative reaction to multiculturalism began in 1996 with the electoral victory of the Howard Liberal/National Party government. This was paralleled within the Anglican Diocese of Sydney by a push-back against the 'radical evangelicals' and a reversion to a prioritising of the evangelism of Anglo-Celts over the provision of evangelism/welfare/ESL services for the NESB. In 1997 HMS was rebadged as 'Anglicare' and adopted more of a corporate model, becoming more dependent on government funding and more distant from the parishes. At the same time the Diocese was regionalised with a bishop in each of its regions now responsible to the Archbishop for ministries which before then were centralised. There was now no central base for the DCCM which was abolished, and its staff including the Co-ordinator either terminated or reassigned. The chief casualties were the Christian Community ministries which had depended on the now impoverished close relationship with parishes.

This work has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution and has received Ethics Committee approval, reference number 5201500164.

Mersina Papantoniou
2016

April

Acknowledgements

This has been a long and arduous road. My evolving identity is reflected in my changes of name over the time of the writing of this project. I decided to change my surname finally, just before submitting the thesis. My paternal Grandfather's name, Papantoniou was frowned upon in the early 1930's (under the reign of the White Australia Policy). My Grandfather, Stratis was instructed to change his surname, to 'Tonys' because he was told he would 'never be able to get work in Sydney'. For me it is also another way of honouring the memory and life of my late father Παναγιώτης (Peter) who passed away in 1981, and his late brother Νικόλαος (Nicholas) in this endeavour. They became the angels that hovered over and viewed the process of completion for this work from above. Yet my earthly life has been characterised by some heroically brave people who have travelled with me on the journey.

I'd like to thank my dear friend Jan Finkelstein, for being the unique and wonderful initiator to this thesis, caring for me like the sister I never had, asking how I'm going every week, helping me to navigate my life around writing the work. I applied to begin the thesis at her suggestion, never ever thinking, I'd be accepted, let alone completing. It is she who believed in me from the very beginning when my rabble-rousing letters-to-the-Editor were being printed in the local newspaper, regarding local and state issues. She knew I 'could write', even in two languages, when I didn't have faith in myself to complete the work. She watched as I became full-time Carer for my Mother (4 years) and attempted to write the thesis part-time. So here we are, my dear friend Janny.

Dietrich, who was named after Bonhoeffer (shortly after WWII by his German parents), has been part of the discussion about the process and the writing, our dear family friend. He collected me from Macquarie University at night after long writing sessions and brought me home, then drove himself back to his home at Brookvale. He has made a great sounding board about my ideas and probably knows a whole lot about the thesis, probably more than he should. He helped me care for my Mum also, while I wrote in this precarious balancing act. Thank you for steadfastly carrying the load with me and my family. Du bist braf, Herr Dietrich Wesley Willing!

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My Principal Supervisor, Associate Professor Stuart Piggin, recognised that the thesis needed to be written and placed his professional reputation on the line, when the Politics Department, Macquarie University rejected the earlier drafts of the thesis and chose *not* to allow me to continue. Such was his belief in the project, that even when I didn't believe I had the ability to complete it, he did, as did Prof. Alanna Nobbs, my Assistant Supervisor. Because 'they believed in me' and of course in the topic and the work was ultimately written. They saved the project and me through their visionary intervention. Their understanding of the period of the thesis, and especially Stuart's research of the time, endures till this day whilst his written work, remains on the 'high-demand' listing at Moore Theological College Library. He continues seeing an integral role for evangelical Christianity in the nation of Australia and has written some of the seminal works on the subject. I am so incredibly grateful that he gleaned some merit initially from my work, in order to save the project. The work could never have been completed without his insightful, acutely sensitive and wisdom-beyond-words supervision to which I'm indebted as his student.

The pivotal role of the incomparable Rev. Dr. 'Bill' Lawton, cannot go unrecognised. In the early stages of my work he was the one who allowed me to write my 'stream of consciousness thoughts' and discuss what *he* initially coined as the 'Sydney radical minority evangelical tradition'. It is his identification of this tradition which is at the core of this thesis and therefore it is important to be explicit about what he meant by 'radical' and 'minority'. The term 'radical' refers to those identified as socially-aware evangelicals, especially those who accepted the commitment of the 1974 Congress on evangelism in Lausanne to social action as mandatory for those who professed the gospel of Jesus Christ. Lausanne was a conference of evangelicals and, since the majority of its delegates accepted its 'covenant' on social responsibility, such a commitment was now identified with the international evangelical movement. But in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney the majority, or at least those who held political power in the diocesan synod, identified with a more conservative evangelicalism which insisted on the separation of gospel proclamation and social responsibility. Those in Sydney who endorsed the Lausanne covenant were in a minority even if they were in the majority world-wide, and they are therefore identified in this thesis as 'the minority'. They are also identified as 'radical' mainly in contrast to their conservative opponents in Sydney even though the majority of evangelicals world-wide might accept them as 'mainstream'. For the purpose of this thesis, the most relevant feature of the Sydney 'radical minority' was their openness to non-Anglo-Celtic cultures from Europe and Asia and also to Australian Indigenous cultures. They consequently supported multiculturalism and the development of ministries and programmes for NES populations. But they were also 'radical' in a more traditional sense. 'Radical' can mean returning to the grass roots, and, as will be argued in chapter 2 below, they favoured developing ministries by and among 'grass-roots' members of local communities and local churches.

Lawton recognised that some in the Diocese were working with parish community programmes and perspectives, and yet were disparate individuals, working on the margins to implement church/community programmes. He discerned the unity of purpose in all such workers and numbered them among the 'radical minority'. The head of History, theologian and lecturer for over 30 years at Moore Theological College, his breadth and sweep of Australian History are breath-taking. So were his years in ministry 'in the heart of darkness' in Sydney's red-light district through the ministry of St. John's, Darlinghurst. He continues to inspire with not only his inimitable preaching, but 'the doing' of the gospel. He and his late wife Margaret in their respected ministries inspired so very much of this thesis, centering on the afore-mentioned, rather hidden tradition. He recognised what it was like to be cast out from the 'in-group'. He experienced the ferocity of evangelicals when they 'turn' on one another. The thesis recognises but one aspect of his life-changing ministry. He allowed me to also to see, for those who dared and were 'called' to ministry on the margins, that I was not the only one. One by one, because of his insight as Pastor/Theologian/Historian, to me 'the logs' one by one, began to fall 'out of my eyes'. However, also attached to the 'logs', were very real psychological barriers that had hitherto blocked such a detailed analysis. As a result, through the process of writing, I was subsequently released in part from my wounds and more importantly, from 'the fog of war'.

I'd like to acknowledge the extraordinary privilege of working intensively with the Rev. Canon Whitham and Bishop Reid to whom so much of the establishment of the work of the DCCM is owed, especially in the early stages (1987-1993). Bishop John Reid died in the closing stages of my writing the thesis. On earth he did not see the completion of this monumental task. This thesis with much endearment, is respectfully dedicated to him, με πολύ αγάπη, last but certainly not the least. A true champion of the Sydney, minority evangelical tradition. In Archdeacon Huard's words, one of our 'great ones'.

This period allowed for the establishment and additional funding of new and cutting-edge Sydney Anglican cross-cultural ministries in what this thesis considers to be halcyon days of multiculturalism. Both Whitham and Reid offered sanctuary to the young lay-woman who was appointed to undertake and found the department in the Anglican Home Mission Society. The Department from the outset (because of its deliberate emphasis on church-planting/evangelism *with* the integral parish-based Christian community development agenda in HMS at the time), was an authentic spiritual home for the DCCM, which was duly protected by both men.

I would like to thank all those who participated in the interviews for the research, former colleagues without whom the department could not have flourished. Often going down to the south coast of NSW to conduct the interviews, I found each person waited for me to arrive at the railway platform,

the Rev. Dr. Bill Lawton waiting for me on the Railway concourse after having endured 2 reconstructed knee operations or as with the Rev. John Woo kindly waiting outside of his home to welcome me with open arms. The participants kindly fed me, took me to and from the railway, and had the railway time-tables already in mind. The semi-structured interviews often spilt over into more than three joyous hours. Archbishop emeritus Harry Goodhew reminded me that he was now over 80 years old, yet his was still with a razor-sharp mind! The process allowed each participant to tell their story, as they wanted to ... hearts and minds united as they recounted their vision for their respective ministries.

I would like to thank Anglicare, in particular Samantha Castley and Jenny Small, for 'looking after me' during the 6 month stint I was graciously allowed to use an office in Anglicare, headquarters at Park St., Parramatta and was permitted to use HMS/Anglicare materials from the public domain. I would like to thank my fellow-colleague, Dr. John Bellamy (from the former HMS, Parish Support and Development days) and Byron Kemp for providing the National Church Life Survey (NCLS) data for this thesis. Mr. Jim Wackett, Chief Executive Officer on behalf of Anglicare, offered the researcher a contract for the use of 'in-house' materials e.g. HMS Council minutes, the CCM Advisory Committee minutes in exchange however for what amounted to my understanding of the relinquishing of control of my thesis, to which I could not agree.

During the course of this journey, Librarians and in particular, specialized research Librarians became invaluable.

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bibliographic convention of the Social Sciences to the American Historical Review convention, with the new bibliographic style requiring additional internal, electronic style amendments. This was by no manner of means, an easy task. Melinda was indeed invaluable and certainly the thesis changing format could not have been successfully completed without her expertise! I had completed my Master's thesis in 1994, written in long hand and was computer-illiterate when I commenced the Ph. D.

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Intermediate Certificate but was prevented by his own Father, (Ευστράτιος) Stratis Papantoniou (despite the Principal visiting the family at the farm, begging my Grandfather for Nicholas) to continue high school. Both brothers, had earlier grown-up in Surry Hills, in the area known as ‘the Resumptions’ Sydney slums, during the years of the Depression. Nicholas however, did not continue his education because he was needed to run the family’s market garden at St. Marys along with my Father, Peter.

The thesis is most affectionately dedicated to those in the ‘radical minority evangelical tradition’, who opened their homes, their lives, their families and ‘took-in’ those left as orphans in this world and cared for them and loved them, as one of their own - because of their love of the Saviour and love for people.

No kindness, however, small is ever wasted – Aesop

In loving memory of Miss Nancy Isabel Lewis (27/07/34-20/04/07)

Bishop John Robert Reid (15/07/28-2/01/16)

The Rev. Silas Alfred Horton (d. 31/08/10)

«Αιώνία η Μνήμη»

Abbreviations

AAPB	Australian Anglican Prayer Book
ACC	Anglican Consultative Council
ACL	Anglican Church League
ACSA	Anglican Church of Southern Africa
AHMS	Anglican Home Mission Society
AIMA	Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs
AMES	Adult Migrant Education Service
BIMPR	Bureau of Immigration, Multiculturalism, and Population Research
BIR	Bureau of Immigration Research
CALD	Culturally and Linguistically Diverse
CCM	Cross-Cultural Ministries
CEP	Community Employment Program
CESA	Church of England in South Africa
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CPSA	Church of the Province of Southern Africa
DCCM	Department of Cross-Cultural Ministries
DIMIA	Department Of Immigration And Multicultural Affairs
EAPS	Ethnic Affairs Policy/Priorities Statements
EFAC	Evangelical Fellowship of the Anglican Communion
ES	English speaking
ESB	English speaking Background
ESL	English as a second language
FECCA	Federation of Ethnic Community Councils Australia
GBF	Greek Bible Fellowship
GS	General Synod
HMS	Home Mission Society

HUP	Homogeneous Unit Principle
ICWE	International Committee for World Evangelization
LCWE	Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization
LGA	Local Government Area
LOTE	Languages Other than English
MADCOM	Marrickville Area Deanery Committee
MST	Migrant Services Team
NCLS	National Church Life Survey
NESB	Non-English speaking Background
NES	Non-English speaking
NTA	Native Title Act
PCW	Parish Community Worker
PARC	Parramatta Area Regional Council
PSD, PS&D	Parish Support & Development Division
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
RDA	Racial Discrimination Act
REACH-SA	Reformed Evangelical Anglican Church of Southern Africa
REPA	Reformed Evangelical Protestant Association
SBS	Special Broadcasting Service
ThL	Licentiate in Theology
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
VFG	Vision For Growth
WARC	Wollongong Anglican Area Regional Council
WWI	World War I

WWII

World War II

Introduction

Australia after World War II became one of the highest immigrant receiving nations in the world and an important destination for refugees. The Sydney Anglican Diocese in the 1980s, in response to the development of Australia's Multicultural policies, inaugurated a Department of Cross-cultural ministries (DCCM). This was an attempt, in a structured way, to shift the diocese from its traditional English-speaking orientation to engagement with the non-English speaking 'Other'. The DCCM spanned the period 1987-2000. It was a bold initiative intentionally based within the Anglican Home Mission Society (HMS), later re-branded as Anglicare NSW (1997). The department was the embodiment of what some hoped would be the future direction of the Diocese. Although created after the Melbourne department of Multicultural Ministries (1985) through the leadership of Archbishop David Penman (1985-89), the Sydney department was eventually staffed by five specialists and, two years before its closure was described as leading the world in pioneering ministries to peoples of Non-English speaking background (NESB).¹ This thesis examines the evolution and contested policies of Australia's Multiculturalism,² with its dual identity as both social policy and ideology, and concurrent development of cross-cultural ministry within the Sydney Anglican Diocese.³

The mandate of the DCCM was not only evangelism/church-planting amongst NES populations. A more experimental approach was adopted through the recovery of a radical minority evangelical tradition within the Sydney diocese: this was a programme of community development that gave the parish church a central role in the wider community making the latter what Martin Luther King Jr. described as the 'beloved community'.⁴ Such Christian community development programmes⁵ have

¹ "Sydney leads world in Cross-Cultural Work," *Southern Cross* 1998, September, 4.

² The policy of Multiculturalism is endorsed initially through the Whitlam government (1972-75), then progressively implemented in the Fraser (conservative Liberal), Hawke, Keating (Labor) governments whilst it is argued in this thesis, progressively dismantled under the Howard (conservative Liberal) government (1996-2007) described as 'Post-multiculturalism' by Linda Burnett in "Issues in immigrant settlement in Australia," National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.cat-vn477228>.

³ "Report of the Standing Committee, Cross-Cultural Ministries," in *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney, province of New South Wales, Anglican Church of Australia* (Sydney, Australia: Diocesan Registry), 287-93.

⁴ C. Marsh, *The Beloved Community: How Faith Shapes Social Justice, from the Civil Rights Movement to Today* (Basic Books, 2008)., Charles Marsh and John M Perkins, *Welcoming Justice: God's movement toward beloved community* (Downer's Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2010); 'Encounter' Radio Programme, "The beloved community," (ABC) Australian Broadcasting Corporation, <http://www.learnoutloud.com/Podcast-Directory/Religion-and-Spirituality/Spirituality/Encounter-Podcast/22310>.

been involved in 'urban renewal'⁶ in the United Kingdom when applied to often neglected suburban neighbourhoods and geographic areas of disadvantage. The model represents various forms of community programming for 'empowering communities', particularly those of NESB and the Indigenous. The forerunner of this tradition was the alliance of community programmes through church-based programmes that historically had been common in overseas cross-cultural mission. That is, through 'the church, the school and the hospital' an attempt is made to transform local communities. This was the Christian community development model which was implemented in HMS.⁷

For the founding Co-Ordinator of the DCCM, if the local churches were to meaningfully engage with their wider NES communities the *raison d'être* wouldn't *only* include church-planting initiatives. The building of intentional Christian community at the local level would require the integration of parish-based community development programmes as part and parcel of the mission.

Understanding the community development agenda in the work with NESB minorities was most readily found among those clergy and laity involved previously in overseas missionary work. Then subsequently the inaugural landmark Congress of the Lausanne Movement for World Evangelization (1974) was profoundly influential. The historic congress with its Lausanne Covenant largely written and edited by the British theologian, the Rev. John Stott, and influenced by the Latin American evangelicals⁸ began to weigh more upon social justice principles through what was termed 'socio-political'⁹ responsibility in evangelical practice and thought.

⁵ For examples of Christian community development see John M. Perkins, *Beyond charity: The call to Christian community development* (Baker Books, 1993); Wayne L. Gordon, "The Eight Components of Christian Community Development," <http://www.nsc-church.org/CCDA%208%20Points.pdf>., C Marsh, "Unfinished Business: John Perkins and the Radical Roots of Faith-Based Community Building," in *The Beloved Community: How Faith Shapes Social Justice from the Civil Rights Movement to Today* (Cambridge MA, USA: Perseus Books, LLC, 2004).

⁶ Timothy Essenburg, "Urban community development: an examination of the Perkins model," *Review of Social Economy* (2000).

⁷ A helpful definition can be found in A Dinham, *Priceless, unmeasureable? Faith and community development in the 21st century England* (London: Faith-based Regeneration Network, 2007)., for a categories of 'faith-based' community development programmes from England see *ibid*.

⁸ J. Samuel Escobar, "The Missiological Significance of Latin American Protestantism," *International Review of Mission* 100, no. 2 (2011)., Robert A. Hunt, "The History of the Lausanne Movement, 1974-2010," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 35, no. 2 (2011).

⁹ The use of the term 'socio-political' is cited in Clause 5 of the Lausanne Covenant. International Congress on World Evangelization [Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization], "Lausanne Covenant," <http://www.lausanne.org/content/covenant/lausanne-covenant>.

For the Sydney Diocese, Lausanne had far-reaching implications. Whatever polarity existed between mainstream evangelicals and those wishing to develop Christian community development programmes in their parish-based ministry now became amplified as a result of the Lausanne Covenant.¹⁰ It identified the responsibility of evangelicals towards the wider society and the pursuit of what can be recognised through the language of the Australian Anglican Prayerbook (AAPB, 1978) enfolded in the communitarian¹¹ principle 'the common good'.¹²

A Sydney evangelical minority voiced their opposition to the inclusion of the 'socio-political' clause, recognising the clause as the thin-edge of the 'social gospel' wedge. They included no less than the Principal of Sydney's Moore Theological College, D. Broughton Knox, and the Head of the Department of Evangelism, Sydney's chief diocesan Missioner, the Rev. Canon John Chapman. They refused to ratify the Covenant and became a distinct voice of opposition at the Conference.¹³

In the opposing camp, those who embraced the Covenant, including 'socio-political' responsibility for evangelical Christians, included the head of the Lausanne Theology Working group, Bishop John R. Reid, Bishop Jack Dain, the Rev. Alan Nichols (one of the chief organisers of the 1974 Congress), the Rev. David Claydon (head of CMS) and his wife Robyn.¹⁴ The majority of the Conference attendees (2,700 participants from over 150 different countries) signed the inaugural Covenant.

The Lausanne Covenant will be further discussed in chapter 8 below, but suffice it here to note that the division in these theological principles would play out in Sydney as HMS was led by its long-term Chairman, Bishop John Reid, and the clergy and laity who supported HMS to become one of the largest welfare organisations in Australia.¹⁵ Those in the opposing camp, recognised in this thesis as 'Knox's men', later emerged as the Reformed Evangelical Protestant Association (REPA), the vehicle

¹⁰ See Clause 5, for the introduction of the term 'socio-political'. International Congress on World Evangelization 1974, *ibid*.

¹¹ It is argued that such a concept is a response to 'excessive individualism' and that 'faith-based actors' need to be embedded within a local community rather than being separate from it.

¹² From the Second Order, Holy Communion, "to seek the common good". An Australian Prayer Book (AAPB), (Mulgrave, Vic.: Anglican Information Office), http://www.epray.com.au/Files/AAPB_2011_text_no_trims.pdf. 141.

¹³ This point was made by Archdeacon Alan Nichols in a conversation regarding this thesis on 21/01/2016.

¹⁴ This fact was made known from Archbishop Emeritus Goodhew's Interview for this thesis, 11/03/16.

¹⁵ The organisation employs over 1,000 staff and holds an estate portfolio worth \$38,000,000. Donald George Anderson, "The bishop's society, 1856-1958, A history of the Sydney Anglican Home Mission Society" (Wollongong, 1990).

that was used by the Rev. Phillip Jensen in his failed race in 1993 for Archbishop. This, too, will be dealt with at greater length in chapter 8 below.

What this thesis describes as the ‘radical, minority evangelical tradition’ refers to the courageous yet visionary few committed to mission, not only by way of verbal proclamation, but also with practical action that addresses the needs of the disenfranchised, those on the margins of society, ‘the poor’. It represents a form of cross-cultural ministry that crosses socio-economic, class, linguistic and cultural differences. It is a tradition that reaches back to those who sought a greater engagement with the wider community in earlier generations. They include the Rev. F. ‘Bertie’ Boyce, during the depression of the 1890s with his church, St. Paul’s Redfern perched overlooking what were the Eveleigh Railway Yards, and his protégé, the Rev. R. B. S. ‘Bob’ Hammond, who ministered during the Great Depression with programmes and housing for the destitute and the homeless, from a run-down church in Sydney’s inner city, St. Barnabas, Broadway.

The DCCM was intentionally located within the Sydney Anglican structures of the Home Mission Society (HMS). This organisation at its founding in 1856 under Bishop Barker was the church-planting arm of the diocese (for the resourcing of clergy and plant) as well as the welfare arm incorporated as a charitable institution. The organisation to this day is answerable to the Sydney Synod as well to its President - the Archbishop of Sydney, who heads its highest body, the HMS Council. HMS funded what were to become ‘cutting-edge’ ministries. One example was the early work of R. B. S. “Bob” Hammond, who from 1903 to 1908 worked as an Organising missionary in what were the slums of inner Sydney (Surrey Hills) through the Mission Zone Fund of the Society.¹⁶

The creation of the department of CCM (1987) represents a paradigm-shift in the Sydney Diocese, from English speaking (ES) to non-English speaking (NES) ministry. Its purpose was to facilitate two initiatives:

- a. The creation of the department would allow for a resource to parishes in effecting ministries into the NES world in their midst.
- b. Creative ministries could now proceed through parish-based, Christian community development programming that would allow churches to reach an even broader base of people, with the intention of transforming neighbourhoods and building more inclusive Christian communities through the local church.

¹⁶ Ibid.

It is significant that much of the DCCM's work began in struggling parishes that had seen high NESB demographic changes.

Two developments in multicultural thinking and practice occurred in parallel to shape the work of the DCCM. The first was the development of Australia's multicultural policy and its implementation over successive governments. The second was the Sydney Anglican Diocesan response to the demographic changes and increased level of plurality impacting on local parish communities.

Social Policy Analysis - Australia's Multiculturalism

The earlier Australian 'multicultural theorists', such as Professors Jean Martin and Jerzy Zubrzycki, used the term "ethnic"¹⁷ to describe those challenged by cultural/linguistic differentiation and who were later described as of non-English speaking backgrounds (NESB). The turn-around resulted from acknowledgement of the cultural and linguistic identity of NESB migrants from a non-Anglo background who were popularly labelled as "New Australians". *The Migrant Presence*¹⁸ was no longer creating a purely expatriate British society down in 'the Antipodes'. It was rather contributing to what Gwenda Tavan has aptly titled *The long, slow death of White Australia* and the dismantling of what J. Martin described as 'the ideology of settlement' or 'the assimilability thesis'.¹⁹ For over 70 years Australia's official policy was the attempt at homogenization known as "the White Australia Policy". The first law

¹⁷ Jean Martin, describes:

Since ethnic minorities in Australia are overwhelmingly of recent (that is, post-Second World War) migrant origin, I shall often use the terms 'ethnic' and 'migrant' (of 'non-Anglo-Saxon origin') interchangeably ... J. I. Martin, *The migrant presence : Australian responses, 1947-1977. Research report for the National Population Inquiry* (Allen & Unwin, 1978).

The retention of culture and language becomes integral to the process of settlement, as migrants seek to adjust to the immigrant-receiving society in order to adjust to new forms of 'belonging' and acculturation. Hence the importance placed on cultural identities. The recognition of cultural groupings can then be defined as:

Ethnic group refers to a group of people who, because of shared culture, customs, place of birth and/or language, can be identified as a distinctive community. Within Australia, the term is usually applied to identifiable immigrant groups. G Hugo, "Understanding Where Immigrants Live," *Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research (BIPR)*, (1995): 2.

¹⁸ The title of landmark research through Australian social sciences, Martin, *The migrant presence : Australian responses, 1947-1977. Research report for the National Population Inquiry*.

¹⁹ See Martin's helpful discussion *ibid.*, 207-08.

made by the newly federated Australian parliament was the *Immigration Restriction Act, 1901*,²⁰ and one of the principal beneficiaries from within the domain of institutionalized religion was the Church of England (officially from 1981 the Anglican Church of Australia), because the policy favoured British migrants. The creation of the DCCM was an initiative of inspired leadership to reach the NES populations.²¹

A possibility of bias

The author of this thesis was the founding appointment to the DCCM, which began as a department of one. The position of Co-Ordinator was held for the thirteen-year period of the existence of the department (1987-2000). Before this she held the position of Parish Community Worker for the Inner West (1985-87) in another HMS department, Community and Parish Services, Care Force. This included the Marrickville, Petersham and Strathfield Deaneries. The thesis has been written by the Co-Ordinator, herself using the third person as a distancing device, used in 'auto-ethnographic' approaches to the writing of history and research by author/practitioner. It is also commonly termed 'action/research'. The interpretation here is principally that of the Co-Ordinator acting as a "participant observer".²² This approach has been described as auto-ethnography.²³

²⁰ "Immigration Restriction Act 1901 (Cth)," <http://www.foundingdocs.gov.au/scan-sid-144.html>.

²¹ Hence the thesis, lends itself to analyses that require an interdisciplinary approach in order to explore the multi-layered concepts through the Social Sciences, including: Cross-cultural Psychology, Sociology, Cultural Anthropology and Social Policy Analysis. The author's Masters Thesis was written using an inter-disciplinary approach.

²² Carolyn Ellis, Tony E Adams, and Arthur P Bochner, "Autoethnography: an overview," <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1589/3095>.

²³ Ibid., 274,75.

It is inevitable that bias will emerge in writing the work. However, the author has actively tried to be cognisant of her own bias, and found herself checking her own views through the prism of interviews and research as it emerged. A reciprocating reflective process emerged in an attempt to achieve balance.

It is indeed true, that in the time and span of her appointment, she was relatively unfamiliar with the internal culture of the HMS organisation and of the machinations of the diocese. Yet she was thrust as it were onto the cutting-edge of what some have deemed 'experimental' ministry. The DCCM pioneered significant cross-cultural frontiers thus breaking new ground on the home front, whilst encouraging and supporting a positive relationship with the brother department of the Melbourne diocese over the same time-frame.

The Respondents

Her research was supplemented by the perspectives of the interviewees for the thesis. Most of the Interviewees responded and answered the Macquarie University Ethics approved set questions. Interviews commonly lasted for 3 hours and gave ample evidence of the leadership and vision they gave to the NES ministries in which they were engaged, often difficult ministries in uncharted waters. The interviews included a Skype interview from China with the Rev. Irene Mok. The only respondent who did not consent to be interviewed was the last CCM Director of the Department, the Rev. Ken Coleman. Also, despite numerous letters sent by the researcher and her Supervisor, access to the Sydney Diocesan Archives (SDA) was not granted by Dr. L. Trott.²⁴

Some of the primary sources for the undertaken period of study were largely accessed through the permission granted by Anglicare for the use of materials already in the public domain. They included the magazines *PULSE*, *CARE*, *Inside Caring* and Annual reports. Anglicare head-office has the only complete set of these papers and reports in existence. I am grateful for the access granted to me. The papers included what I've termed the Canon Whitham archive at Anglicare, hitherto kept in an unopened cupboard that was found shortly before the second Anglicare building was sold. The archive was a gold mine because he kept all correspondence related to CCM. Included in the file were also his prayer-notes for the CCM work, all tidily assembled awaiting over 20 years to be accessed. HMS

²⁴ This issue continually dogged the author and supervisor(s) of this thesis. The author witnessed first-hand returning Anglicare Staff, who had been allowed access after spending a whole day in the SDA. The incident occurred during the time of extended archival research kindly permitted 2015, at the Parramatta headquarters, Anglicare, NSW.

publications also acknowledged the laity who were a large part of the work of the Society during the span of the DCCM. They bear testimony to the somewhat under-stated though cutting-edge work of the Society's Staff, lay and clerical as well as those 'quiet achievers', Anglicare's treasured volunteers.

The role of the DCCM and HMS/Anglicare

The department faced a number of challenges to take advantage of new attitudes towards multiculturalism:

a) How would the department respond to the evolving official policies of Multiculturalism which were designed to facilitate the inclusion of the NES into mainstream society, by way of addressing multi-factorial 'disadvantage', including access to services, employment, medical care, education, and to English-language learning.

b) How would the Sydney Anglican church respond to the NES in their midst? What would it do to promote inclusion? Or was the church to sit and wait for those of NESB to sufficiently assimilate before attempting to include them, if at all?

c) Would new structures be developed, working through language and culture, in emulation of the methods of overseas missions, such as educational and health work, only now 'at home'. Dr. Alan Cole, formerly Federal Secretary Church Missionary Society (CMS), (1979-88), made the point explicitly at the 1995 annual HMS Festival in the Sydney Town Hall:

God persevered with the Sydney Christians. He brought the mission field to them because they would not go to the mission field overseas ... in the twentieth century we are witnessing one of the greatest displacements of people since the early centuries of the Christian era. God's plan is in it.²⁵

The advent of globalization increased awareness of "Otherness" within the local neighbourhood, as did urbanization, particularly as new NESB people groups gravitated towards inner city neighbourhoods,²⁶ with 85% of NESB migrants choosing to live in cities.²⁷ In the 1990s, NESB migrants

²⁵ Evan Coombs, "Mission Era Comes Home," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1995, June 14, 1.

²⁶ The formative Church of England report responding to Prime minister M. Thatcher's policies, Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas, *Faith in the City: A Call for Action by Church and Nation*. (London: Church House Publishing, 1985)., linked urbanization with NES 'ethnicity', with the majority of 'black' and those of 'Asian origin' living in UPA's (p. 283) and outlined the need for the examination of Urban Priority Areas (UPA's) and Minorities, e.g. The Church and Minority Ethnic Groups, p. 95-99.

²⁷ Hugo, "Understanding Where Immigrants Live," 3.

increased from 2,150,979 in 1991 (58%) to 2,502,886 in 2001 (61%). NESB migration to Australia was now larger than ES migration.²⁸ At the 1991 Census, Sydney had 28.5 per cent of the nation's overseas-born.²⁹

The mix of cultures, languages and the plurality of faiths was unprecedented in scale, requiring new thinking in the negotiation of the role of the church within society. The temptation was for the churches to continue as they had always done, becoming increasingly irrelevant as the demographics changed around them. An alternative approach was adopted by those who created the DCCM and other welfare divisions within HMS. While conceding that the church risked becoming increasingly irrelevant, they did not fear that such an outcome was inevitable. Before the DCCM was formed those identified here as belonging to the minority Sydney radical evangelical tradition were optimistic. In 1985 in the *Faith in the City* Report, they affirmed (Par. 3.22):

A Christian community is one that is open to, and responsible for, the whole of the society in which it is set, and proclaims its care for the weak, its solidarity with all, and its values which lie beyond the mere satisfaction of material needs.³⁰

But this meant that the church could not continue as it always had. It had to commit resources to bring specialised help to the parishes. It had to evolve policies and practices consistent with national aspirations and with the best in relevant social science research. This meant learning, not only from psychology and sociology, but also from anthropology as it sought to learn from its own overseas missionary experience now that the overseas mission field was no longer overseas. It had to become more 'culture-affirming' and more accepting of the necessity of 'contextualisation'.³¹ It had to avoid its own unhelpful thinking which had become entrenched in powerful sections of the church. One such view is that gospel proclamation is inconsistent with welfare services. Another is that to grow a church it is best to follow the 'homogeneous church' principle, that is that congregations should be formed of people of similar ages, races, or interests. However, the churches came to see that they had to offer cross-cultural sensitization programmes or by another name 'anti-racism' programmes that were

²⁸ See Appendix 1, Table 1.1, for Overseas-born percentages of total intake. Cited from Department Of Immigration And Multicultural Affairs (DIMIA), "Chapter One: The Policy Context," in *Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants* (Canberra: Paragon 2003), 25.

²⁹ Hugo, "Understanding Where Immigrants Live," 5.

³⁰ Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas, *Faith in the City: A Call for Action by Church and Nation.*, 59.

³¹ Charles H. Kraft, "My Pilgrimage in Mission," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 22, no. 4 (1998, October): 163.

designed for congregational use from an evangelical Christian perspective.³² The understanding of 'the Other'³³ needed to be 'deconstructed' so that it no longer caused fear, but rather promoted meaningful engagement with 'the Other'. It had to bring a Christian community development agenda into the life of the parishes thus building bridges between the local church and the wider community.

In a theologically conservative diocese like Sydney such a programme was bound to provoke strong reactions. For a start, even interest in the social sciences was highly suspect, for views that stood for liberation, anti-racism and multiculturalism came packaged in philosophies imbued with Marxism and extreme feminism. This thesis examines the attempt to give practical effect to waking the church up to the necessity of responding to multicultural reality and the response of those who resisted the attempt through opposition to the theology on which it was based and through bureaucratic inertia. It became a struggle mired in the politics for which the Anglican Diocese of Sydney is infamous.

Though the background, birth, rise and fall of the DCCM is the main story to be told in this thesis, because it is an action research thesis, it is not arranged strictly chronologically. During the struggles of the DCCM different events, theories both secular and theological, or persons assumed significance at different times as the Co-Ordinator and others in the management of the DCCM looked for understanding and strength to persevere. For example, the Lausanne Conference of 1974 came to be seen as of foundational importance to the drama in this thesis, but because it had caused so much division, it was actually not talked about a lot at the time. Similarly, the relationship between Sydney's

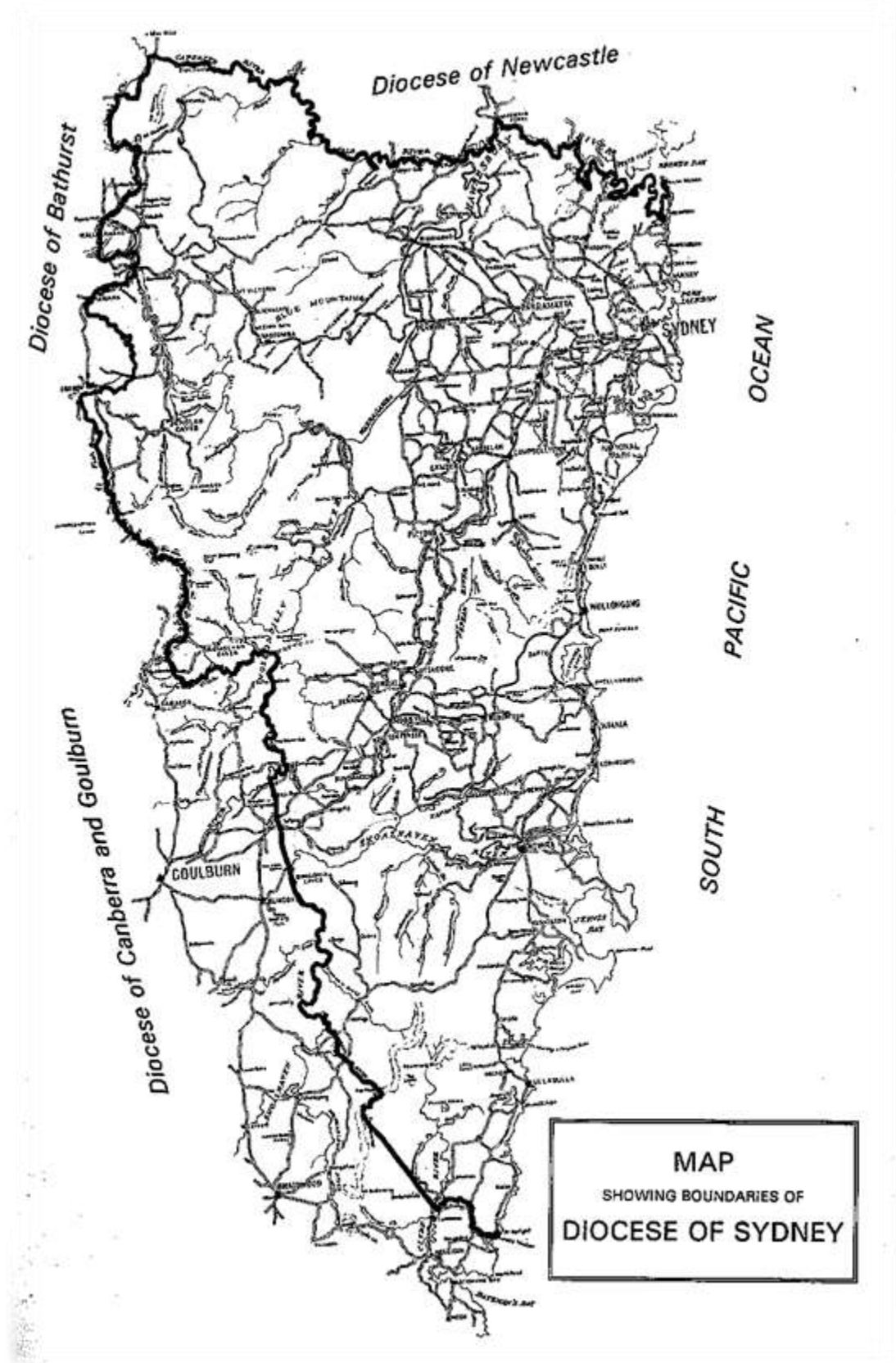
³² The concept of 'evangelical' may itself be contested, however, the following definition closely resembles the following workable definition. From the Latin: *sola scriptura* (only the scriptures), *sola Christo* (only Christ), *sola fide* (only by faith), *sola gratia* (only by grace), *solī deo Gloria* (only to God be glory), cited from J. I Packer, "The Evangelical Anglican Identity Problem: an Analysis," (Oxford: Latimer House, 1978), 16.

³³ I'd like to acknowledge the following salient reference from Philosophy to the Rev. Dr. Bill Lawton. 'The Other' as a concept, can be understood through the post-modern work of the philosophers from the tradition of Phenomenology, Emmanuel Levinas, *Alterity and Transcendence*, trans. Michael Smith, B (Columbia University Press, 1970/1999)., and the work of Derrida see Kevin Hart, "Jacques Derrida: Introduction," in *The Postmodern God : a Theological Reader*, ed. Graham Ward (Malden, Mass: Blackwell, 1997); Mark C Taylor, "What Derrida Really Meant," University of Chicago Press, <http://www.press.uchicago.edu/books/derrida/taylorderrida.html>; J Derrida and John D Caputo, eds., *Deconstruction in a nutshell a conversation with Jacques Derrida* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1997).

However, in the field of Social Psychology, see the pre-eminent work of Henri Tajfel, *The social psychology of minorities*, Report - Minority Rights Group no. 38 (London: Minority Rights Group, 1978); H. Tajfel, & Turner, J. C. , "The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour," in *Psychology of intergroup relations*, ed. S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall, 1986); H. Tajfel, "Individuals and groups in social psychology*," *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* 18, no. 2 (1979)., in the field of Anthropology, see Michael T Taussig, *Mimesis and alterity: A particular history of the senses* (New York Routledge, 1993)., in Sociology for a discussion of hybridity, John Hutnyk, "Hybridity," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, no. 1 (2005); Virinder S. Kalra, Raminder Kaur, and John Hutnyk, *Diaspora and hybridity*, Theory, culture & society (London: Sage, 2005). A helpful definition of "Otherness" or "Othering" is when the person is disenfranchised from the centre of society and is excluded by being relegated to the margins, defined as 'the Other'. A. Bullock and S. Trombley, *The Norton Dictionary of Modern Thought* (W.W. Norton, 1999), 620.

evangelical conservatives and the Church of England in South Africa (CESA) assumed major significance as an example of what can go wrong when the church feels comfortable about disengaging from social issues in the interests of proclaiming a 'pure' gospel. So the narrative is often broken with excurses into consideration of events and thinking of another age or place, but that seems to reflect the experience of a besieged organization fighting for its life, especially of an organisation aware that the fight it has for the sake of society's most burdened is more important than the fight it has for its own survival.

Map of the Sydney Diocese 1996



Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney. Sydney Square: Diocesan Registry, 1996, 13.

Chapter 1

Before the formation of the Department of Cross-Cultural Ministries (1970s-86)

Sydney Anglicanism in Australia is unique in the Anglican Communion for its particular style of conservative evangelicalism. Evangelical Chaplains were despatched to the new colonies through the influence of the English evangelical Eclectic Society. Amongst their number were the Slavery Abolitionists, William Wilberforce (1759-1833) and the Rev John Newton (1725-1807), author of the hymn 'Amazing Grace'. They witnessed first-hand the profound influence of industrialization on the English urban working classes of the late 18th century. They form the beginning of what is termed in this thesis the 'evangelical radical minority' tradition. The link between the evangel (the gospel message) and social responsibility has long been debated within the diocese of Sydney. The context in which gospel ministry has been attempted throughout the history of the diocese has often been very challenging: among convicts, in times of war and depression, and rapid demographic changes because of large-scale immigration. Within these changing contexts there has been a minority radical evangelical tradition in Sydney Anglicanism which is hospitable to social experiments. This thesis is focused on the analysis of this tradition in the evolving cultures within what has become one of the most pluralistic societies in the world. It is the study of the minority Anglican response to multiculturalism in Sydney since the 1970s. As such it is necessary to begin with an overview of multiculturalism and of Anglicanism in Australia in general and Sydney in particular. In this chapter, experiments in ministry to NESB migrants in the Diocese of Sydney are reviewed. Some of the leaders in the radical evangelical minority tradition are introduced, including the new direction planned for multicultural ministries. The ministry of the parish community development programme will be considered, along with the concurrent stop/start secular funding of multicultural programmes by governments.

J. Houston, referring to the whole of Australia, wrote:³⁴

We are an amalgam of over 140 ethnic groups speaking 100 languages and practicing over 40 religions. Melbourne is now the third largest Greek-speaking city in the world ... After Israel, Australia is the most cosmopolitan society on earth.³⁵

³⁴ (1979, p.16).

Australia, since 1970, represents a daring national social experiment in fashioning a multicultural country and evolving governmental policies promoting Multiculturalism. This required not only flexibility in social structures, but also social policies in the management of such diversity. The Australian so-called 'Immigration debate' ('how many?' 'which ones?', 'asylum-seeker or refugee?') has long been characterized as Australia's national past-time.³⁶ Non-discriminatory immigration selection criteria were implemented after the White Australia Policy had been 'officially abolished' through the Whitlam Government in the early 1970s.³⁷ 'White Australia' as immigration policy officially was no more. The bi-partisanship agreement of subsequent Federal Australian governments meant that applicant intake criteria were no longer based on the concept of race.³⁸

What's in a Name?³⁹

The Church of England in Australia changed its constitution in 1962. That allowed for the creation of its own liturgies and for the official change of name from the Church of England (C of E) in Australia to the Anglican Church of Australia in 1981,⁴⁰ after almost two decades of debate.⁴¹ The history of this denomination had hitherto been intimately linked with successive waves of English-speaking populations and a transplanted language and culture. It was the church of the mother-country, Great Britain. It had a somewhat 'veiled' establishment status, being the first founded denomination of the

³⁵ Peter Kaldor, *Who goes where? : who doesn't care?* (Homebush West, N.S.W.: Lancer, 1987), 182.

³⁶ Described by Irene Moss, in a Sydney Churches NGO (non-Government organization) Consultation regarding the re-settlement of Refugees (1992). She held the position of Federal Race Discrimination Commissioner for the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 1986 to 1994.

³⁷ See Gwenda Tavan, *The long slow death of white Australia* (Carlton North, VIC: Scribe, 2005)., Andrew Theophanous, *Understanding Multiculturalism and Australian Identity* (Melbourne: Elikia Books 1995)., M. Lopez, *The Origins of Multiculturalism in Australian Politics* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2000). for discussion on the historic and subsequent dismantling of the 'Immigration Restriction Act'(1901) that came to be known as 'The White Australia policy'. It shaped the nation's majority population intake for over 70 years till its official abolition.

³⁸ The policy 'is dead', declared Al Grassby, Whitlam's Immigration minister, in 1973.

'Give me a shovel and I will bury it'. Gwenda Tavan, <http://www.abc.net.au/rn/talks/perspective/stories/s1382242.htm>].

³⁹ W. Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, Act II, Scene I.

⁴⁰ http://www.anglican.org.au/home/about/history/Pages/part_2_the_anglican_church_in_australia.aspx

⁴¹ For greater analysis and detailed overview see Brian H. Fletcher, "Anglicanism and Nationalism in Australia, 1901–1962," *Journal of Religious History* 23, no. 2 (1999); "Anglicanism and National Identity in Australia Since 1962," *Journal of religious history* 25, no. 3 (2001)., D.Hilliard, "The religious crisis of the 1960s: the experience of the Australian churches," *The Journal of Religious History* 21, no. 2 (1997)., and D Hilliard, "Pluralism and New Alignments in Society and Church 1967 to the Present," in *Anglicanism in Australia: A History*, ed. Bruce Kaye, et al. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002).

NSW penal colony (1788) and of the subsequent British colonies founded on the Australian continent. Yet, unlike the mother-country, its bishops technically were not guaranteed places in the chambers of the Australian Parliament unless they were directly elected. The historical 'establishment' status of the denomination aligns with historic privilege (gifts of land, grants, and the subsidizing of clergy, some of whom had been magistrates of the early colony). Nevertheless, the denomination in Australia has occupied an important place in the life of the nation as the founding religion.⁴² It is a religious and cultural entity, given one seventh of the land between 1825 and 1836 of the then colony of NSW.⁴³ The Sydney Diocese is predominantly evangelical, and it is considered to be one of the wealthiest dioceses in the world.⁴⁴

The effects of large-scale immigration to urban centres – Sydney

The result of Australia's acceptance in the decade of the 1970s of the so-called 'boat-people' signalled an intentional 'non-white' refugee intake.⁴⁵ Those fleeing persecution from Indo-China subsequent to the Vietnam War were welcomed by the federal Liberal (conservative) government led by Malcolm Fraser (1975-83). This government recognized that Australia was bound to accept its obligations as signatory to the U.N. Refugee convention (1949). So Australia, now seeing itself as part of South-East Asia, in the 1970s accepted displaced people from South-East Asian refugee camps. This had the flow-on effect of dismantling in part the continued 'imagined community' of a white nation,⁴⁶ which was

⁴² David Hilliard, "Anglicanism," in *Australian Cultural History*, ed. S.L. Goldberg and F.B. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

⁴³ R. Border, *Church and State in Australia 1788-1872, A Constitutional Study of the Church of England in Australia* (London: S.P.C.K., 1962), 48-49.

⁴⁴ Muriel Porter, *Sydney Anglicans and the threat to world Anglicanism: the Sydney experiment* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2011), 1. The estimated income for the diocese from Property Trusts and other sources is estimated to be around \$15 million p.a. See C McGillion, *The chosen ones : the politics of salvation in the Anglican Church* (Crows Nest, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin 2005), xiv.

⁴⁵ It is estimated that under the Fraser Government more than 50,000 asylum seekers/refugees were brought to Australia. See Robert Manne, "Comment: Asylum Seekers," *The Monthly* 2010; *ibid.*

⁴⁶ This concept developed by B. Anderson *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* Revised Edition ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 224, has extraordinary significance for the understanding of the creation of Australian nationhood. This concept when applied to Australia omitted all reference to the Indigenous people, and relegated other racial sub-groupings below the dominant 'pure and white' racial groupings of Great Britain. The sub-text is that Australia in essence is still linked to the 'mother-country' through the 'national imaginary' of nationhood. The "Immigration Restriction Act 1901 (Cth)", the first legislated Act of the newly federated Australian Parliament, came to be known in its various incarnations as 'The White Australia policy'.

itself a long-standing perception 'imagined' (i.e. understood) by the dominant white English-speakers.⁴⁷

The Pioneering Work of Frank Garforth

This change of direction in immigration policy towards the peoples of Non-English Speaking Background (NESB) helped change the orientation of the premier welfare agency of the Sydney Anglican diocese, the Home Mission Society (HMS) in the 1970s, the decade of extraordinary refugee intake. This profound change of direction was achieved principally through the work of the Immigration Department of HMS, headed by a layman, Frank Garforth⁴⁸. He became the Field-Officer for Non-British migrants with the Immigration Chaplaincy on 14 July 1974. He was invited by Archbishop Marcus Loane (1966-82) and Primate (1978-82), (the first *Australian-born* Archbishop of Sydney and Primate of Australia), 'to be in charge of the Department of Immigration within Sydney Diocese as of 1/03/74'. The Department became intensively involved with the immediate needs of the newly-arrived refugees with regards to their settlement needs in Sydney and Wollongong (Illawarra Region). This was co-ordinated through Mrs Myfanwy Bosanquet, Welfare Division (HMS) as the refugee re-settlement programme went into full swing, first helping to settle refugees from Ghana (1975), then the Indo-Chinese at Endeavour Hostel, East Hills and Westbridge Hostels at Cabramatta. In 1976 Garforth and his wife, Gillian initiated 'Friendship without Strings'⁴⁹ a training course for migrants and refugee women in English, helping them adapt to Australia. This was one of the first training programmes offered for NESB migrants and refugees intentionally based in and through

⁴⁷ Former Prime minister, Malcolm Fraser, interviewed by Virginia Trioli, (ABC News 24 broadcast 28/04/14) argued that:

The Menzies Government could never have participated in Manus Is and Nauru. They signed the [U.N.] Refugee Convention, they accepted the obligations of the Refugee convention ... Whilst it was not accomplished for many years afterwards ... that was the first significant step in getting rid of the 'White Australia Policy'.

See web-page: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-04-28/malcolm-fraser-calls-for-debate-about-us-ties/5414934>,

⁴⁸ All references to Frank Garforth were accessed through his wife, Gillian. Frank had been tragically run-over (1986) at a pedestrian crossing in Fairfield. All references were cited from Gillian's original documents in a submission by M. Tonys-Soulos (1997) for the newly-elected (1996) Howard (conservative) government's consultation: "Multicultural Australia: The Way Forward". An individual submission was submitted having both the blessing and support of Gillian Garforth (Frank's widow) and Nancy Lewis former CMS missionary, Tanzania and former Co-Ordinator of the Migrant Services team (1986-8), the antecedent to the Immigration department, HMS.

⁴⁹ Cited from a magazine published by the HMS, titled 'PULSE-Good Samaritans to those in need', the article listed as: "Friendship without Strings," *PULSE-Good Samaritans to those in need* 1975, Jan/Feb, 2.

Sydney local Anglican churches. The Garfields also began, through St. Barnabas, Fairfield, 'Adopt a Family', encouraging church families to visit, teach English, befriend and settle the Indo-Chinese in the Cabramatta area.

Similar programmes were also developed with Spanish-speaking and the East Timorese in the 1980s. Frank Garforth successfully applied for Grants-In-Aid from the federal Immigration Department (with a successful personal intervention from Archbishop M. Loane to the Department of Immigration, Sydney)⁵⁰ and remained Co-Ordinator of the transformed HMS, department of Migrant Services till his retirement in 1984. This allowed for the setting-up of three children's homes (for unattached minors who had come through the refugee re-settlement process). The former CMS missionary to Tanzania, Miss Nancy Lewis, oversaw the challenges of the three homes, including being 'house-mother' for one of the homes. These programmes were also linked through both Anglican parishes of Soldiers' Memorial Church, Cabramatta and St. Barnabas, Fairfield. House-parents from the corresponding language and ethnic groups, who had come through the Refugee re-settlement process and had become part of the local churches, later oversaw the work of the homes. The direction of the HMS Immigration Department had decidedly changed from its initial conception of ministering only to the needs of Church of England migrants, with their Chaplains accompanying meeting and greeting the newly-arrived from the mother country at ports and airports. For the NESB migrants and refugees, settlement and housing had impacted the parishes in the immediate geographical area of such settlement. However, with the untimely death of Frank Garforth on 23 March 1986, such ministry initiatives were yet to be absorbed into the mainstream mission activities of Sydney Anglican parishes.

⁵⁰ The Co-Ordinator CCM previously interviewed Frank Garforth's widow, Gillian in 1997, for an account of the Sydney Church of England, Immigration Department and its transition into the Migrant Services Team (HMS). It was an attempt to give an account of HMS's work with Indo-Chinese migrants to the newly-elected Howard Government's enquiry and future agenda: *Multicultural Australia: the way forward* National Multicultural Advisory Council, "Multicultural Australia: the way forward " Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/multadvncouncil_1.pdf. For the Co-Ordinator's individual submission see Tonys-Soulos, "Submission for the formulation of a Policy re: Multicultural Australia : The Way Forward."



"Frank Garforth." 'Father' to many Indo-Chinese Refugees.

Photograph. Sydney Square: Home Mission Society, 1986, 14 May, 7.

It appears that "Immigrants are often *in* the society, but not yet *of* it."⁵¹ This also highlighted the historical disconnectedness and tensions in contemporary Sydney Anglicanism. Ministry towards migrants and refugees to this point had been largely lay ministry, achieved through dedicated lay parish men and women.⁵²

Sydney Anglican parishes, along with many in the wider Australian community, still clinging to its British roots, continued to proceed with the 'imagined community' through its (often nominal) adherents⁵³. They assumed cultural homogeneity in practice and theology, without recognizing the shifting sands. In addition to the large-scale immigration programmes post WWII (through the slogan 'populate or perish') that had brought central/southern Europeans to Australia, there were new population movements as a consequence of Australia's geographic proximity to South-East Asia and

⁵¹ Liza Q. Bundesen, "Biography of Alejandro Portes," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 101, no. 33 (2004): 11918.

⁵² The problematic identity of the Australian Anglican church in society is discussed in Caroline Miley, *The suicidal church : can the Anglican Church be saved?* (Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press, 2002), 38-39., see also her chapter: *One People of God? Clergy, Clericalism and the Laity: The Laity*, "One People of God? Clergy, Clericalism and the Laity: The Laity, ," in *The suicidal church : can the Anglican Church be saved?* (Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press, 2002).

⁵³ This 'stiff-upper lip', 'steady as she goes', approach to ministry direction of the Sydney Diocese represented 'cultural hegemony', a term Antonio Gramsci had coined in the 1920's and 30's. It is a sociological/political construct. Antonio Gramsci, Quintin Hoare, and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (New York: International Publishers, 1971). 'Cultural hegemony' by the ruling classes establishes a dominant culture to whom most others want to aspire and is used as a means of social control. Gramsci recognised the conforming and self-authenticating nature of a hegemonic culture amongst the aspirant classes, notoriously the collusion of influence between the Italian Fascists and Roman Catholic church, prior to WWII. See also S. Duncombe, *Cultural resistance reader* (Verso books, 2002), 35. For the use of the concept amongst 'ethnic minority' populations attempting to conform to WASP majority American culture, see Mersina Tonys-Soulos (Papantoniou), "Towards a multi-layered construct of identity by the Greek diaspora: an examination of the films of Nia Vardalos, including *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* and *My Life in Ruins* Part 1," *A Journal for Greek Letters* Special edition, no. Dec. 2012 (2012): 204.

the aftermath of the Vietnam War. The reliance on British immigration to feed into local Church of England churches was fast becoming a myth. Sydney Diocese, being 'the mother church' of the continent, assumed a historic hegemony. Nominal adherents or those who wandered in and were questioning their own religious faith were faced with an institution that was in effect a homogenizing entity, acceding towards 'Anglo-conformism'. Attendance rates of the mainline protestant denominations showed a steady decline post WWII.⁵⁴ 'Splendid isolation' as an 'imagined construct' of the Antipodes could no longer hold. Indeed, prophetic voices like that of Methodist Sydney Evangelist and Theologian, Alan Walker, Superintendent, Wesley Mission, Pitt Street, Sydney (1958–1978), recognised the effect of Australia's post WWII immigration:

The whole world has broken into the Australian scene. This is another of the imponderable forces at work in the Australian consciousness and society ... The isolation of this land is gone forever.⁵⁵

Such cutting-edge, lay ministries were well known amongst HMS and their parish supporters, including Bishop John Reid, Assistant Bishop, Cumberland and Bishop of the South Sydney region from 1972 to 1993. Reid identified the church's dilemma: 'The trouble is that the Anglican Church is a monocultural church in the midst of a multicultural nation, and this implies the need for significant change.'⁵⁶

In the same decade, sociologist R. Bakke correctly warned urban churches that they are faced with global mission at the level of the local church.⁵⁷ Migration to Australia between October 1945 and December 1983 included 4,194,133 persons, with 1,798, 600 (42.9%) being from the U.K., the remainder being from NESB's⁵⁸. Source countries included Italy, Greece, The Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Germany, Poland, Vietnam, Lebanon, Hungary, Austria, Spain, Turkey Portugal, and The Philippines. The church was facing an historic cross-road. Should it proceed as it had done, reaching the hitherto majority 'ethnic group' or did it need to recognize the changing demographic reality?

⁵⁵ Alan Walker, "The Church in the New Australia," *Australian Quarterly* 1961, 16. quoted in Kaldor, *Who goes where? : who doesn't care?*, 182; *ibid.*

⁵⁶ *A garden of many colours : the report of the Archbishop's Commission on Multicultural Ministry and Mission Anglican Diocese of Melbourne*, (Melbourne: Anglican Diocese of Melbourne, 1985), 4., also quoted in *Who goes where? : who doesn't care?*, 188.

⁵⁷ "The challenge of World Urbanization to Mission Thinking and Strategy," *Urban Mission* (1986, September)., Ray Bakke, *The urban Christian* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1987).

⁵⁸ "A Land of Immigrants," ed. Australian Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service(AGPS), 1985), 14.

For HMS, a change in response to the historic direction of Immigration Chaplaincy was essential. It required a **more integrated approach** in the engagement between church and governmental social policies, particularly in the settlement of migrants and refugees. Migrants/refugees of NESB typically chose to settle in the vicinity of their original housing, the government hostels. A new vision of ministry was required especially to those disparate NESB populations. NESB ministries correctly understood that housing and teaching English to such populations was **not** enough. Such enormous and ongoing settlement needs could not sufficiently be addressed only through governmental policies. Committed and trained parishioners *could* build the bridges through the interplay between local church and the wider community dimensions.

These ministries, helped primarily through government funding, transformed the local Anglican community into warmer, friendlier, out-ward focused congregations. Churches had to deal first-hand with any fear or prejudice that might arise amongst their own parishioners as well as adjust to the new migrant and refugee populations now in their midst. Congregations had to process this 'new presence'. Many actively sought newcomers, developing linkages between the newly arriving populations and the established Anglican churches. An ethno-specific welfare centre (using welfare workers familiar with their respective NESB languages/cultures) was developed by Care Force Cabramatta under the auspices of HMS with government grants. It was established in the adjacent Soldiers' Memorial parish hall (Cabramatta) to address the welfare needs of these populations⁵⁹. A Deaconess House student, Irene Mok,⁶⁰ began her ministry, visiting the Indo-Chinese refugees with Mr. Frank Garforth, later church planting amongst the Cantonese/Mandarin speaking refugee populations. The ministry was co-ordinated under the team leadership of the Rev Neil Flower (rector 1974-88). It is estimated that over 25,000 migrants and refugees of NESB were assisted in the Fairfield/Cabramatta areas during this decade.⁶¹ The churches, principally through able and visionary lay leadership, were galvanized into building bridges of friendship. This would subsequently give those who ministered a lasting credibility in the collective memories of peoples who had actively fled persecution and had now found sanctuary as well as a living Christian faith. The former Church of England's Immigration Department was absorbed into the Care Force, Welfare division (HMS), and became the Migrant Services Team in the late seventies.

⁵⁹ For a documented case-study on video, see *Today's Anglicans*, Case-Study No.3, Soldiers' Memorial church, Cabramatta. (HMS, 1988)

⁶⁰ (Parish Sister, Cabramatta, 1982-84, Deaconess 1984-89, Assistant Minister and Deacon, 1989- 92, later made Evangelist to the Chinese Community, 1995).

⁶¹ This is according to previous interviews with G. Garforth, M. Bosanquet and N. Lewis in preparation for the (1997), *MULTICULTURAL AUSTRALIA: the way forward*. Individual submission by M. Tonys-Soulos to the newly-elected Howard (conservative) Government consultation.

The 1980s began to see the cumulative effects of the creation and implementation of Australian secular social policies that would gain momentum in succeeding decades. These policies were consistent with the bi-partisan agreement implementing Multiculturalism (at both state and federal level) used to manage the consequences of the large-scale NESB immigration. The decades of the Eighties and Nineties, for the Sydney Anglican denomination, showed some creative and lateral thought involved with experimentation at the community level. There was clearly a radical Anglican element within this most conservative evangelical Diocese in Australia. This thesis is an attempt to identify that radical element through the analysis of:

- Sydney evangelical thought and its experimentation with community development initiatives.
- the experimental approach to ministry through visionaries/leaders in the Sydney Anglican Diocese who married ministry to the new context, through what is here termed the 'the Evangelical minority radical tradition'.

The new approach was predicated upon an inclusive approach to ministry, rather than the divisions implicit in the traditional distinction between clergy and laity. Allowance was made for a genderless "giftedness", working through the structures of the Sydney Diocese, and, most importantly, let loose at the parish-level. As always, the task at hand was 'great' and the 'labourers indeed, few'. Here contextualization of this ministry called for visionaries as well as practitioners who were prepared to call the ministry situation unashamedly exactly as they saw it. They were also required to make the case through diocesan structures in justification of the deployment of resources to meet the needs on the ground of these ministries. These 'agents of change', having made it into hierarchical positions of responsibility (at the diocesan and parish level), were applying their understanding of theology through the crucible of 'praxis' as tested in practical situations. As both theology and 'praxis' mutually reinforced and reciprocated their vision, the deployment of resources and ministry in their respective contexts, brought an authentic engagement of 'the evangel' with social responsibility and social action.

Sydney Anglican radical evangelical Leaders: John Reid and Allan Whitham

The new approach was perceived as compromised by conservative Sydney evangelicals at two levels. It involved co-operation between church and state which always risked compromise, and social concern diluted the purity of the gospel. But Sydney was not without those who were equal to the challenge. The leading examples of those in the minority Sydney evangelical radical tradition were Bishop John Reid and Canon Allan Victor Whitham.

John Reid began his ministry as curate at St. Matthew's Manly with the Rev Allan Begbie. After 2 years he was appointed rector of Gladesville, Sydney. He held the position for 13 years with a young family of 6 children. He subsequently became Archdeacon, Canon of St. Andrew's Cathedral, Assistant Bishop in which he served the Diocese for 21 years. The Reids were also known for their legendary hospitality.⁶² John Reid was particularly inspired by the Indian theologian/evangelist Sadu Sundar Singh (1889-1929), who identified with the poor.⁶³ Bishop Reid and his wife Alison embodied (to those who worked closely with them), not so much Richard Hooker's (1554-1600) dictum describing historic Anglicanism as committed to 'scripture, reason and tradition', but rather to 'scripture, reason and mission'. They held and lived all three in a remarkable, contemporary balance.

Allan Whitham completed Moore Theological College in 1964 and was awarded his Th.L. with 2nd class honours in 1965. He was curate at St Andrew's, Cronulla, 1965-7. He then served in new housing areas in Western Sydney. He was resident minister, St James Whalan, 1967-72, Curate in Charge, St James and St John's, Mt. Druitt, 1972-80, and its Rector, 1980-81. He became General Secretary of HMS in 1982 and served in that role until 1990⁶⁴. He was made a Canon of St Andrew's Cathedral in 1984.⁶⁵

Whitham began his time at HMS by outlining his concerns regarding the non-English speaking in Sydney in home missionary terms, within the same year, October, 1982⁶⁶. He outlined more of his radical multicultural vision in 1983⁶⁷, culminating in what is tantamount to a multi-ethnic ministry manifesto entitled, "Overseas Mission here in Sydney" published in 1984. In unequivocal terms he signalled a change of direction for HMS:

Of Australia's 15 million people, no less than 6 million are the result of post war migration ... born overseas. This is the highest proportion of any nation in the world other than Israel ... Only a little more than half of the population of our Diocese now have both parents born in Australia. Almost 50 per cent of all children enrolled in Sydney's Infants' Schools have one or both parents

⁶² Lawrence Bartlett, "One wise man," *Church Scene, a national Anglican newspaper* 1993, June 25, 8.

⁶³ As discussed in conversations with the CCM Co-Ordinator

⁶⁴ *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, (Sydney Square: Diocesan Registry, 1982), 158.

⁶⁵ *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, (Sydney Square: Diocesan Registry, 1989), 168.

⁶⁶ An analysis of the official magazine of the Home Mission Society *Care (incorporating Pulse)* from his installment over the decade reveals his vision for a Sydney Anglican multicultural vision, see , *Care incorporating Pulse* 1982, October 26., p.3

⁶⁷ See also , *Care incorporating Pulse* 1983, 14 February., p.1

born overseas ... If we **really** believe that the Gospel is for all Australians, bold new approaches to evangelism are urgently needed right here within the Diocese.

In short, we now have, as a fact of life, an “overseas-missions” situation right here in our midst.⁶⁸

Further under the heading **HMS Initiatives**, Whitham outlined some of the cutting-edge projects already funded. They included ministries to the non-English speaking:

- The Turkish Ministry, the Rev Erol Ozer, \$10,000 Chaplaincy grant.
- Maori Evangelical Fellowship, Glebe, \$12,000
- Ethnic Worker, Auburn, \$3,000
- Parish Assistant, Soldiers’ Memorial Church, Cabramatta, Irene Mok, \$7,000 including reference to a Chinese-speaking Vietnamese congregation of 60 people and a Sunday School of 50.
- Careforce, Cabramatta Staff, Frank Garforth and Theresa Tokura ‘doing extremely valuable work among Asian and other migrants and refugees’.
- A Spanish-speaking Grandmother’s Group, St Mark’s, West Wollongong with a translated sermon into Spanish by Careforce worker Mrs Dorys Hernandez ... ‘representing a massive forward step in Christian fellowship and the gaining of a national identity’.

The ultimate challenge given by the General Secretary and his concluding remarks deserve to be quoted in full:

⁶⁸ "Overseas Mission here in Sydney," *ibid.* 1984, March 22., p.1, 4.

A Vital Question

There are now more than 100 nationalities who are proud to call themselves Australians. This confronts us with a vital question. Do we **really** believe that the Gospel and the Anglican Church in Australia are not just for those of Anglo-Saxon origin but for everyone?

If so, are we prepared to create new ministries, new forms of outreach, new ventures in caring and sharing so that Australians of every racial and cultural background can become members of God's family and our brothers and sisters in Christ?

I am convinced, as far as HMS is concerned, that the possible answer is "yes". But this question must be seen from the perspective of the congregation and the parish.

HMS must not do, on behalf of Christ's people, what they have the privilege and responsibility of doing themselves. Rather, we see the Society as pioneering these specialized forms of ethnic outreach and sharing the lessons we learn with you, Christ's people in this Diocese, so that in the years ahead our churches may fairly represent a genuine cross-section of the surrounding population won by Christ **by** the congregation.⁶⁹ (All in bold, Whitham's own).

This was a union of community development and mission. Here theory and 'praxis' met and embraced each other borne out of the disadvantaged communities of Mt. Druitt, Whalan and Tregear who now found a home through the local Anglican church that not only welcomed them, but was prepared to meaningfully include them. Inclusivity between those on the margins and the church community was a hall-mark of Whitham's leadership of HMS between 1982 and 1990.

Another radical Sydney evangelical, the Moore College-trained Rev Alan Nichols, who from 1978 was the Executive Director of the Melbourne Anglican Mission of St. James and St. John,⁷⁰ was the speaker at the 1983 annual HMS Festival. His address was reported thus:

'There are now 700,000 children living in families solely dependent on income security payments, and therefore living below the poverty line or within 20% of it' he stated. 'This means

⁶⁹ Ibid., 4.

⁷⁰ *Yearbook of the Diocese of Melbourne*, (Cathedral Buildings, Flinders Lane: Diocesan Registry, 1995), 71.

that around 10 % of all Australians are living in poverty'. . . **Mr Nichols accused** [the church] ... **of being "complacent" about long-term poverty.**⁷¹ (Original text in bold).

It is clear from his Address, that the 'personal had become political'.⁷² Engagement with the wider community was integral to living a Christian reality. Nichols had also constructively set out the macro picture that included an explanation of the sociological, multi-factorial vicious cycle that fed urban Australian poverty.

Whitham's leadership of the HMS, as General Secretary, would see a breath of new life introduced into the Society. His was an understanding of unlocking one of the great strengths of Sydney Anglicanism - its laity. As well as wholeheartedly changing and following the carpenter of Nazareth as their Saviour, Whitham encouraged Christians to live lives of self-sacrifice in the service of Jesus as Lord. This was borne out in his own life through military service in New Guinea during WWII and his church planting initiatives in the 1970s amongst the newly developing housing estates of Whalan and Mt Druitt (1967-81).⁷³ These included high density public housing estates,

that were naively conceived as 'planned communities' incorporating recreational, retail and school facilities. Over time these became increasingly disadvantaged and stigmatised communities living in areas of low amenity and deteriorating housing stock with significant social problems including high unemployment, social service dependence and crime.⁷⁴

Many within his own congregation reflected the lower-socio-economic backgrounds of the local community.⁷⁵ Mt. Druitt is still characterized by persistent indicators of socio-economic

⁷¹ The Rev. Alan Nichols was Chairman of the Anglican Information Office, 1970-8, see also "Human development "Breaking Down" in Australia, says Festival Speaker, the Rev. Alan Nichols," *Care incorporating Pulse* 1983, 14 June, 1.

⁷² C. Hanisch, "The Personal is Political," *Feminist Revolution: Redstockings Collection* (1969).

⁷³ Mt Druitt and its satellite suburbs, e.g. Whalan, St.Clair, Bidwell.

⁷⁴ Bill Randolph and Bruce Judd, "Community renewal and large public housing estates," *Urban Policy and Research* 18, no. 1 (2000): 93-4.

⁷⁵ Mt Druitt has long been recognized by sociologists as being part of the 'working class' with indicators considered as 'cumulative disadvantage'. See J. Collins' chapter: 'The Other Sydney: Cultural and Social diversity in Sydney', showing high unemployment rates, high ethnicity indicators as well as the high populations of Indigenous. "The Other Sydney: Cultural and Social diversity in Western Sydney," in *The Other Sydney: Communities, Identities and Inequalities in Western Sydney*, ed. Jock Collins and Scott Poynting (Australia: Common Ground, 2000), 57-8. For a more detailed list of disadvantage indicators see Tony Vinson, *The great divide : poverty and wealth in Western and outer South-Western Sydney : a report / compiled by Society of St. Vincent de Paul, Parramatta and Wollongong Diocesan Councils ; [written by Tony Vinson and Paul Power]*, ed. Paul W. Power, et al. ([Wollongong, N.S.W: The Society], 1999)., "Unequal in life," *The distribution of social*

disadvantage.⁷⁶ His parishioners often had identifiable learning difficulties including reading and writing. This was characteristic of those who somehow had fallen through the cracks of the social welfare-net and the education system. He recognised the difficulty that many had when asked to read lessons in Church, or to participate in a written liturgy that needed to be read aloud. He began devising services accordingly, as well as having separate church-based evening classes teaching literacy skills for those who could attend. It was this hitherto 'unspoken' adult literacy problem that had kept such people tied to this particular class in society. This was certainly not a readily imported population of church-going Anglicans. He would also often lament the double-process of gentrification of this population, which he witnessed over his decade-long experience in the field. In once becoming regular church-goers and being welcomed into the local church community, parishioners acquired upward social mobility.⁷⁷

Typically, as human vices, one by one, would fall away or be reformed through the changing lives of the congregation, the bad old ways would change as well. The 'new creations in Christ' were not made overnight. Such an aspirational community then sought social mobility to the degree that the stigma⁷⁸ of residing in Mt Druitt (with its accompanying satellite suburbs, including Whalan, Tregear, Lethbridge Park, Bidwill, Blackett, Emerton) meant that once better employment opportunities for example became apparent, families would then move out of the neighbourhood, leaving the ongoing work of the parish to the remnant left behind. These populations were sensitized to the 'depressed' social landscape of the neighbourhood. More importantly, once such populations tasted social mobility, they were then reluctant to remain in such designated, low socio-economic areas.⁷⁹ For Allan Whitham, the church community should become the centre of the neighbourhood community.

disadvantage in Victoria and New South Wales, The Ignatius Centre for Social and Policy Research, Sydney (1999)., Mike Head, "Australia's "golden age" of prosperity ... and poverty

" World Socialist Web Site, www.wsws.org/en/articles/1999/06/econ-j12.html.

⁷⁶ See, Bob Fagan, "Industrial restructuring and the metropolitan fringe: growth and disadvantage in western Sydney," *Australian Planner* 24, no. 1 (1986): 11.

⁷⁷ Whitham (1987-90), would discuss his ministry experiences as recalled by the newly-appointed Co-Ordinator Department Cross-Cultural Ministries. This is her recollection.

⁷⁸ Kerri Carr, "Telegraph apologises to Mt Druitt students," http://web.archive.org/web/20050722070407/http://www.nswtf.org.au/edu_online/13/gdruitt.html.describes the defamation action, brought about by Mt. Druitt High School regarding the Murdoch-owned *The Telegraph* publishing the article titled, "The class we failed". The central concern in the article being the Year 12 class at Mt. Druitt High School in outer western Sydney in which no student scored a Tertiary Entrance Rank (TER) above 50 (the maximum possible mark is 100).

⁷⁹ The following are publicly explained accounts as recalled by the founding Co-Ordinator of the Department, Cross-Cultural Ministries, employed through the Anglican Home Mission Society. She was directly answerable to the General Secretary, from 1987 till his retirement in 1990.

Ideally, its members, tested and fashioned through what it would mean to grow a thriving Christian congregation amongst such 'cumulatively disadvantaged' populations, would be in a position to transform their neighbourhood.

One of Allan Whitham's first major tasks in becoming General Secretary of HMS in 1982 was to conduct an 'evaluation' of Care Force. This subsidiary of the Welfare Services umbrella of HMS was headed by Mrs Myfanwy Bosanquet, considered to be the 'grande dame' of the development of the Welfare sector in Sydney Anglicanism. One of the Diocese's 'quiet achievers', her considered contribution to HMS spanned 30 years.⁸⁰ The need for Care Force's welfare services had expanded so much that despite Parish-giving and the use of more than \$900,000 of HMS reserves, Whitham found that expenditure would exceed income by \$227,000 if all Care Force work continued. The problems continued when Care Force had to close a Drug and Alcohol Counselling Centre and axe 6 full-time and 2 part-time welfare positions. Government grants worth \$148,000 'were not able to be arranged and some former grants ceased and were not renewed.'⁸¹ This prompted the Care Force Management committee of the Welfare Division to commission the services of Mr Vaughn Bowie, an Organisation Consultant. He was a convert of the Sydney "Jesus movement" of the 1970s, a part-time Lecturer in Social Welfare at Milperra College of Advanced Education (CAE), as well as one of the founding members of Sydney "Christians in Social Work", and a member of the Scaffolding urban network.⁸² His review was completed with the 76-page report, "I was a Stranger ... " together with a 19-page supplementary report, "A Survey of Parish Caring" by his assistant Bruce Hart. Both reports and recommendations were first considered by Care Force Staff who then made recommendations to the Management Committee. It would be this latter Committee which would determine and implement

⁸⁰ She enjoyed and continued teaching English as a Second language (ESL) to migrants through the Home Tutor Scheme till her death in 1997.

⁸¹ "Financial pressures lead to Care Force evaluation," *Care incorporating Pulse* 1983, 14th February, 2.

⁸² The Christian network Scaffolding was recognized through a Sydney Anglican Synod, Resolution, 13/84 "Scaffolding". He co-authored *Green Shoots in the Concrete* regarding urban Sydney evangelism P. Kaldor, V. Bowie, and G. Farquhar-Nicol, *Green Shoots in the Concrete: Towards a More Sensitive Christian Presence in Our Cities* (Scaffolding, 1985).

Synod notes with approval, the formation of Scaffolding, a support network of Christian churches, groups and individuals in the inner metropolitan area of Sydney, commends its support services including the Christian Volunteer Scheme, regular training meetings and worship festivals, the newsletter "Intermesh" ... Resolution brought by the Rev G.R. Huard-3.10.84), *Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney*, (Sydney Square: Diocesan Registry, 1985), 252.

the prioritized recommendations. "It was time to also examine the effectiveness of Care Force's current programmes" wrote the General Secretary.⁸³

The case for a Christian Community Development Approach, Sydney Anglican Diocese

One of the most important outcomes of the evaluation was the creation in 1984 of the Community and Parish Services department under the Care Force division of HMS.⁸⁴ This would become pioneering work with the stated goal of the linking of parishes with their own communities and in turn with HMS. The linking would be done through HMS-based, Parish Community Worker consultants, the first of whom was appointed in 1985. They were to forge a reciprocal link between the local congregation and community programmes, and give the congregation responsibility for the programmes within their wider community. This approach was understood as a critical Social Science response in addressing disadvantage, advanced initially through the secular sphere: such activism seeks to enact a 'shift in power from established political, economic and cultural elites towards oppressed and powerless people.'⁸⁵

This conceptual shift from welfare to grass-roots community development in the secular realm was being taught through the Social Work department, Sydney University, to which radical Sydney evangelicals, especially women, were attracted. The chief theoretician of this approach was Mary Lane, a member of the Social Work department from 1983.⁸⁶ Like Whitham, she had worked in Mt Druitt in the 1970s (with the Department of Health). She described her preferred model of development as:

Although a contested concept, community development is characteristically described as a 'grass-roots', enabling intervention which seeks through participatory processes to redress

⁸³ "Care Force Evaluation Completed," *Care incorporating Pulse* 1983, September 5, 4.

⁸⁴ See V. Bowie's recommendations under Section 6, Future Directions, Recommendations (ii) Specialist Services, Parish-based welfare services and (i, ii) Liaison, encourage community development groups. "'I was a stranger. . . an evaluation of "Careforce" a division of the Anglican Home Mission Society (HMS)," (Anglican Home Mission Society (HMS), 1983, September), 65-66.

⁸⁵ Healy quoting J Galper, *Social Work Practice: A Radical Approach* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1980), 61. in B Pease and J. Fook, eds., *Transforming Social Work Practice Postmodern Critical Perspectives* (St. Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1999), 119-20.

⁸⁶ "The Villawood Community Work Project: an Evaluation," (A report prepared for the NSW Department of Housing, and Fairfield Community Resource Centre, Fairfield, NSW, 1988). "Community work with immigrant groups," *Australian Social Work* 43, no. 3 (1990). "Community development and a postmodernism of resistance," in *Transforming Social Work Practice: Postmodern Critical Perspectives*, ed. B and Fook Pease, J. (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1999).

inequality and exclusion ... The work generally takes place with marginalized groups, viewed as socio-economically, culturally, or politically disadvantaged.⁸⁷

It was an approach which socially progressive Christians found congenial. For example, the English theorist, A. Dinham wrote:

Faith-based community development is a way of empowering communities to work for change. It springs from a holistic view of the community, which values and dignifies everyone. It focuses on the disadvantaged and excluded communities and groups, enabling people to develop skills and confidence, and participate actively in bringing about change.⁸⁸

The goal was now to link urban congregations back into their local 'village' communities. This is not entirely as straightforward or simplistic as it first appears. Implicit to this understanding is a commitment to the local community which is not to be dismissed as a geographic accident or merely as a parking lot. The new direction implied that the local Anglican church not only had responsibility to its congregation but also to the physical location and peoples in the surrounding neighbourhood. That is, the church was to be embedded and supported in and through the 'local'.

This ran contrary in part to the push being made at the same time by the Church Growth Movement. At the School of World Mission, Fuller Theological Seminary, D. A. McGavran advanced⁸⁹ what was to become the central dictum of the movement, 'the Homogeneous Unit principle': 'men like to become Christians without crossing racial, linguistic, or class barriers.'⁹⁰ Whilst this principle might be true in practice (that is, it works in growing the size of congregations), it favoured congregational development along 'monocultural' lines which were not always desirable in a multicultural community. The Church Growth Movement gained impetus from prominent overseas missionaries who were invited to teach at the School of World Mission including Alan Tippett, an Australian with twenty years of mission work in the Fiji Islands; Edwin Orr, an evangelist from England; Ralph Winter, missionary to Guatemala; Charles Kraft, with years of experience in Nigeria; Arthur Glasser, who

⁸⁷ M Lane and K Henry, "Community development, crime and violence: a case study," *Community Development Journal* 36, no. 3 (2001): 212; *ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*

⁸⁸ Dinham *Priceless, unmeasureable? Faith and community development in the 21st century England*, 3.

⁸⁹ *Understanding Church Growth* 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980)., *Global Church Growth* XXII, no. 1 (1995, Jan-Mar).

⁹⁰ *Understanding Church Growth* 223, 9.

served under the China Inland Mission; and C. Peter Wagner, missionary to Bolivia.⁹¹ They had previously worked with tribal communities and they contended that the Homogeneous Unit principle might well be considered transferable and applied back to first-world polyethnic populations, where they would grow congregations in size if not in variety.

Characteristics of the Anglican Parishes of Sydney's Inner West

By contrast the often beleaguered local parish churches in the inner Sydney environs would *need* to face *racial, linguistic and class barriers*, because often the high multicultural NES populations had gravitated as concentrations (or ghettos) to the inner west and could represent over 120 different language groups in one parish.⁹² The local Anglican church in such areas had implicitly operated historically along homogeneous unit lines in attracting parishioners, who were mainly English-speaking, competent at reading English at the level set by the 1978 Australian Prayer Book (AAPB). Such parishioners also understood the church culture, including the language of the hymns and of the sermon. Such an ecclesiastical inheritance was already operating on the homogeneous unit principle. This was functionally operating to exclude those who did not share that inheritance. The inner-west suburbs of Sydney were characterized as having the least nominal Anglican adherents in the Diocese, according to Uniting Church Board of Mission statistics, (1986). They included:

Belfield 23.16%, Belmore 22.70%, Earlwood 18.10%, Campsie 17.53%, Canterbury/Hurlstone Park 15.62%, Dulwich Hill 12.79%, Marrickville 12.35%, with 15% of all the Deanery's constituents ticking the *No Religion* category⁹³

So Whitham was aware that at least two areas of Sydney confronted the Anglican Church with major problems. In the new housing areas of the outer west, such as Mt Druitt, the population was unstable, challenged by mobility in search of employment, and working and lower middle classes deprived of education and qualifications and without a tradition of churchgoing. The older parishes of the inner

⁹¹ D J Vallesky, "The Church Growth Movement: An Evaluation," in *Ohio Conference* (Michigan District, Hollidaysburg, PA

Our Savior Lutheran Church: Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly, 1990).

⁹² The Marrickville Area deanery featured the highest non-English speaking populations in the Diocese, that coincided with the lowest nominal Anglican adherents see "Report of the Standing Committee, Cross-Cultural Ministries," 287.

⁹³ Cited in Section 3, Summary of Results of Research Report, (Parish and Community Worker, inner West), p.1

west, overwhelmed by a demographic non-English speaking (NES) tsunami, were becoming non-viable and were faced with the challenge to adapt or die.⁹⁴

Migrating populations are drawn to urban centres and accessible public transport systems, but those attractions are not sufficient to weld them into communities. Typically, demographic change was exacerbated by what became known as “the white-flight, white fright” syndrome which further depleted the neighbourhood of nominal Anglicans. But the presence of the church in any community normally works for its gentrification.⁹⁵ And when to the church’s mission agenda is added responsibility for social programs within the local community, the opportunity for church and neighbourhood to attain an integrated identity is increased. Credible church-based programs make the church an ‘urban-lighthouse’ (my term) in the community for the sharing of ‘faith in action’. This would also become a vehicle for the empowerment of the laity in their local communities.⁹⁶ Such community programs, it was planned, could then address appropriate needs, for example, training for employment, education, and housing, whilst demonstrably representing and proclaiming the Christian message, and addressing in part identifiable marginalized populations who had often fallen through the secular safety-net.

Parish Community Workers

To implement the Parish Community Development Programme as proposed by the 1983 Evaluation, HMS, beginning in 1985, appointed Parish Community Workers. By 1989 they had multiplied rapidly and were deployed in diverse Diocesan areas: St George/Sutherland region, Miss Marilyn Correy;⁹⁷ Wollongong, Illawarra/Shoalhaven, Miss Liz Henigan;⁹⁸ Inner West region, Ms Truda Gaunt, Mrs

⁹⁴ Resolution 23/82, *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, (Sydney Square: Diocesan Registry, 1983), 237. allowed for the sale of church property in the deanery. See also Resolution 36/83, Synod recognizes in the Rural Deaneries of Marrickville and Petersham- a need for amalgamation of some parochial units; resolves that when surplus properties are disposed of in these areas appropriate provision be made for:

the strengthening of the word and of the sacrament in those Rural deaneries and encourages the Chapters of the Deaneries to liaise with the Inner City Committee’. *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, (Sydney Square Diocesan Registry, 1984), 238.

⁹⁵ This was a view held by Whitham, as a result of his years in ministry, Mt. Druitt and its estates.

⁹⁶ For an Evangelical community developmental account see Gordon, "The Eight Components of Christian Community Development". .

⁹⁷ Marilyn Correy was the first Parish Community Worker (PCW) appointed in Care Force, (1985) then as PCW at Manly parish (1989). "Correy has the Corso in her sights," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1989, 15 February, 2., see "What makes a Parish Community Worker?," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1985, March 25, 5. .

⁹⁸ Liz Henigan, "Knowing your Community: First step in education " *ibid.*1989, 21 November., "Local Churches jointn together to support Counselling Service," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1989, 21 November, 4.

Mersina Tonys-Soulos⁹⁹, Mr Peter Lawrence;¹⁰⁰ Campbelltown/Macarthur, Miss Kathy Eaton, Mr. Ian McClintock,¹⁰¹ Inner West, Miss Linda Livingstone¹⁰². This represented a new, young crop of trained social workers, excepting Mersina Tonys-Soulos, also a relatively new graduate who was trained in Psychology and the Social Sciences, not Social Work. The DCCM could now begin community development on a regional scale, headed by Mrs Myfanwy Bosanquet (Care Force, Director, Community and Parish Services).¹⁰³ A trained Social Worker herself, she understood the importance of centering community programmes in and through the local Anglican churches. Under the leadership of Allan Whitham, and based on the Bowie evaluation of Care Force, the strategically placed Parish Community Workers began their grass-roots work in earnest. They were supported through the hierarchy of the organization with their blessing and continued prayer.

This 'community development' ethos (during the decades of the 1980s-90s as pioneered through AHMS) attempted to decentralize community programs away from the central organization, so that responsibility would be placed back onto the parish. The aim was that ministry on and to the margins would be owned by the parish, giving the laity opportunities for new ministry initiatives. The design was to provide the churches ultimately with functioning human 'bridges' into the wider community. They would later be termed as 'gate-keepers'.¹⁰⁴ HMS was prepared to offer limited help to the Diocese through its emerging base of Parish Community Workers who as part of their brief:

- would seek the input of the 'dreams and visions'¹⁰⁵ that the local congregation wanted to see developed in their local area, if at all possible.
- research the needs within the wider community and co-ordinate resources of various departments, including the parish and for example other diocesan departments, e.g.

⁹⁹ For an HMS interview with both K. Eaton and M. Tonys-Soulos see "Two New Parish Community Workers," *ibid.* 1985, 1-2.

¹⁰⁰ See Cathy Eaton, Liz Henigan, and Peter Lawrence, "Parish Community Work-Equipping Churches for the 90's," *ibid.* 1989, 21 November, 3-6. Peter, was the brother of Steve Lawrence (Work Ventures, a community development initiative based in Malabar Anglican parish, Sydney). See also, Peter Lawrence, "Inner West: Churches with Vision reap rewards," *ibid.* 1989, 6.

¹⁰¹ Cathy Eaton, "Strategies give Churches a common future," *ibid.* 1989, 21 November 5.

¹⁰² She is quoted in K Henry and M Lane, "Once Upon a Time: Stories About Community Work," (Sydney: Local Community Services Association, 1993), 24. Also mentioned in Cathy Eaton, "Bridging the Gap between Church and Community," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1989, 21 November, 3.

¹⁰³ *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, (Sydney Sqaure: Diocesan Registry, 1985), 19.

¹⁰⁴ Bakke, *The urban Christian*.

¹⁰⁵ Reference here being to the Old Testament book of Joel 2: 28-9.

department of Evangelism, board of Education, Youth department, co-ordinate resources and programming in order to begin community outreach programmes in consultation with the parish.

- Would choose to reside in their appointed geographical areas and be part of the local churches in order to facilitate ministry at the local level.¹⁰⁶

Pioneers of the Community Development Model

The model in part had already been pioneered through what had been called WorkVentures, under the trained eye of Steve Lawrence (1952-2012), based at Malabar, Anglican church. Religious historian, S. Piggin writes of him:

He studied Social Work at the University of NSW ... and then joined St Mark's Anglican Church in Malabar, which combined social radicalism with Charismatic spirituality, and which, influenced by the Fisherfolk, created a Parish community ... [He also worked amongst the Indigenous community, based in the parish.] In 1979 he established an employment training scheme called WorkVentures. By 2008 it was employing 200 people with a turnover of \$16m. It spawned JobFutures, an \$80m operation. By this time, he was something of a celebrity. In 2004 he was introduced to John Howard and Bill Gates, met Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations, and Ernst and Young made him their 'Social Entrepreneur of the Year'. His was a vision of what the Kingdom of God should look like in Australia. It would leave no room for poverty or disadvantage. He cited with approval the ambiguous Quaker saying, 'Let your life speak'. It means not only to live a life of high purpose, but to let your life tell you what it wants to do with you.¹⁰⁷

The marrying of the religious focus and the secular empowering became evident when HMS in 1987 brought the Rev. Dr. John Perkins and his wife Vera Mae¹⁰⁸ from Voice of Calvary Ministries,

¹⁰⁶ Careforce Evaluation consultant, Vaughn Bowie, in his "I was a stranger. . .", "I was a Stranger ... " Report. As one of the prioritized recommendations cited this incarnational signature measure to be lacking in Care Force's hitherto provision of local HMS Welfare services. This was a preferable measure rather than a prescriptive one.

¹⁰⁷ S Piggin, "The Jesus Movement," (Unpublished manuscript: Macquarie University, 2014).

¹⁰⁸ *Beyond charity: The call to Christian community development, Let Justice Roll Down* (U.S.: Regal Books, 2006). For his account of Christian Community development, see also S.E. Berk, *A Time to Heal: John Perkins, Community Development and Racial Reconciliation* (Baker Book House Company, 1997); "Empowerment: The Work of John Perkins," *Transformation, an international dialogue of evangelical ethics* 6, no. 4 (1989). As an evangelical, John Perkins considered that the gospel of Jesus Christ addressed spiritual as well as physical needs, that the answer to racism would be reconciliation that not only addressed spiritual, but also physical disadvantage. See also Marsh (2005), p.168-9. He also became a highly recognized force between the evangelical gospel and social responsibility.

Mendenhall, Mississippi to Sydney. Perkins, whilst ministering for many years in the deep south of the U.S.A., pioneered his Christian community development model whilst taking part in the American Civil Rights Movement, influenced by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. He was one of the original signatories to the 1973 *Chicago Declaration of Evangelical Social Concern*:

As evangelical Christians committed to the Lord Jesus Christ and the full authority of the Word of God, we affirm that God lays total claim upon the lives of his people ... Although the Lord calls us to defend the social and economic rights of the poor and oppressed, we have mostly remained silent. We deplore the historic involvement of the church in America with racism and the conspicuous responsibility of the evangelical community for perpetuating the personal attitudes and institutional structures that have divided the body of Christ along color lines. Further, we have failed to condemn the exploitation of racism at home and abroad by our economic system.¹⁰⁹

Perkins became active with the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization (LCWE), including their *Consultation on the relationship between Evangelism and Social responsibility* (1982), and *The Manila manifesto: an elaboration of the Lausanne Covenant 15 Years Later* (1989). One of the pioneers of the community development field, he addressed series of rallies in Sydney including the 1987 annual HMS Festival¹¹⁰ and became a mentor to Sydney personnel interested in community development as well as Sydney's Indigenous leadership. He was another who helped Sydney Anglicans to see their social responsibility. He explains the tension between evangelical Christian faith and social responsibility in his own inimitable American 'Southern' way:

That we should have to define the connection between the mission of the church and human rights shows how far we have departed from our understanding of church.

... I returned to Mississippi in 1960, right in the middle of the civil rights movement. And I saw, as I had known in my guts before, the total irrelevancy of the church to the issue of rights or even basic needs of the people. The white people participated in the oppression, while the black church tried to give people the emotional energy they needed to get through the oppression.

¹⁰⁹ "Chicago Declaration of Evangelical Social Concern," <http://www.evangelicalsforsocialaction.org/about/history/chicago-declaration-of-evangelical-social-concern/>.

¹¹⁰ He addressed a series of rallies in Sydney for the Home Mission Society, "Dr. John Perkins: a fresh vision," *Care incorporating PULSE* 1987, 17 June, 1, 4.

To me the connection of the church's mission in the world and human rights is basic; it is part of our definition as people of God. A separation of church and rights is like the separation of faith and works, words and deeds, theology and sociology, theory and practice. There is no biblical basis for these separations. Jesus said "I am the light of the world" then turned around and healed the blind. He said, "I am the resurrection and the life," then turned around and raised Lazarus; and he himself arose to empower us to live the same kind of life, where words and deeds, technology and sociology, faith and works, flow out of our lives.¹¹¹

For the Sydney evangelical community this represented a paradigm shift, where the congregation would be prepared to meet the wider community 'at their point of need'. Local ministry would be located in the context. This included becoming aware of the social, demographic, geographical, historical factors that constituted the parish. This was an attempt to return the church to a positive urban focus within the wider community.

The emergence of what can be described as social justice paradigm-shifts created a willingness among those brave enough to try for parish experimentation. This also represented an evolution of thought in Sydney ministry circles that questioned the role of the church in Sydney society at the coal-face. The consequence was the re-configuring of an emerging Sydney Anglican identity forged through the congregation's point of engagement with the wider community. It was a bottom-up approach. It was also an attempt to forge an authentic Sydney evangelical presence at the local level of the urban church.

Under Whitham parish experimentation flowered with community development programs albeit run initially in conjunction with HMS. Programs were to be subsequently funded by the Parishes, where able. If unable, they were to approach HMS through its Parish grants system. This proved to be fundamentally important. The Society was an independent body, with the status of 'charitable organization' within the Diocese. HMS had their own respective internal committee that assessed annual Parish funding applications so as to fund Parish grants. Crucial to the reciprocal process, was that once again links were open to the parishes and their respective local ministry programs funded through HMS.

The principles of the secular community development model could also be applied to the indigenous. The urgency and need of grass-roots community development was noted by Charles Perkins (Australian Aboriginal Activist), describing what he had learned during the heady days of the 1960s:

¹¹¹ John Perkins, "What it means to be the Church," *International Review of Mission* 66, no. 263 (1977).

Many thousands of Aborigines were and still are condemned to live out useless lives on church missions and government reserves. Little effort is being made to equip them via education and occupational skills for the modern world. In fact, education is the very last thing some responsible authorities wish to give to the Aboriginal people ... The time is fast drawing near when hatreds and frustrations will become too powerful a stimulant to resist - anything then may happen. What is needed now is material changes ... better housing conditions, education, decent employment and stable income. These are the things we need - not sympathy or best wishes. Couple the material needs with a restoration of pride in race and the Abl. 'problem' will fast become a thing of the past.¹¹²

The traditional Sydney Anglican approach to evangelism

By way of contrast to the community development paradigm, the inner-city Marrickville Deanery congregations participated in what was called **Come Alive**. This was part of 3 evening evangelistic rallies within the inner west, based in the Ashfield Town Hall with the longstanding itinerant Diocesan evangelist, Canon John Chapman as the main speaker (during the same year of the Parish Community Worker's research). The consequences of this urban crusade were witnessed first-hand by the present writer. The music for the youth rally was provided by the Community Worker's own home-grown band, *No Exit*, with the present writer fronting the band as lead singer. Yet when the youth who had signed pledges at the crusade were contacted subsequently, the local churches found communicating with them almost impossible. Enabling 'unchurched' youth to become regular attendees of a mainstream congregation was quite beyond the capability of most ministers. The youth culture as a multi-dimensional entity had superseded established church structures and needed a different skill-set to be reached.¹¹³ Trusted, ongoing inter-personal, one-to-one contact would become the basis for cross-cultural communication where traditional family structures for many urban youth no longer existed.

R. Bakke assesses the reality of the church's task in a post-modern world:

Massive door-to-door campaigns can never overcome the communication dynamics or barriers in the city in ways that will enable us to reach the masses. If our urban social analysis is correct, most of the city will not be reached without many gifted and empowered lay-folk weaving the

¹¹² Peter Read, *Charles Perkins: a biography* (Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin Books, 2001), 84.

¹¹³ The Parish Community Worker recalls the Area Dean's disappointment at the lack of fruit from the evangelistic crusade (1986) despite the heroic efforts from the congregations in inviting 'seekers'. It appeared that when the youth were contacted, the process of becoming part of a larger congregation was too great.

gospel into the fabric of their lives, delivering it personally to places and persons of greatest need.¹¹⁴



The Marrickville Deanery Research Project, 1986

The impact of the community development shift in focus through Care Force would become evident at the parish/deanery level when the parishes of the Marrickville Area Deanery, represented through their Area Dean, the Rev John Woo asked HMS in 1986 to release the Parish Community Worker, M. Tonys-Soulos, to undertake a Deanery/Parish evaluation of developing pathways for Cross-Cultural Ministry, i.e. to those of Non-English speaking backgrounds¹¹⁵. Recommendations were to be made

¹¹⁴ "The challenge of World Urbanization to Mission Thinking and Strategy," 15.

¹¹⁵ The particular area of concern and deployment in the Inner West region, for this Parish Community Worker of (Greek) NESB was summed up in the Care interview upon her commencement: '... she hopes to involve congregations in ethnic outreach, as part of their witness as Christians in the wider community.' "Two New Parish Community Workers," 2.

regarding possible future directions in ministry at the Parish/Deanery level.¹¹⁶ The churches would fund the 6 months evaluation for 2 days /week out of the Marrickville Deanery Committee (MADCOM) Ordinance provision whilst Care Force, HMS funded the other 4 days. As part of the research process, the reviewer was to be an active member of each congregations' activities. This was integral to understanding not only the congregations of the Deanery, but also their local communities. After researching for a month in each parish, the findings were discussed by the researcher with each Parish Council of the Deanery. The final report and recommendations for each parish were then assembled and a combined report and recommendations were finally made to the MADCOM and presiding Bishop J.R. Reid.

The churches and clerical personnel of the Marrickville Deanery were (in alphabetical order):

Belfield; St Paul, the Rev J. Wyndham, MTC, ThL, 1960, CIC, Belfield 1984-87.¹¹⁷

Belmore with McCallum's Hill & Clemton Park, the Rev G. Lincoln, rector 1986-90. MTC & Th. Dip 1981, the Rev G. Mulquiney MTC & B.Th. 1985, Curate. Parish Sisters: J. Myles, Deaconess House, Syd Dip 1971, South Canterbury with Clemton Park, 1983-85, Belmore, 1986-89, Assistant Minister, 1989 and J. Stoneman, Th. L, (2nd Class Hons) & Deaconess House, Dip (Hons) 1983, Belmore, 1983-89, Assistant Minister 1989.¹¹⁸

Campsie; St John the Evangelist, John Woo, Ridley College, Melbourne, 1963, 1970 CMS, MSA 1968-71, Diocese Melbourne 1972-77, rector St. Johns, Campsie 1983-96, (Area Dean 1986).¹¹⁹

Canterbury-Hurlstone Park; St Paul, the Rev D. Egan, St Francis College, Brisbane, ThL and deaconed 1960, Curate St John the Baptist Wellington, 1960-63; Dubbo, 1963-5, rector Cunnoek, 1965-9; Trundle with Tottenham Diocese Bath, 1969-79, rector Canterbury-Hurlstone Park, 1979-95.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ This was in response to a Resolution-Review of Church Resources (44/84), (by Rev. T.K. Dein-10.10.84) assented to by the 1984 Sydney Synod in which "Synod further calls on parishes to prayerfully consider rationalization within and between parishes in developed areas of the Diocese, so that human and material resources may be re-deployed in areas of the Diocese where growth and development of ministry is required *Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney*, 257. This resolution had the added consequence that if property were to be sold, the proceeds would be returned back to the Diocese, if no ministry were to be undertaken and funded with the proceeds.

¹¹⁷ "Remarks in Sydney, Australia November 21 1996," ed. Office of the Federal Register (USA: National Archives and Records Administration,), 2138-41.

¹¹⁸ *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, (Sydney Square: Diocesan Registry, 1991).

¹¹⁹ "Remarks in Sydney, Australia November 21 1996."

¹²⁰ Ibid.

Dulwich Hill; Holy Trinity, the Rev A. Griffiths, ThL 1961; Dip R.E 1964; Deaconed 1961, Priested 1962, Bishop of Gippsland; Curate, Wonthaggi, 1961-63 (Diocese of Gippsland); Curate, St Barnabas Punchbowl, 1964-5; Rector Holy Trinity, Erskineville, 1965-8; L.T. Greenacre 1975-77; Rector St. Barnabas, Punchbowl, 1968-79; with Greenacre 1979-81, Rector Dulwich Hill, 1981-89.¹²¹

Earlwood; St. George, the Rev D. West, M.T.C. ThL(Hons) 1980; MTC, Dip A. Hons (1982), deaconed 1981, priested 1982; Curate St Phillips, Caringbah, 1982-85; A.R. 1985, Rector St. George's Earlwood 1985-94.¹²²

Marrickville; St Clement, the Rev H. Barnett M.T.C. 1983; Deaconed 1984, Priested, , 1985, Curate, Holy Trinity Panania, 1984-6, rector St Clements, Marrickville 1986-92, Parish Sister: Mrs M. Gibbs¹²³.

The job description of the Parish Community Worker charged with this research was to:

- i) act as a Consultant to determine specific strategies for Cross-Cultural Ministry and Evangelism.
- ii) train lay people
- iii) analyze existing data and the needs of the 'Ethnic community'.
- iv) recommend what, if any, additional Staff is required to meet the projected and suggested needs.

The researcher/trainer/consultant would be engaged by the Deanery Committee for 2 days /week for the 6-month period. The first six months to be divided between the six parishes and then the second six months to be spent in a review and training role in the parishes. (MADCOM Minutes, 6/02/86).

In the event, the combined role took 11 months to complete.¹²⁴

The Broad Aims of the research proposal were:

1. The sensitization of the laity as to the need of crossing cultures with the gospel, including strategizing creative avenues for ministry.

¹²¹ *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, (Sydney Square Diocesan Registry, 1995).

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.; *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, (Sydney Square: Diocesan Registry 1987).

¹²⁴ Mersina Soulos, "Marrickville Area Deanery Research Report " (Millewa House, Brunswick Pde, Ashfield: Care Force, Home Mission Society (HMS), 1986). Part A, Introduction

2. Dispelling myths and assumptions of migrant people, their culture, religious practices, work immigration policies and how they see us from their 'the Other's' world view.
3. Address prejudices and fears, attitudes that could effectively block ministry in their local neighbourhoods.
4. Suggesting possible avenues for cross-cultural ministry given:
 - a. the resources within the parish congregation,
 - b. using any of the resources to meet a need.

This responsibility was implemented through the consultation with each Parish Council/Clergy as to the short/medium/long term plans of the church based on the outcome of each parish's report.

5. Encouragement of lay-people to minister within their neighbourhoods. This would be done through the funding of long-term programmes and orientation.

The Parish Community Worker in her role as consultant worked through various structures at the local church level e.g. Home Fellowship groups, Mothers' Union, Guild, Sunday Services and Congregations (time away together) referred to as "house-parties".

Outcomes

A total of 288 people from 4 congregations responded to a Questionnaire on Cross-Cultural Ministry, while 235 responded to the Parish Profile Questionnaire. This was to ascertain not only each congregation's profile, but also their response to the wider secular community. Information from NESB language background students from the local schools was obtained as well as trends comments from Real Estate Agents as to which language/people groups were "moving in". The already established ethno-specific community/social workers were also to be consulted in order to ascertain the specific needs of the migrant/refugee communities as well as any emerging trends, such as new minority groups settling into the neighbourhood.

The congregations of the deanery were predominantly of English-speaking backgrounds (83.3%), with a smattering of Sri Lankan, New Zealand, Mauritian, Chinese, Filipino, Egyptian backgrounds (16.6%). This did not reflect the large NESB communities in their midst.

The Language issue

In the Marrickville Municipality Demographic Profile (September, 1985) 28% of the overseas born population claimed not to be proficient in English, while 11.9% of the equivalent Sydney Regional population made the same claim. The proportion of overseas born persons who did not speak English at all was more than double that of the Sydney regional average.

Only three Sydney Local Government Areas (LGA) had over 2,000 overseas residents who had lived in Australia less than five years and who described themselves as not being proficient in English – two of which were Canterbury and Marrickville. Recent arrivals from Vietnam were the most disadvantaged in not having proficiency in English in the Sydney region. Their language difficulties would have been further compounded by not having a long-standing resident Vietnamese community to provide support and assistance. Of Vietnamese people living in Marrickville, 94.5% had arrived in the previous five years and 53.9% rated themselves as not being proficient in English. Even after 22 years' residence in this LGA some 14% of males and 21% of females described themselves as not being competent in English. In all categories women more than men, resident for the same period, claimed not to be proficient in English. The research revealed that the overseas born women who are not proficient in English are more disadvantaged than the men, given the male exposure through employment opportunities. For the Canterbury LGA, Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 1981 Census showed 20.6% were unable to speak English well if at all. The average for the Sydney Statistical Division was 11.9%.

John Woo, through the Wage Pause /Community Employment Program (CEP) (funded through the Hawke Labor Government), established English as a second language (ESL) classes in the parish (1984-6). The Parish Community Worker, Inner West, M. Soulos, was familiar with the initiative and wrote and submitted the funding submissions. However, now observing the functioning of the program in train as consultant, she observed that no other link with the congregation existed. The government-funded programme operated as a secular English class on church property. In reviewing this model a recommendation was made by the Parish Community Worker through the formal parish/deanery 1986 research: that an ESL Deanery (church-funded) program be created with tutors from each congregation, taking part in the group work with the students. It was to be co-ordinated through an employed teacher for the classes, who would also structure the curriculum according to the students' needs. Additional child-care was to be provided by vetted volunteers from the congregation and in proximity to the class room.

This proposal was championed by Bishop Reid as one of the top priorities of the recommendations from the research. The first such ESL Deanery program was then pioneered in the Sydney Diocese. The

ministry was initiated and founded by Nancy Lewis, who in her former CMS missionary days in Tanzania, had taught ESL in the schools. She also recruited other former CMS missionaries to grow the work, (including Dr Juliet Backhouse, formerly of Mvumi hospital Tanzania, and Jeanette Boyd, former Principal, Deputy Vice Principal St. Andrew's Hall, Melbourne).¹²⁵ One of the remarkable outcomes of this program was that it opened up ministry for the predominantly female laity in the participating parishes and enduring bridges of friendship were built into the non-English speaking communities.

First cross-cultural community development workshops

The first of the cross-cultural sensitization or intercultural communication programs (workshops) were being written and trialled in parishes by the Consultant/Parish Community Worker. There was an underlying element of fear, distrust, and uncertainty in approaching certain communities from within the congregations. Seeking seclusion from such change through their respective churches, some formed what could be described as a 'fortress mentality'. The context needed addressing given that such parishes were now involved in a 'home missionary' context. The struggling financial nature of the congregations also meant that much of the NES ministry initiatives could not be paid without diocesan assistance.

Church planting subsequently began with the following up of students in their home languages amongst the Chinese populations. In Marrickville Parish, for example, this was done through the Rev Irene Mok, the Rev Joseph Thiem and Mrs Yuke Lan Woo, wife of the Area Dean, Campsie parish) and was funded through HMS parish grants. Cross-Cultural emphasis for youth ministry was now being made a priority across the deanery. The Parish Community Worker (herself an evangelical Protestant convert from the Greek Orthodox faith) who lived in the Inner West had the privilege of ministering with and to the church community intensively over the 11-month period. She began to see what could be called 'the green shoots through the concrete'¹²⁶ in the Deanery and held the hand of the congregations as indeed decisions and great challenges were ahead. A mutual trust and admiration developed among the Sydney Anglicans (clergy/lay) in the Inner West as they became acquainted with the lay Community Worker's 'can-do' vision and research for the ongoing transformation. The world had come to Sydney, and now Sydney needed to minister to the world in her midst. Finally, nothing could have been implemented without the guidance, skill and imprimatur of the visionary Bishop, J. R.

¹²⁵ The ESL Deanery Programme is featured on the video, *Today's Anglicans*, Tonys-Soulos and Cole, "Today's Anglicans: New Faces and Places."

¹²⁶ Sharing aspects of Sydney's urban mission from a book of the same name, that also included V. Bowie and the urban inner city network, Scaffolding. Kaldor, Bowie, and Farquhar-Nicol, *Green Shoots in the Concrete: Towards a More Sensitive Christian Presence in Our Cities*.

Reid, who skilfully led consultative meetings with the churches of the Deanery and MADCOM (overcoming considerable roadblocks) in order to implement recommendations and find funding from the structures of the Diocese to implement the now prioritized Marrickville Deanery initiatives.

Secular developments

Frustratingly, governments were as equivocal as the church in their support for multiculturalism. Just as the Deanery churches were beginning to embrace their multicultural neighbourhoods and community programmes, federal policy under the Hawke Labor Government (1983-1991) changed. The 1986 Budget involved the drastic cutting of funding for community language programmes. Vasiliki Nihlas, consultant to government agencies (multicultural, access and equity policies) and former Senior Adviser, Ethnic Affairs, NSW Ministry of Education, related the new direction:

The 1986 budget effectively wiped out everything that looked like it pertained to ethnic affairs or to multiculturalism. The greatest mistake that budget made was trying to wipe out English as a second language provision, especially for children. It was just seen as total and complete anathema ... In 1986 one of the greatest mistakes of the Labor Government was to try to eliminate funding for English as a second language. Because in Australia, despite the fact that you can be totally anti-multiculturalism, you are still going to say: "Well, those buggers ought to be learning English", or: "They should have learnt it before they came out here"; "Why the heck don't they learn English once they're here?" So even for the most negative of reasons, one would have thought that at least a bottom line would be the importance of the learning of English, and the governmental footing of that bill.¹²⁷

Academic sociologist, Andrew Jakubowicz also made a negative assessment of the impact of the 1986 federal Budget:

The Multicultural Education Program (AMEP) was abolished at a saving of \$5.1 million. English as a Second Language (ESL) programs were slashed by 45% from an expenditure of \$62 million to \$34 million. There was a 5% cut to the Ethnic Schools Program, a 4% cut to funding for the Adult Migrant Education Program, an 8% cut to the National Advisory and Co-ordinating Committee for Multicultural Education, and the threat to close offices of the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, particularly in regional areas like Newcastle and Wollongong,

¹²⁷ Vasiliki Nihlas, "THE 1986 Budget Row," Making Multicultural Australia

A Multicultural Research Library, <http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/library/media/Audio/id/412.The-1986-Budget-Row>.

both with high migrant and ethnic populations ... The outrage was focused on cuts to ESL programs – without adequate English language skills ethnic groups and immigrants had absolutely no chance of achieving the sort of participation in Australian society ... That budget of 1986 marks a turning point in the development of multiculturalism in Australia, for it revealed that when pushed to the wall, the public service viewed the interests of ethnic communities as dispensable, and politicians were not aware enough or interested enough in the implications to see the dangers.¹²⁸ .

Closer to home, there was a reason for the termination of government funding of the Community Employment Program (CEP), a major means of getting ethnic unemployed youth into the work force, was cut by \$90m.¹²⁹

For some of the churches, the paradigm shift from the 'local to the global' in their midst had been made. This was not straightforward territory to navigate. The world had arrived and many understood themselves to be disorientated, not the least the newcomers. Too much change, at too fast a pace. This was the globalization of people-movements. The mission however, remained ever the same. The context, migration of populations, contemporary culture had changed, from the 'White Australia' policy to a somewhat now chastened Multiculturalism. Managing Australia's diversity would become the 'holy grail'. Certain parishes had made the shift in priority towards the NES in what needs to be understood through the minority evangelical radical tradition, with readily functioning parish/deanery models of ministry now being attempted. The myth of total assimilation for Australia's social policies had been tried and failed. Both sides of the cultural divide (ES/NES) would be inexorably changed by the reality that they were both now occupying the same community space.

¹²⁸ Andrew Jakubowicz, "Commentary on : the 1986 Budget row," Making Multicultural Australia

a Multicultural History of Australia, <http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/library/media/Timeline-Commentary/id/104.The-1986-Budget-row,Commentary on the 1986 Budget Row>

¹²⁹ W.G Wojak and P Shergold, "Multiculturalism Betrayed," *Ethnic Spotlight* 1986.

Chapter 2

The makings of the department - the influences, sacred and secular

It had become abundantly clear to the Parish Community Worker (PCW) for the Inner West that the Sydney Diocese, in particular the Marrickville Deanery, would need its own research, based on what would be an incarnational paradigm of Christian community development, in order to take the journey into multicultural change along with its people. The clergy/congregations would need to trust the new direction. The researcher/practitioner was ultimately accepted by the congregations as part of their own. They had allowed her to come into their 'holy of holies'. They shared their hopes, fears and dreams with her, given the ongoing nature of the research. Despite the policies of Multiculturalism being in full-swing through the Hawke government, funding changes to ESL learning through the 1986 Budget shortfall disadvantaged the NESB. The vision of the research, if implemented, recognized local churches in and through local communities could be part of the solution, if need be through the funding of 'experimental' ministries.

Whilst the Language issue became a recognized and urgent priority for the Bishop (John Reid) and subsequently the parishes of the Marrickville Deanery, the prioritization of ministry to NES 'people-groups' was a concurrent priority in terms of the final recommendations of the PCW's 1986 Marrickville Deanery report. The report had recognized that high 'ethnic' concentrations (enclaves) *did* exist.¹ 'Little Italy' was in the surrounds of Leichhardt, Marrickville was known as 'Little Athens', 'Little

¹ See 1986 Report, Section: RESULTS, a. THE DEANERY'S ETHNIC MAKEUP, this included overseas-born ranked in terms of percentage using Australian Bureau of Statistics, (ABS), using post-code areas, totaling 111,297 persons making up the surveyed population. This made the Marrickville Local Government Area (LGA), (that largely overlapped the Deanery area but not completely, because of differing geographical boundaries) the second most densely populated (LGA) in Sydney. Overseas-born (does *not* include children who may have been born in Australia) were as follows:

1) Greek, 24.32% additionally including Greek Cypriot 3.12 %, totaling 27.33%. 2) from Lebanon, 14.5%, including the higher Islamic component being identified in Belmore 3.74%, Campsie 3.60%, Canterbury 2.47%, Dulwich Hill 5.40%, Marrickville 6.48%,

3) UK and Ireland 9.48%, 4) Italy 8.84% 5) Yugoslavia 4.08%, 6) Egypt 3.13%, 7) New Zealand 2.74%.

This is in opposition to the thesis put forward by J. Swann, (2009, p.7), quoting Forrest and Johnson (2001, p.57), "Sydney has yet to see the development of substantial, entrenched ethnic 'enclaves' ". Granted various NES minority populations existed in the above figures, however, substantial populations (even with a component of mobility), such as the large Greek presence in terms of the above-mentioned research was indeed difficult to miss forming almost a third of the Deanery's population! This tendency then becomes a matter of perspective.

Portugal' was known in Stanmore, and Turkish migrants, arriving in the 1970s, settled in Auburn², were centred around the Gallipoli mosque.³ Alongside continuing problems associated with 'The Language Issue', the report's recommendations also outlined the need for the targeting of 'ethno-specific' people-groups a. Greek-speaking ministry, b. Arabic-speaking ministry and c. missions to people groups from the former Yugoslavia as well as newly arrived migrants and refugees into urban neighbourhoods, and d. multicultural youth ministry, given the statistics of students of NES from public and private schools.⁴ Mapping local recent urban population movements were fed through discussions with real-estate agents regarding acquisition of rental accommodation giving more up-to-date trends of people-groups coming into the Deanery. The research from the outset was based on an inclusive structural 'ethos', grass-roots approach (i.e. parish, deanery-wide ministries, that included ESL ministry, as well as targeted ethno-specific people groups). Prioritization from a veritable smorgasbord of ministry recommendations, from the Marrickville Deanery Report, now awaited.

Which way forward?

Secular English as a Second language (ESL) classes, although previously funded through the Community Employment Programme (CEP) government funding, had been running for 2 years (1984-6) through the community-minded, Anglican parish of St. John's Campsie, especially through the oversight of the Rector and Area Dean, John Woo.⁵ The significant difference in ministry terms recognized a more integral role for the congregational laity. The new proposed model, as modified from the research regarding the Campsie class, would now require trained ESL helpers (from the respective congregations) who would sit in with the students during class and be integral to working

Given the NES concentration in the Deanery ethno-specific groups targeted as part of home mission could be sustained across parish boundaries, let alone Deanery boundaries.

² For a sociological history of Turkish migration see B. Senay, PhD thesis "The Turkish state and its cultural attachés : long-distance Kemalism in Australia" (Macquarie University, Faculty of Arts, 2010)., also "Trans-Kemalism: the politics of the Turkish state in the diaspora," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 35, no. 9 (2011).

³ For the historical development of the formation of Sydney's 'ethnic enclaves' see S Fitzgerald and G Wotherspoon, eds., *Minorities, Cultural Diversity in Sydney* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales Press, 1995)., especially I.H. Burnley's chapter, The Geography of Ethnic Communities.

⁴ See Marrickville Area Deanery Report, Section 8, Specific Recommendations. However, it was argued that whilst youth ministry may attract NESB youth, language-specific missions were still needed for the overseas born (parents), classified as first generation Australians, their offspring born in Australia, second generation.

⁵ The ministry of John and Yuke Lan Woo was indeed significant. He was probably the first Area Dean of non-English speaking background in the Diocese. He had an inclusive approach to ministry and led by example a noticeably multicultural congregation. He had a warm ability to draw people together and was at ease with dissimilar, heterogeneous migrant populations. During the course of the Deanery research he explained that he had been ostracised by his father and family because of his conversion.

with the students during class and even after class if necessary. Hence one of the recommendations of the 1986 Report featuring a Deanery-wide approach, attempted to bring ESL as a ministry into every parish of this Deanery. One specific recommendation as outlined in the 1986 Report was:

LANGUAGE

1. Given the poor language ability of migrant residents (see Section on Language) it is recommended that a Deanery E.S.L. teacher be funded by Marrickville Area Deanery Committee (MADCOM) to co-ordinate language teaching on a rotating basis, within the churches of the Deanery. The teacher having a deliberate emphasis in Cross-Cultural Ministry being Christian and working with clergy/laity in facilitating integration of the migrant into church life as well as teaching English.⁶

The author of the Report recognized that demand would far out strip supply, especially given the de-funding of secular multicultural policies. Bishop John Reid, always decisive, single-handedly prioritized the Deanery-wide initiative of the ESL ministry, without further ado. The PCW, being part of the negotiations, witnessed how inspired hierarchical leadership could affect action. The quandary for the committee (excluding the Bishop), of prioritizing a block of funding for at least the next 5 years, was now overcome by the Bishop's decisive action.

By contrast, MADCOM representatives were showing themselves to be indecisive. Their inability to agree with one another produced internal indecision and flip-flopping from meeting to meeting.⁷ After one such session, the author of the research, witnessing the indecision amongst the clergy, became despondent whilst "Rome" was burning. After the meeting had concluded, the researcher hastened to leave (making sure that the men didn't see her emotional response). In the lobby of St. Andrew's House, the diocesan headquarters, she was approached by a small figure, who witnessed her distress. She asked what was wrong and didn't introduce herself. The answer was given: "the clergy can't make up their minds. They're being indecisive about the 9 months' worth of my research I've completed and the way forward for ministry". She responded with a gentle yet beaming question: "have you done your best?" A nod was the reply between sobs. "Then remember it is God you are serving and not men ... Whatever you do, you do it for the Lord. He will find a way."

⁶ See Section: Recommendations, Marrickville Deanery Report (1986), authored: M. Soulos

⁷ Facing such uncharted waters was an ongoing concern. This is evident going through the MADCOM minutes, and the Marrickville Rural Deanery Chapter Minutes (1974-87). This is also further supported in C. Swann's, (2009) *The History of ESL in the Sydney Diocese, The First Decade (1988-1997)*, pp.3-4.

One was overcome by her gentleness and a quiet, steely determination. God indeed, had sent an 'angel' to comfort the researcher that day. The 'angel' only later was recognized as the late Deaconess Mary Andrews who had begun her ministry as a young Deaconess amongst Sydney's inner-city poor during the 1930s Depression, later as a CMS missionary in China.⁸

"Whatever you do, you do it for the Lord. He will find a way"

The Bishop supported as first priority an initiative in terms of a Deanery-wide ministry option opening a path of exchange through language and culture (cross-cultural ministry training), as originally envisaged by the PCW at the lay-level for the Deanery churches and other parishes, through the Deanery-wide ESL programme. This programme had a double-edge: not only English teaching for the sake of language learning, but it needed to train parishioners cross-culturally, given the ongoing encounter. From this humble beginning in 1988, the ESL programme has continued exponentially till the present. This ministry has been coined 'the flag-ship of cross-cultural ministry strategy in the Sydney Diocese'.⁹ J. Swann notes:

Yet it is only with the formation of Marrickville Area Deanery Committee (MADCOM) and its appointment of Nancy Lewis in 1988 to implement ESL in the Deanery that the ministry in its current form emerged.¹⁰

The research into the development and strategies for NES cross-cultural ministry initiatives (through the Marrickville Area Deanery research project-1986), was another first for the Bishopric of the South Sydney region. This also included an ongoing vision of structured intentional engagement between congregation and the wider community *not* in separation from it. C. Swann later wrote of the impact of the Research and the subsequent implemented recommendations:

The formation of MADCOM in 1984 ... primarily to 'co-ordinate, initiate and promote ministry within the Deanery as a 'cross parish support scheme' - enabled the commissioning of Mersina

⁸ For a more comprehensive history and photo regarding Deaconess Mary Andrews see Stephen Edwin Ireton Judd and Kenneth John Cable, *Sydney Anglicans : a history of the Diocese* (Sydney : Anglican Information Office 2000).; also Margaret Lamb, *Going It Alone: Mary Andrews - Missionary to China 1938-1951* (Sydney South: Aquila Press, 1995).

⁹ Swann (2009), pages 5, 11, 19.

ESL ministry today represents over 100 classes in Sydney Parishes. (ESL Training Day 22/01/15, St. Anne's Anglican Church, Ryde NSW.

¹⁰ Swann, "The History of ESL in the Sydney Diocese: The First Decade (1988-1997)," 13.

Soulos' galvanizing 1986/7 report and subsequently the appointment of Nancy Lewis to develop, co-ordinate and resource ESL ministry in the Deanery.¹¹

The research had the added advantage that the PCW was prepared to continue working with aspects of parish ministry and planning through facilitating cross-cultural ministries at the coal-face, e.g. working with the ESL Co-Ordinator in order to facilitate the changing of direction towards CCM on both deanery and parish levels. Both the former PCW (Inner West) and ESL Co-Ordinator in the initial stages, (both being Anglican lay women - the latter being a former CMS missionary to Tanzania) supported, prayed and recognized the enduring "can-do" vision implemented and carried by the laity of the Sydney Diocese¹². ESL ministry tapped into the need for the migrant/refugee to learn to read and write the English language, and it used an unapologetic Christian focus, beginning and ending with prayer and or a bible-reading.

The ESL helpers from the respective congregations recognized first-hand just how difficult learning the English language could be, whether the NES could read and write in their NES mother-tongue or not. Once again Swann from the ES perspective encapsulates the *raison d'être*:

... it helped the church keep its doors open to all Australians, implicitly combating cultural exclusivism. ESL teaching - along with strategies extending the work, such as the attempt to develop international congregations and Easy English services - answered to these imperatives in a way few other strategies could.¹³

The ministry brought distinct worlds together, literally face-to-face. The interaction served often as a life-changing and learning experience for all involved.¹⁴ For Nancy Lewis, the first Deanery appointed ESL Co-Ordinator, the added issue of recruiting and training volunteers from the parishes would be integral to the work.¹⁵ However, writing appropriate ESL Parish materials for use in the mixed-ability classes would need urgent and ongoing attention. The challenge of cross-cultural ministry, affirming

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² This extraordinary and heroic unity of vision and friendship with the CCM Co-Ordinator endured till Nancy Lewis's passing in 2007.

¹³ Swann, "The History of ESL in the Sydney Diocese: The First Decade (1988-1997)," 11.

¹⁴ ESL ministry in the Marrickville Deanery features in the HMS video, (1990 *Today's Anglicans: New Faces and Places*. See Case-study 1, 4 from Video) .

¹⁵ Jeanette Boyd part-time Lecturer at Moore College in Cross-Cultural communication (1987) contributed to the work of the PCW (Inner West) with one of the most important guiding principles: that the principles of cross-cultural communication and its ongoing interface were indeed applicable across all cultures-principles cited in C.H. Kraft and M.G. Kraft, *Christianity in culture: a study in dynamic biblical theologizing in cross cultural perspective*, 25th Anniversary ed. (Orbis Books, 1979/2005).

the cultural dignity of both student and teacher, would affect a relationship where stereotypes on both sides of the fence would be challenged. The majority culture of the English-speaking would be questioned through the immersed presence of NES minorities and vice-versa. Both majority and minority cultures' ethno-centrism would be stretched to accommodate a broader application through what is termed today 'immersion training' or 'experiential learning' in cross-cultural situations. (Cross-cultural research deals primarily with the similarities and differences between cultures, whilst intercultural-communication studies tend to focus on the processes facing an individual of one culture as they attempt entry into another culture).¹⁶

An interview of the researcher, conducted by the Director of Communications, Graeme Cole, reveals:

The MADCOM area Deanery research opened the door, for assessment of parish resources, and gifts of both laity and clergy.

... Throughout 1987 the Deanery was closely examined, data collected, interviews made. Access points for the gospel were found.

Resources of parishes – both physical and spiritual - were taken into account and profiles of the community developed; There's been workshops, forums and discussion ... As a result of Mrs

¹⁶ Dan Landis and Jacqueline H Wasilewski, "Reflections on 22 years of the International Journal of Intercultural Relations and 23 years in other areas of intercultural practice," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 23, no. 4 (1999): 536. The emerging secular discipline of Cross-cultural Psychology in the 1980s undergirded the CCM training in the parishes as conducted by the PCW (Inner West). This training included challenging perceptions of world-view and culture, with the aim of building a more inclusive 'community solidarity' at the grass roots. It stressed identifying with the outsider rather than reinforcing an internal 'fortress mentality'. See particularly the research of H.C. Triandis, *The analysis of subjective culture* (New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1972)., "Intercultural education for multicultural societies: Critical issues," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 9, no. 3 (1985)., "Theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of collectivism and individualism," in *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method and applications* ed. U. Kim, et al. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994). The scope of the emerging research and its application was evident through the following edited volumes, J.W. Berry, Y.H. Poortinga, and J. Pandey, *Handbook of Cross-cultural Psychology: Theory and method*, 2nd ed. (Allyn and Bacon, 1980/1997); *Handbook of Cross-cultural Psychology: Basic processes and human development*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Allyn and Bacon, 1980/1997); John W. Berry, Y.H. Poortinga, and J. Pandey, *Handbook of Cross-cultural Psychology: Social behavior and applications* (Allyn and Bacon, 1980/1997). Such training was trialed for clergy and laity through Sydney Anglican parishes by the PCW (Inner West), including an all-day seminar hosted by St. Andrew's Anglican Church, Sans Souci, Sydney. As part of the training 52 participants were separated into different groups, living-out various scenarios including being forced to flee, rejection through the majority group whilst being deliberately part of the minority grouping, being misunderstood through language and cultural faux-pas whilst seeking help. For a written account as a participant see Glen Williams, "Stepping into a migrant's shoes," *CARE incorporating Pulse* 1988, 24 October, p.2; *ibid*. The account of the training day with: "You never really understand a person until you consider things from his point of view ... until you climb into his skin and walk around in it." (from Harper Lee, *To Kill a Mockingbird*, chapter 3).

Soulos' work the area will soon have an English as a second language teacher as a point of contact with the local community; a bridge between church and community ...

"Sometimes religious and cultural diversity overwhelms churches. There's a feeling that it's all too much and an inability to cope. Often the gospel challenge is shelved ... We need to contextualize the gospel to work through culture to reach people for Christ," [Mrs Soulos] said.

The African continent is a prime example. It is one of the largest Anglican populations in the world comprised overwhelmingly of black people.¹⁷

Leadership with great vision had now provided a new direction in ministry. The next phase would be one of a cautious approach that allowed for the taking of risk, heralding a new era in experimenting with ministry at the parish/deanery level. Bridges between local community and parish church were now intentionally built. The era of Sydney's foray into experimental ministry through Christian community development strategies was decisively underway, accompanied by the blessings of the Bishop, the Area Dean, and John Woo as well as MADCOM, «ολοκαρδίας».¹⁸

The meeting of Area Deans from the Southern Region

Bishop John Reid was now prepared to take these developments a step further. The results of the previously-mentioned research were shared through a special session of a meeting of Area Deans invited to Bishop Reid's home, Edgecliff, Sydney, on 20 November 1986¹⁹. He had asked them to assemble in order to hear first-hand observations based on the Marrickville Area Deanery research. In anticipation of the pending implementation of the Report (for the Deanery), this gathering could now discuss whether the research had value for application in and through their own constituencies.

The following points were discussed at length, regarding various aspects of the research as it impacted congregational life: ²⁰

¹⁷ Graeme Cole, "A Cultural Passport to Urban Mission," *ibid.* 1988, 18 April.

¹⁸ Koine Greek: meaning wholeheartedly.

¹⁹ The original extant document has been condensed and is from the former Parish Community Worker (Inner West) M. Soulos files. The Deaneries for this Region included in alphabetical order: Balmain with South Sydney, Bankstown, East Sydney, Marrickville, Petersham, Randwick, St George, Sydney. Here are represented some of the highest NES parishes in Sydney. "Report of the Standing Committee, Cross-Cultural Ministries."

²⁰ The PCW and author of the discussion paper had an over 9-month intensive period working within the churches of the Marrickville deanery. Each deanery had its own distinguishing features e.g. Geography and demographic profile. The PCW had not assessed the other deaneries represented at this consultation, forming

- The churches appear to be supportive (amongst their own) yet closed communities. Very much 'unto their own'. The congregations appear to relate intimately together in terms of cliquey groups. There appears to be an unspecified or assumed time by which a regular attender will be invited by others into their church activities.
- People who are regular Anglican attenders are not representative of the wider community profile. That is, the socio-economic status is largely middle to upper class even in the older working class suburbs.
- The elderly are over-represented and the under 30's under-represented.
- Congregations do not reflect the wider community in terms of 'ethnic profile'.
- Congregations are not representative of gender balance. More women than men being regular attenders.
- The majority people attending are white Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASPs), with a sprinkling of Sri Lankans, Indians and Pacific Islanders who were also previously from Protestant backgrounds.
- Congregations are having difficulty coping with the rapidly, changing nature of their community, especially the multi-cultural aspect of the changing nature of their neighbourhoods.
- Teaching mainly conducted through clergy/lay readers (those that have a licence to preach) seems to be mainly exegetical with little application to the wider community especially regarding the present multicultural wider context of the church.
- People struggling in their faith and newcomers are often not adequately followed up as clerical resources are exhausted and the laity is not organized effectively.
- There is a lack of trained Sunday School teachers, Scripture Teachers and Youth leaders to cope with the demands of the Inner West.
- Often such congregational resources are stretched to the limit and so numerically declining congregations do not have the capacity to fund and employ additional church staff. Previously, ministry has functioned along monolingual, monocultural, similar class lines. This assumes a maintenance mode as opposed to operating within a mission reference when applied to the present/future of such ministry in fiercely culturally, pluralistic environments.

the entire South Sydney Bishopric. Area Deans could glean information from the research, and then apply methods and case-studies at their localized respective Clergy grouping.

The continuation of the discussion was recorded in *Strategies for Mission*:²¹

The gospel and 'caring' action cannot be separated.

Therefore, the needs of the wider community must be identified so that there is an entry point for outreach, using the Christian community development model.

- In order to encourage urban mission, it is important that it is encouraged from the pulpit, that is, biblically. As Rectors are the main teachers, they may need further input through mission theology, missiology.
- If church life needs to be more accessible to the migrant, then the *form* of church life may need to be re-considered but not *doctrine*.²²
- It could be argued that mission activity should not occur until church life is adequately developed. Here it is argued that mission activity is vital to dynamic church life. However, it is essential that attention is constantly paid to pastoral aspects of church life in order to support congregational participation in missionary activity.
- The main missionary activity observed in the region was "Come Alive 86"- a "one off" verbal presentation of the Gospel with the quality and quantity of follow-up being questionable - certainly not involving many lay people. An example of "hit and run" evangelism that was based on a relatively culturally homogeneous, monolingual view of community.
- There appeared to be little formal ongoing missionary outreach into the wider community tying gospel and social action/programmes together.
- Contrary to the argument that the Sydney Anglican Diocese need only reach white Anglo-Saxons, it is argued that the churches of the Inner-west need to reach the ever-increasing migrant populations.
- The construction and meaning of 'culture' e.g. featuring in migration to the first world, needed analysis, especially the alternative communities posed by the creation of 'ethnic

²¹ Continuing from the original document, Meeting of Area Deans, South Sydney Bishopric, 20/11/86. Mersina Soulos, "Pressing Problems in Parochial Life with some Creative Strategies to meet these problems- Meeting of Area Deans Southern region," (Millewa House, Ashfield: Home Mission Society, 1986, 20 November).

²² The tension over this issue at the level of Sydney Bishops, was indeed ongoing behind the scenes as there were differing of opinions regarding the form of worship being applicable to the NES at the parish level. Bishop Reid within his region had already 'tolerated' non-Prayerbook Services being held by the Anglican Chaplain to the University of NSW, the Rev Phillip D. Jensen, in his ministry to University students (1978-2002). The requisite flexibility needed for each to understand in his/her own tongue was consequently recognized: 'In a congregation of high ethnic population the form that "Anglicanism" takes may need to be extremely flexible, particularly in the early stages of development'. "Report of the Standing Committee, Cross-Cultural Ministries," 292.

ghettoes'. The same principles of communication through culture could be applied to youth culture, the elderly, and other groupings using the incarnational paradigm.

The consultation helped open discussion within deaneries that had faced changes in urbanization, people movements (ES/NES) and ever diminishing resources. The need for the creative application of Christian community development models and principles for those present during the discussion was great. It was also clear from the discussion that the clergy, whilst aware of secular community programming, did not have as part of their training the knowledge of this symbiotic, sociological/anthropological construct between church and wider community through contextualizing Christian community development programmes, authentically home grown, at the parish level.²³ The aim of such programmes ultimately was to de-centralize the programmes from the main funding body (HMS) and place responsibility/ownership back into the parish. Given the urgency and great needs recognized by the clergy in the gathering, one Area Dean from the Balmain with South Sydney Deanery, the Rev Colin Dundon,²⁴ acknowledged the PCW's presentation with the remark directed to the clergy:

You have been given the *freedom* (his emphasis) to use your skills in assessing the context. Remember, that has been a significant contribution.²⁵

The rather puzzling remark helped crystallize the value of addressing rapid social change with the working paradigms and models which could now be accessed and trialled in differing contexts. The value was represented in figurative terms as finding "Green shoots in the Concrete" or seeking "Where the river flows".²⁶

²³ It is a point of interest that the ESL classes begun in the Campsie Parish with government CEP funding were begun by Area Dean John Woo, who was trained at Ridley College, Victoria. It was his vision, being of Chinese/Malaysian background, to build an international style congregation, where no one ethnicity predominates. See Case-Study, No.1, from the (HMS) Video: *Today's Anglicans: New Faces and Places* Tonys-Soulos and Cole, "Today's Anglicans: New Faces and Places."

²⁴ He later wrote, from a uniquely Australian Anglican perspective; 'Missiology: For such a time as this' Colin Dundon, "Missiology: For such a time as this," *interMission* 5, no. 2 (1999 Spring): 4-17.

²⁵ This remark, made at the meeting of Area Deans, vexed the PCW. It was only later understood by her, that she had been *allowed* to run because 'the gate-keeper' (Bishop) had opened the door. Later his comment was interpreted through valuing the giftedness and ministry of women. Especially as seen through the lens of what was to become in Sydney Diocese, the 10-year battle for the Ordination of women. See S. Piggin's "Word Rather than Peace: The fight over the Ordination of Women in Australian Anglicanism, 1992," in *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, word and world* (Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press, 1996)., Chapter 9: 'Word Rather than Peace: The fight over the Ordination of Women in Australian Anglicanism, 1992'.

²⁶ Both texts respectively, being integral to understanding Australian missiology, via the context of Australian/Sydney urban mission in the 1980's decade. Kaldor, Bowie, and Farquhar-Nicol, *Green Shoots in the*

An earlier Cross-Cultural Ministry Seminar addressed the question: “UNDERSTANDING MIGRANTS, DO THEY HAVE TROUBLE UNDERSTANDING YOU? ... looking at models and methods that have been used in the Australian context”. NES missionaries were invited to elaborate on their ministries at the urban coal-face. The all-day seminar was organized by the same Parish Community Worker (Inner West) through HMS Careforce, at the Conference Room, Ashfield, on 22 October 1986.²⁷ In the session “The Italian Experience” Rocco (Roy) and Sue Scarcella, home missionaries in Sydney’s Liverpool/Fairfield Shire (1985-2002), had previously suggested that migrants and refugees needed to be reached in the first 5 years of their settlement to Australia, that is, when their needs were the most acute, their world view in a state of flux and when there was an openness or a greater ‘receptivity’ to what St. Paul considered ‘the latest ideas of the day’(Acts 17:21).

The other NES home missionaries represented at the seminar, giving an overview of their respective ministries, agreed with this conclusion. It represented ‘a light-bulb’ moment in the discussion: through the process of migration, the migrant/refugee in coming to Australia was now facing a very different (ES) majority culture that inevitably represented a contested locus of identity. The overwhelming nature of the transition to a new society was now described as the process of ‘acculturation’²⁸. The processes that were involved in establishing one’s internal constructs of ‘belonging’, adaptation, and identity through such a transition demanded inordinately challenging translation. Whilst the Australian Protestant churches were contending with numerical decline,²⁹ it was clear from the reflections at this seminar, that a fundamental sustaining belief in religion/faith was central to the world view of the migrant/refugee experience, described as the residual ‘belief in God factor’. This core-belief helped to construct community and ‘belonging’ in a new land even as an ‘alien’ or designated ‘outsider’ and it

Concrete: Towards a More Sensitive Christian Presence in Our Cities, P. Kaldor and S. Kaldor, *Where the River Flows: Sharing the Gospel in a Changing Australia* (Homebush West, NSW: Lancer Books, 1988).

²⁷ This was another first for the Missioners working with NES populations in the Inner West region gathered to discuss their respective ministries, as part of a Care Force inter-denominational Conference. This included Sydney Anglicans Turkish ministry, Erol Ozer, Mr. Archie Poulos, Greek Bible Fellowship, Mrs. Dorys Hernandez, Spanish-speaking fellowship Wollongong. Uniting Church, Pacific Islander congregations, represented by the Rev Mosese Latu and the Ethnic Officer (NSW Baptist Union), Mr. Cliff Perriam. The conference allowed for the practitioners/theologians to speak about their experience in ministry within the Sydney context.

²⁸ A helpful definition from the discipline of Acculturation Psychology: ‘Contact acculturation is described as: changes in cultural features of people due to contact with other cultures, such as languages spoken or clothing worn. John W Berry, Ype H Poortinga, and Janak Pandey, *Handbook of Cross-cultural Psychology: Basic processes and human development*, vol. 2 (John Berry, 1997), 155.

Berry’s model of cultural relations in plural societies (1980, 1984, 1990) describes the psychological processes of acculturation in situations of contact between different cultural groups both at the community and individual levels. (ibid, p.237).

²⁹ Hans Mol, *Religion in Australia: A Sociological Investigation* (Melbourne: Nelson, 1981)., Kaldor, *Who goes where? : who doesn't care; Build my church : trends and possibilities for Australian churches* (Adelaide: Openbook, 1999).

did it through the unifying force of community religion, through a shared belief. The majority of migrant/refugee Missioners, given their engagement with the immediate NES world, found that, for the NES migrant/refugee communities, God hadn't 'died'.³⁰ The world of the NES migrant/refugee was still fused with a religious presence which had accompanied their journey of migration and their faith accompanied them still in such uncertain times. The then-fashionable concept of the 'the death of God' by way of comparison was indeed a western, post-Christian construction. The traditional mission fields in Sydney had changed in their composition.³¹ The dominant ecclesiastical structures, continuing on their culturally 'homogeneous' and 'homogenizing' methods, had missed discerning the essentially spiritual hope of the migrant/refugee.

Few either in the parishes or in the diocesan leadership instinctively recognized this new focus on multicultural ministry, let alone the parish/deanery/regional funding required in order to tackle seriously the long-term consequences of multicultural 'home mission'. The few who did see this need are identified in this thesis as constituting the 'minority radical tradition' in Sydney Anglicanism. They had the prophetic insight to recognize the present multicultural reality for which ministry needed to be organized by design rather than by accident, and it needed to be tackled 'yesterday'. The broad land mass and continent located in the southern hemisphere, under the constellation aptly described as 'the southern cross' that guided mariners for millennia, now needed to grow into a modern nation by determinedly increasing its population further, ES and NES. This struggle for the recognition of minorities and attempts at various forms of inclusivity, even as a vicarious object of mission (for the sake of 'the evangel'), now became a critical part of the Sydney Anglican-minority radical evangelical tradition.

³⁰ The claim of Postmodernism, that 'God is dead' is reflected in advancing secularism in what the movement considers a Western, post-Christian world. The following quotation from Nietzsche *Nietzsche: The Gay Science: With a Prelude in German Rhymes and an Appendix of Songs* (Cambridge University Press, 1882/2001), 119-20. encapsulates the trend and a form of social responsibility:

Par.125 The madman

Have you not heard of that madman who lit a lantern in the bright morning hours, ran to the market-place, and cried incessantly: "I am looking for God! I am looking for God!" As many of those who did not believe in God were standing together there, he excited considerable laughter. Have you lost him, then? said one. Did he lose his way like a child? said another. Or is he hiding? Is he afraid of us? Has he gone on a voyage? or emigrated? Thus they shouted and laughed. The madman sprang into their midst and pierced them with his glances. "Where has God gone?" he cried. "I shall tell you. We have killed him - you and I. We are his murderers.

³¹ Based on the Joint Church Census (1986), in the designated Stable White Collar suburbs, Anglican attendance was the highest where 20 per thousand attend church. Whereas in the designated 'multicultural communities' the Sydney Anglican attenders being 6 per thousand. The average population of the high NES parish being 15, 000 people. Revealing "missionary frontiers on our doorsteps".Uniting Church Board of Mission NSW, "Mission on our door step: the many different contexts for mission," in *Churches Working Together for the Kingdom of God* (Sydney, NSW: Anglican Home Mission Society (HMS), 1986); *ibid*.

The 'white-fright, white flight'³² syndrome



St. Ioannis, Greek Orthodox Church, Hassall St, Parramatta. The church has since been demolished for high density development. (2016).

(Photographs author's own)



For NES newcomers their journey continued, attempting to navigate their way through Sydney's contemporary new world. For Sydney, the changing nature of the neighbourhood required urgent analysis. The new critical feature crying out for sensitive ministry was the NES component in inner-city communities, and the accompanying complex process of settlement. Other socially-aware Anglicans in the inner city were conscious of other priorities: the indigent, the indigenous, and those of working class backgrounds. They were ES rather than NES, but, like the NES, they were on the margins. They were from a different socio-economic class than typical Sydney Anglicans and their cultural perspective was too little understood. But those in the minority radical Anglican tradition had long been aware of this need. The Inner City Committee of the Anglican churches, for example, supported such initiatives as 'Scaffolding', with its publication *Intermesh*,³³ and the 'Cross-roads Aboriginal

³² The latter half of the phrase taken from H. M. Conn "The Rural/Urban Myth and World Mission," *Reformed Review* 37, no. Spring (1984): 134. describing the middle class flight from the inner cities.

³³ Noted in the 1984 Synod Resolution, 13/84, "Scaffolding":

Synod notes with approval, the formation of Scaffolding, a support network of Christian churches, groups and individuals in the inner metropolitan area of Sydney, commends its support services including the Christian

Christian Fellowship', Redfern.³⁴ Such organisations were attempting to come to grips with a rapidly changing inner-city pluralistic urban culture, accompanied by the ever-widening disparity between the rich and the poor living in the same neighbourhood. P. Donohue describes the urban landscape as:

The city is an expression of both affluence and poverty. Side by side stand opportunity and oppression. It is the seat of our world's greatest expression of culture and its greatest expression of injustice.³⁵

For many in urban Sydney these attempts at inclusivity (ES/NES) through the local church confronted what felt like impenetrable, invisibly-walled communities, not unlike an overseas mission situation, but at home. Creative strategies were needed to scale such walls one brick at a time. As a consequence, however, congregations were feeling besieged on all sides facing a continually secularizing society. It was instinctive for churches to retreat into an internal life, with an 'us and them' fortress mentality. The mission-field had traditionally been understood as overseas. In a manifestation of false triumphalism, it was just assumed by those outside the minority Anglican radical tradition that the mission at home was to an ES homogeneous community. This 'imagined community'³⁶ of dominance was reinforced through the inherited power structures of the majority Sydney culture. The Anglican church in Sydney was, of course, itself a transplanted church community with historic British roots struggling with its own ongoing post-colonial construction of identity. But the struggle had not sensitized most Anglicans to those outside the British culture who were themselves, also struggling with issues of identity. The majority Sydney church, being evangelical, had too quickly become proud of the unique Sydney-brand within the Anglican Communion. Paradoxically, at the parish level this weakened the very aspects of mission required in order to meaningfully engage with the changing NES nature of their own community. V. Bowie's Evaluation of Care Force report had already acknowledged some of the effects of NES migration by then evident in more established Sydney suburbs:

[from 1976-83] ... approximately 59,000 Indo-Chinese refugees have been accepted into Australia Since 1976 the greatest numbers of NES migrants have settled into the following [Sydney] Local Government Areas (LGA) in rank order:

Volunteer Scheme, regular training meetings and worship festivals, the newsletter "intermesh". (Resolution put by the Rev G.R. Huard-3.10.84)*Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney*, 252.

³⁴ The work of the Indigenous ministry was overseen by Bishop J. Reid (Resolution 10/81) *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 297. Aboriginal pastors the Rev Jack Braeside, the Rev Bill Bird, and Ray Minniecon worked amongst the indigenous of Sydney's inner city.

³⁵ "The Church's Role in the Urban Missions" (Reformed Theological Seminary, 2010), 23.

³⁶ B. Anderson coined the term 'imagined communities' through the conflation of ethnicity and the state reveals the compelling force of the print media in fanning nationalism. His work was influenced by the aftermath of the Vietnam War. See Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*

1. Fairfield; 2. Canterbury; 3. Marrickville; 4. Auburn; 5. Bankstown.³⁷

The Marrickville Deanery geographical boundary also took in part of the Canterbury LGA. If experimental ministry to multicultural populations were to begin, the vision needed to be based amongst such parishes. Yet only the Southern Region, with its inner urban parishes, was attempting research and implementing strategies.

Sociologist R Bakke describes the flight of the aspirant classes leaving a particular area, as a sign not only of gentrification but also a sign of *not* wanting to associate with certain emerging poorer NES migrant/refugee populations.³⁸ Bakke who coined the double-term 'white-fright, white flight', described the response in the following way:

These were my people, the ones who had the "right view" of inspired, inerrant Scriptures, the "right view" of missions – the ones who believed "greater is He that is in you than He that is in the world." They fled! ³⁹

The term 'white-fright, white flight' applies to the movement of populations out of urban centres that had been occurring in cities all over the world, supporting the 'homogeneous unit principle' (HUP) thesis for aiding church growth. According to missiologists Conn, Ortiz and Baker populations are increasing numerically with cities and their environs at the expense of the rural sector: 'In 1900 about 8 percent of the world's population lived in sizable cities. Today over 50 percent of this earth – over three billion people – lives in world-class cities'. ⁴⁰

The following warning by P. Donohue signals the attempt to address emerging urban heterogeneity:

If American churches plot their trajectory according to McGavran's Homogeneous Unit Principle (HUP), the church will miss out on the cultural multi- and multi-ethnic nature of the Gospel. Due

³⁷ "I was a stranger. . ." 21.

³⁸ R.J. Bakke, "The Battle for the Cities:

What we have learned about urban evangelization since Pattaya 1980," www.hiebertglobalcenter.org ; *A Theology as Big as the City* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1997).

³⁹ *A Theology as Big as the City*, 21-22. Cited in Donohue, "The Church's Role in the Urban Missions," 22.

⁴⁰ Harvie M Conn, Manuel Ortiz, and Susan S. Baker, *The Urban Face of Mission: Ministering the Gospel in a Diverse and Changing World*. (Phillipsburg: P & R Publishing, 2002), 33.

to the cacophony of various religions, culture, and ethnic realities in the city, it leads urbanites to a greater openness to new religious and cultural ideas.⁴¹

A criticism of the HUP is that it provides a culture and visibility of sameness.⁴² The concept is based on a momentum that gathers growth through assimilated uniformity. The principle is that uniformity is a key to church growth because “men like to become Christians without crossing racial, linguistic, or class barriers,”⁴³ Essentially, such churches rubber-stamp the familiarity of homogeneity, whilst being ‘monochrome’ in colour. The HUP is a mechanism for a voluntary association – in this case, the church – to give rise to what A. Gramsci has labelled in his loaded sociological term ‘cultural hegemony’.⁴⁴ The

⁴¹ Donohue, "The Church's Role in the Urban Missions," 24.

⁴² The HUP formed the centre-piece of what would become known as the Church Growth Movement, first published by McGavran *Understanding Church Growth* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970). Quoted from McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth* 223. However, the principle relies on the homogeneity of ‘language, geography, caste and or class’. It is more apt to consider the concept based on the ‘birds of a feather flock together’ principle, (my description). For an enduring criticism of the HUP and its application see Vallesky, "The Church Growth Movement: An Evaluation." An entire LCWE congress was convened regarding the HUP. See the *Pasadena Consultation*, "The Pasadena Consultation (Homogeneous Unit principle), Lausanne Occasional Paper No.1," Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization (LCWE), <http://www.lausanne.org/content/lop/lop-1>. For an excellent analysis that was also discussed at the Consultation see C. René Padilla, "The Unity of the Church and the Homogeneous Unit Principle," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 6, no. 1 (1982).

The following reference gives the enduring warning:

While fully appreciating [Glasser's] great concern to respect the authority and intent of the Scriptures, it must be noted that his insistence on reading the bible according to the pre-supposition of a biblical-theological hermeneutic is no safeguard against objectivism, selectivity and distortion when this 'flattening' out obscures the dynamic movement within the biblical record. (Brackets my own). Quoting W.R. Shenk (1973, 23), in H.M. Conn, "Looking for a Method: Backgrounds and Suggestions," in *Exploring Church Growth*, ed. W.R. Shenk (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 1983), 85. For a more detailed critique of some of the failures of the missionary movement see Wilbert R. Shenk, "Theology and the Missionary Task," *Missiology: An International Review* 1, no. 3 (1973).

A note of acknowledgement to Assoc. Prof. Peter Lineham, New Zealand for his referring the author to the works of W. R. Shenk.

⁴³ See McGavran, 9.

⁴⁴ Gramsci's concept of ‘cultural hegemony’ is extraordinarily significant when applied to the mechanisms that oil the wheels of the aspirant classes. In Gramsci's view, any class that wishes to dominate contemporary culture has to move beyond its own narrow ‘economic corporate’ interests, to exert intellectual and moral leadership, and therefore make alliances and compromises with a variety of forces. Gramsci had already seen this through the combined union of fascism and the Roman Catholic Church in Italy in the 1920s-30s (Duncombe 2002). Gramsci identified this union of social forces as a ‘historic bloc’. This point at the crossroads gives rise to the basis of an understood consent to a certain dominant social order, which produces and reproduces the

construction of 'cultural hegemony' cannot be ignored given the hitherto lack of historical prioritization for NES cross-cultural mission in urban Sydney at the mercy of an increasingly globalized world.

M. Jensen argues that "Anglicanism carries within its DNA an expectation that it is part of the social order and that it contributes to social cohesion".⁴⁵ The progression to a private, personal religion of piety leads to an endorsement of the status quo (favoured by the majority of Sydney Anglicans) rather than to the prophetic stance of those in the Anglican minority radical tradition: "Sydney Anglicans have, for the most part, looked for a happy collaboration with the state rather than pursued theocratic aims".⁴⁶ Conversion to a privatized faith, it is hoped, will bring about social change in the wider community on the grounds that to change the society it is first of all essential to change the individual. This is a foundational belief of the majority of conservative (non-radical) Sydney Anglicans. It fits the model of a private, pious religion that structurally does *not* need to question the inherent, continuing man-made structures that indelibly continue righteous privilege in the maintenance of the status quo.

At first sight the inter-disciplinary method of analysis favoured by the church growth theorists gives a more complete view of the inter-woven mechanisms by which most churches grow and, if followed, would enable the growth of more churches. D. McGavran writes:

Sociological/anthropological situations are exceedingly important if we are to comprehend the ability of congregations and denominations to flourish on new ground, reproduce themselves, communicate the Christian faith, and influence their nation. It is desirable, therefore, to understand the church as it advances into new areas along the lines also of these sociological/anthropological characteristics. They add a depth of comprehension which remains hidden if we employ only ecclesiastical or theological frames of reference.⁴⁷

Yet the addition of such sociological and anthropological insights on why HUP churches find it easier to grow than non-HUP churches compromise the theological foundations on which churches *should* grow, namely the inclusivity and non-homogeneity favoured by the minority radical Sydney Anglicans. Sociologist, Harvie Conn considers racism to be a motivating factor in the church's withdrawal from

hegemony of the dominant class through a nexus of institutions, hierarchical social relations and conceptions of class, as the establishment of 'cultural hegemony' by the ruling classes establishes a dominant culture to whom most others want to aspire.

⁴⁵ *Sydney Anglicanism: An Apology* (Or. USA: Wipf & Stock, 2012), 116.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 119.

⁴⁷ Donald A McGavran, *Ethnic Realities and Church* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1979), 2., for a more detailed explanation of the HUP see L. E Reed, *Preparing Missionaries for Intercultural Communication: A Bi-cultural Approach* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1985), 51-2; *ibid.*

full engagement with the modern city. The HUP, combined with the “American Middle-Class” dream, can draw lines racially. “Contemporary Evangelicalism is, of course, a white religious phenomenon between the city and suburb, and racism has encouraged it.”⁴⁸ In the US context Ortiz and Conn share [John] Perkins assessment that racism has fuelled much of the church’s departure from the multiculturalism and heterogeneity fostered by the gospel.⁴⁹

If intentional heterogeneity of societal composition is to be a feature of secular first world societies, like Australia, the warning is clear. As H. Conn prophetically remarks:

The Reformed Church in America has committed itself to meeting the needs of an urban world. *But it will have to break through its own homogeneity to do so.* A 1979 study of the Church's 350-year history of mission in the United States notes that over ninety-eight percent of the membership remains white, with over half continuing to reflect the denomination's Dutch origins. "Only a small fraction of our membership traces its roots to Asia, native America, Latin America, or Africa. The great American cities are relatively empty of our church signs. (Italics my own for emphasis)

Perkins in his seminal work *With Justice for all: A Strategy for Community Development*, addresses the spectre of racism, presenting it as a strong, if not the only, factor related to ‘the white fright/white flight’ response: ‘The evangelical church, with remarkable exceptions, remains the greatest stronghold of the sin of racism in America today.’⁵⁰

Conn argues that negatively-stereotyped urban neighbourhoods are built on the falsely-held belief that “social disorder ... anomie and chaos” characterize the workings of the city.⁵¹ The combining of such formidable social factors fuelled much of the exodus to American suburbia. For Australia, it was the dream of owning your own home on a quarter acre block.⁵² Conn warns of the danger of this reality:

⁴⁸ Donohue, "The Church's Role in the Urban Missions," 19. Quoting Harvie M. Conn and Manuel Ortiz, *Urban Ministry: The Kingdom, the City & The People of God* (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2001), 73.

⁴⁹ Donohue, "The Church's Role in the Urban Missions," 19.

⁵⁰ John Perkins, *With Justice for All: A Strategy for Community Development* (Ventura: Regal Books, 1982), 32.

⁵¹ "The Rural/Urban Myth and World Mission," 127.

⁵² Australia has one of the highest rates (85-90%) of private home ownership in the world. Francis G Castles, "The institutional design of the Australian Welfare State," *International Social Security Review* 50, no. 2 (1997): 34.

The “American dream” is a middle-class dream ... Urban Christianity in Western Europe has been concentrated among the bourgeoisie and has been alienated from the working classes. The picture is the same in North Africa. There Christianity identified with the upper social classes and disappeared without trace as Islam swept across the Sahara.⁵³

Theology meeting Praxis - and never the twain shall meet?

In Sydney, a new Archbishop was installed in 1982. Donald W. B. Robinson had been Lecturer/Senior Lecturer (1952-59) and Deputy Principal (1959-72) of Moore Theological College and Bishop of Parramatta (1973-82). Robinson’s episcopate spanned the years 1982 to 1993. His academic achievements were many, but he was criticized for never having been a rector or ‘run’ a parish. Robinson had formed a formidable partnership with D.B. Knox, Principal of Moore Theological College from 1959 to 1985.

Robinson’s ecclesiology (his theology of the church) reinforced the conservative evangelicals in their attitude to social questions. According to his work, the koine Greek concept of «ἐκκλησία» means ‘the gathered’, ‘the assembled’ or as others critiqued the ‘holy huddle’. It refers to the gathering of the faithful in a non-denominational sense. Although recognizing ‘the gathered’ on earth, the gathering *also* exists in another-worldly, heavenly sense. It does not mean an institution or organization in our modern sense. He who does not meet ‘in the church’ is considered not to be a member of that church at all. It is an error to speak about ‘the church in the New Testament’ as if it were akin to anything we have on earth in the present. Instead, Robinson’s theology of church sees ‘the church’ as being in progress in heaven.⁵⁴ This understanding of the ‘gathered’ has not only symbolic but practical outcomes.

⁵³ "The Rural/Urban Myth and World Mission," 133. Peter Kaldor, *A Gulf Too Deep? The Protestant Churches and the Urban Working Class in Australia*, ed. The Uniting Church in NSW Board of Mission, Scripture Union, Fusion Australia, Scaffolding (Artarmon, NSW, Australia: Printmail, 1983), 55., makes a similar point through the analysis of historic mainstream Protestant denominations in Australia no longer ‘identifying’ with the working classes.

⁵⁴ *The Church of God: its Form and Unity* (Punchbowl: Jordan Books, 1965). See pages 11-12 for a fuller discussion. For a denominational critique of the impact of such a fragmenting ecclesiology, see W.J Lawton, "The Intermittent Church – a Reflection on Donald Robinson, *The Church of God: its Form and Unity*, Jordan Books: Punchbowl, 1965.," <http://keysensitivity.com/the-intermittent-church/>. Accessed 2/11/14. Lawton was on the staff at Moore College since the early 1960s, he credits the Robinson construction of the ‘gathered’ with the ‘acknowledgement’ of two Anglican churches, the Church of the Province of South Africa (CPSA) and the Church of England in South Africa (CESA). Robinson’s ecclesiology was a justification for the belief that the two churches could exist in parallel within the same country, without having fellowship with one another. Lawton also argues that:

this has provided a model for Sydney Anglican church plants in other dioceses. I see this theology as being behind Sydney’s ambiguous relationship with General Synod and the Constitution of the Anglican

The Robinson/Knox ecclesiology⁵⁵ produced a denomination that was pre-occupied with the local parish church at the expense of the denominational and wider church. The distrust of denominational institutional structures was fused with the implied distrust of hierarchical oversight.⁵⁶ For those at the interface of church and desperate community need in Sydney (e.g. the staff of HMS) this ecclesiology seemed of little utility. The HMS staff were from time to time addressed by Archbishop Robinson. The General Secretary of HMS, Allan Whitham, observed after one such address, explaining to the DCCM Co-ordinator that the Archbishop 'considers that we are in church already, but in Heaven'. The Archbishop was certainly looking forward to being in the heavenly realm, but that was of little comfort to 'the troops' present. This was not the rallying cry of inspirational oratory to those on the front lines in the theatre of war and sin on earth. Staff who were familiar with his theology took exception to it, especially to his emphasis on the understanding that: 'The local gathering is the complete church of Christ, even if it consists of two persons gathered in Christ's name, for He is there with them.'⁵⁷

Whilst this technically may be correct, it permits an interpretation of Matthew 18:20 in support of a self-sufficiency which is incompatible with the basic requirement for Christians to help their neighbours, whether converted or not. A structural/psychological disengagement between 'the personal and the political'⁵⁸ is impermissible given that biblical references to caring and serving the poor are so plentiful in the Old and New Testaments.⁵⁹

Church of Australia. By extension it offers a basis for lay presidency that is now an accepted but poorly argued basis of parish ministry in Sydney. Ibid.

Also for a PhD thesis examining the Knox/Robinson theology and collaboration see Chase Kuhn, "The Ecclesiology Of Donald Robinson & David Broughton Knox: A Presentation, Analysis And Theological Evaluation Of Their Thought On The Nature Of The Church" (University Of Western Sydney, 2014).

⁵⁵ D.W.B. Robinson outlines his ecclesiology in Robinson, *The Church of God: its Form and Unity*. For an evaluation, see Lawton, "The Intermittent Church – a Reflection on Donald Robinson, The Church of God: its Form and Unity, Jordan Books: Punchbowl, 1965" and Jensen, *Sydney Anglicanism: An Apology*, 83.

⁵⁶ For a discussion between D.B. Knox and his wife Ailsa regarding 'Bishops', see Piggins, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, word and world*, 188.

⁵⁷ D.B. Knox, *D. Broughton Knox: Selected Works*, ed. T Payne and K Beilharz, 3 vols., vol. 2 (Kingsford, Aus: Matthias, 2006), 25.

⁵⁸ The term originates from feminist discourse, see Hanisch, "The Personal is Political."

⁵⁹ For a comprehensive view of biblical verses from the Old and New Testaments see H Culbertson, "Poverty: Bible verses on caring for the poor," <https://home.snu.edu/~hculbert/poor.htm>.

According to the 'radical minority evangelical' tradition outlined in this thesis, Jesus' view of his church is that it *should* require engagement with the distressed, 'the poor' or the 'out-group'.⁶⁰ The use of the word 'radical' with regards to this minority tradition within the Sydney Diocese needs defining. The word 'radical' is used to describe those who wish to break with the mainstream view within Sydney, although it would itself be more mainstream when considered alongside the perspective of international evangelicalism. However, for this thesis, the term 'radical' can also claim identification with the 'grass-roots'. This understanding is borrowed heavily from the modern Greek conception in the word «ριζοσπαστισμός». A distinctly Greek etymological combination explaining the symbiosis of 'grass-roots' politics and continual social/economic reforms.⁶¹ Now identified and applied within this thesis, to the contemporary ongoing Reformation process at the grass-roots.

The biblical view of practically re-dressing 'the disadvantaged', lack of material possessions or those at the bottom of the socio-economic class ladder is not in dispute e.g. defined as 'the aliens (the foreigner/sojourner), the fatherless (orphans) and the widows; Deuteronomy 14:28-29; 24:17; 24:19-21; 27:19, Matthew 19:21, Luke 12:33, Galatians 2:10, 1 Timothy 5:3, James 1:27, James 2:2-6. However, some modern scholars have stressed the politically-loaded, Socialist overtones of such passages of Scripture. In an attempt to address the socio-economic needs of disadvantaged populations, they have advocated a form of Socialism, where 'those who have, give to those who have not', e.g. W. Rauschenbusch,⁶² D. Sölle et al,⁶³ H. Wells,⁶⁴ J. C. Cort.⁶⁵ Such scholars have focussed on a political program which conservative evangelicals cannot accept, not because they are conservative, but because they believe the gospel has been compromised. It is an issue well illustrated by the Civil Rights movement in the USA.

In analyzing the failures of the American Civil Rights Movement, Charles Marsh observed:

⁶⁰ For the definition of 'out-group' in Social Psychology see Tajfel, "The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour."

⁶¹ I'd like to acknowledge my Aunt, Mrs. Katerina Vavilousaki in our discussions, regarding the meaning of this term. The definition of «ριζοσπαστισμός» is my translation cited from an etymological dictionary Γεώργιος Δ. Μπαμπινιώτη, *Λεξικό της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας*, Τέταρτη Έκδοση ed. (Greece: Κεντρο Λεξικολογίας Ε.Π.Ε, 2012), 1703.

⁶² Walter Rauschenbusch, "Christianity and the Social Crisis," (1908); W Rauschenbusch, *Christianizing the Social Order* (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 1912/2010). See particularly, his discussion in the latter volume pages 401-2.

⁶³ Dorothy Sölle, Sally Cunneen, and Joseph Cunneen, "Christians for Socialism," *CrossCurrents* 25, no. 4 (1976).

⁶⁴ Howard Wells, *A future for Socialism? Political Theology and "the Triumph of Capitalism"* (Valley Forge, Penn: Trinity International, 1996).

⁶⁵ J.C. Cort, *Christian Socialism: An Informal History* (Orbis Books, 1988).

. . . Removed from its home in the church, the work of [Martin Luther King Jr's vision], building beloved community withered and died. Unanchored from its animating vision of beloved community, the Civil Rights movement lost its spiritual and moral focus. At the same time, it also became confused about organising strategies. This is a little understood but important point.⁶⁶

Indeed, the founder of Voice of Calvary Ministries, Jackson and Mendenhall, Mississippi, the Rev. John Perkins, an evangelical, together with Charles Marsh, have taken these matters a step further. They claim that the Civil Rights Movement in America hadn't fulfilled the next step in the economic transition for the necessary 're-distribution' of resources towards the plight of disadvantaged minorities. Marsh further concedes,

. . . the Civil Rights Movement failed to deliver on its most basic promises: solidarity with the poor, minority economic power and racial reconciliation.⁶⁷

Perkins calls for a 'quiet revolution' through 're-distribution' of wealth, forming part of his principles for Christian community development:

The body of Christ must be marked as an alternative social order that 'breaks the cycle of wealth and poverty'.⁶⁸

Once again in creating Christian communities at the grass-roots:

People need work, good housing, education and health care. So the church has to invest the resources in developing the community. All of this is crucial to creating the conditions that are necessary for beloved community.⁶⁹

A pre-cautionary warning is added,

⁶⁶ C Marsh, "The Unfinished Business of the Civil Rights Movement," in *Welcoming Justice: God's movement toward beloved community* (Downton Grove, Illinois: 2009), 25.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 28.

⁶⁸ See J. Perkins, *A Quiet Revolution: The Christian Response to Human Need, a Strategy for Today* (Word Books, 1976), 220.

⁶⁹ John M Perkins, "A Time For Rebuilding," in *Welcoming justice: God's movement toward beloved community* (Downton Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 2009), 116.

If you give people access to resources and education *but don't form them for discipleship*, then you're just setting them free from poverty to become slaves to individualism. This is what our so-called privileged churches are learning right now. (Italics my own)⁷⁰

What is in contention here are the outworkings of two competing theologies. The conservative evangelical tradition attaches primacy and exclusivity to 'preaching' the gospel. The 'radical minority evangelical' tradition by contrast seeks a balance between 'preaching the gospel' and creating Christian community development welfare/social programmes in and through the local parish. For the 'radical' Sydney evangelicals attempting such ministry is *not* at the expense of the verbal presentation. Rather, it is for 'radical' evangelicals anchored in scripture and it is to fulfil a more inclusive vision of the «ἐκκλησία» that *ipso facto* requires a Christian community made manifest:

- to preach the gospel to the poor
- to heal the broken-hearted
- to proclaim liberty to the captives
- and recovery of sight to the blind
- to set at liberty those who are oppressed
- to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord⁷¹

The 'radical minority evangelical' tradition in the Sydney Diocese accepted verbal proclamation understood and executed as primary, but they also insisted on the reciprocal 'praxis' in community applied in addressing human practical need. Archdeacon Alan Donohoo⁷² in his discussion regarding this thesis,⁷³ referred to this inherent balance within the 'radical minority evangelical' tradition as an outworking of the 'the practical gospel'.

The DCCM Co-ordinator recognised over the 13 year life of the department that such creative ministry was embodied in pre-evangelistic, parish-based social welfare programmes *as well as* the deployment of (NES) ethno-specific evangelists, e.g. ESL ministry, (NES) youth drop-in centres run in and through the parishes at the grass-roots level with parishioners intentionally involved in the front-lines of engagement.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 117.

⁷¹ Isaiah 61:1, Luke 4:18

⁷² Formerly, Archdeacon Donohoo had ministered for over 20 years in the Inner city parishes of Balmain, (1960-63), Leichhardt (1969-80), Cook's River (1963-69), Director: Inner City Committee (1975-80), Archdeacon Western Sydney, (formerly Parramatta), 1990-1999. Cited from *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, (Sydney Square: Diocesan Registry, 2002), 277.

⁷³ The author discussed the 'radical minority evangelical tradition' with Archdeacon Alan and Margaret Donohoo, at Parramatta, 29 January 2016.

The standard had now been raised high. The DCCM fledgling department, according to the vision of the Co-ordinator, would need to do *both*; language-specific evangelism *with* concomitant social welfare/community development programming at the local parish level. Only by addressing human need, both physical and spiritual, could the secular/sacred divide be bridged with Sydney's NES populations. This required the ongoing diagnosis of the maladaptive, mono-cultural symptomology within mainstream Sydney Anglican congregations which had paralyzed many clergy and laity.

The language issue as a profound theological issue

The Reformation, besides breaking the dominance of the Roman Catholic Church, presented the English language with a unified *modus operandi* for the practice of religion. Luther translated the Bible from Latin into the German; William Tyndale was burned at the stake for his translation of the Bible into the English language. The English translation of the scriptural texts had been at great cost. It allowed for the presentation of scripture in the 'vulgar tongue of the day' which is still today set out clearly within the 39 Articles of belief within the Church of England and in today's Australian Anglican Prayerbook. Article XXIV: 'Of speaking in the Congregation in such a tongue as the people understandeth' affirms that:

It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have publick Prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people.⁷⁴

The lack of provision of multi-lingual ministries for Sydney's NES populations implied that the migrants and refugees had first to learn English so that they could understand Scripture and the sermon in their new language – English. This expectation is clearly *contrary to Reformation principles*. To resist the use of people's own languages in order to incorporate them into the church defies any theological or even historical justification. Sydney was one of the great receiving centres for migrants and refugees in Australia's ambitious post-war immigration programme, and Sydney Anglicans' disinterest in language work amongst people of NESB, itself a failure of their own Reformation principles, was a missed opportunity of epic proportions.⁷⁵

⁷⁴See web-page: "Book of Common Prayer (BCP) Articles of Religion," <https://www.churchofengland.org/prayer-worship/worship/book-of-common-prayer/articles-of-religion.aspx#XXIV>.

⁷⁵ The author is grateful for the advice of Dr. John Harris, 21/08/16. His comments on the thesis have been enormously helpful, particularly in the application of Reformation principles to contemporary urban missiology. It is also indicative that NES 'mission' was considered to be on the frontier and margins, e.g. the Indigenous. It appeared a world apart from the concern of the mainstream life of the congregations, despite decades of large-scale migrating NES populations impacting local parishes.

There were teachers in Sydney Anglicanism who feared that any such experimental community development at the local level would 'lose' them the gospel. The DCCM Co-ordinator's observation was that this fear underestimated the power of the Anglican laity and their 'social capital' at the local community level. The parish cross-cultural (NES) ministries outlined in this thesis and funded through the DCCM enabled the laity from the parishes to become involved and it was then that they experienced unprecedented opportunities to help the NES people to 'find' the gospel.

In congregations that were 'dying' one recognised a re-energized 'learning-by-doing' process, as is so much part of evangelism through daily encounters. This was a multi-cultural learning process for all parties involved (secular/sacred) coming face-to-face with 'the Other' in what would be technically recognised as urban cross-cultural missiology from the grass-roots. Not only this, the churches, with their own on-the-ground programmes, had the credibility to critique social government policy as it impacted on their local communities. The parishes involved in conducting their own community programmes found themselves thrust forward as a logical and independent voice of conscience between government and local community, with 'street cred'.

Some scholars have come to the understanding that Christian communities can be characterised as 'alternative' or even 'counter-cultural' communities, i.e. minorities living within a vastly different dominant culture.⁷⁶ Thus contemporary theological training for Sydney Anglicans, prioritized the value of the spoken word 'the evangel'. The address of weighty practical need had been shouldered historically, however, through the Sydney Anglican Home Mission Society (founded 1856), with and on behalf of the Sydney parishes. The paradox continues in the present through the separation and abstraction of theology from human physical need in what this thesis has labelled 'purist' Sydney Anglican theology.

Consequently, conservative Sydney Anglicans have side-stepped engagement between church and state and the postmodern quest to address structural inequality, including such matters as identity politics, the civil rights movement, movements for the self-determination of minorities, and environmental activism. Those that dared were defined as 'larrikin', 'maverick' or even a 'one man band'. This presumed non-engagement implied that the church occupies a place of 'deemed neutrality' in the wider social sphere, and occupies little or no place in the political arena, except with 'private acts of compassion'.

⁷⁶ See Archbishop's Presidential Address to Sydney Synod 2011, Peter F Jensen, "Archbishop's Presidential Address 49th Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Sydney," <http://www.sds.asn.au/assets/Documents/synod/Synod2011/PresidentialAddress%202011.pdf>. Accessed 13/05/14.

Yet internally the church is wracked by ecclesiastical politics. In Sydney the Anglican Church League (ACL) acts as the guardian of denominational rectitude, and in the local church, parishioners are commonly embroiled in internal church politics.

Using the term 'identity' in its anthropological 'tribal' sense,⁷⁷ Sydney Anglicanism was saddled with a fortress mentality. It promoted a personal piety resembling Plymouth Brethren theology, and saw itself as 'the little flock'.⁷⁸ This is far from seeing itself as a national church - even with quasi establishment status (as it had thought of itself in the nineteenth century). This allowed Sydney Anglicans to 'believe without belonging'.⁷⁹ Indeed conservative Sydney Anglicans argued that it was far more important 'to believe' than 'to belong'.

For Sydney evangelicals the Bible put proclamation ahead of action and redemption ahead of creation. To insist that social action was the indispensable 'partner' to evangelism was to obscure the nature of the evangel, the gospel. While few even of the conservative evangelicals denied that working for social justice was the Christian's duty, they were not prepared to allow the impression that it was the highest of Christian duties or even partnered evangelism, as had been the tradition of the Anglican Home Mission Society. To those progressive, radical evangelicals who claimed that the recovery of the social responsibility of Christians was to rediscover the divine purpose, the conservatives responded that it was as likely to be the loss of the true evangelical heritage, which focussed on gospel proclamation. The conservatives were troubled by the growing tendency for their more radical brothers and sisters to be content with feeding the hungry when there was a much more significant spiritual hunger which led to eternal death. The conservatives believed that it was very important to maintain the view that the primary task of Christians was to be gospel heralds rather than social

⁷⁷ See my discussion of the concept of a 'bestowed identity', described as:

Along with the notion of identity being under construction, it is noted in this paper that identity is also bequeathed, bestowed by a significant 'other'. This concept has its roots in genealogy, which undergirds 'multiple- layers of identity'. Concluding with, a positively accepted concept of conferred identity handed down from generation to generation. Mersina Tonys-Soulos (Papantoniou), "Towards a multi-layered construct of identity by the Greek Diaspora, an examination of the films of Nia Vardalos, including *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* (2002) and *My Life in Ruins* (2009). Part 2 " (paper presented at the International Sociology Conference, Athens, Greece, St.George Lycabettus Hotel, 2013), 15.<http://hdl.handle.net/1959.14/226910>

⁷⁸ See his enigmatic chapter: W.J Lawton, "Australian Anglican Theology " in *Anglicanism in Australia: A History*, ed. Bruce Kaye, et al. (Carlton South, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2002), 177-99.

⁷⁹ For the use of this helpful concept see Grace Davie, "From Believing without Belonging to Vicarious Religion: Understanding the patterns of Religion in Modern Europe," in *The Role of Religion in Modern Societies*, ed. D Pollack and DVA Olson (NY: Routledge, 2008), 165-76. It involves the separating out of belief with the emphasis on the individual *from* 'belonging' or self-identifying with an institution i.e. a separation of identity from the institution.

reformers. They argued that the real effect of the changed evangelical paradigm endorsed at Lausanne 1974 was 'not the resurrection of the lost evangelical social conscience, but the dethroning of evangelism as *the* aim of mission'.⁸⁰

Similarly, they believed that it was a denial of the biblical understanding of the Kingdom of God to believe that it is progressed with the establishment of justice. It is rather advanced by the 'preaching of the gospel'. So, when the conservatives spoke of the radicals' 'losing the gospel', they had what they believed were strong biblical reasons for their accusations against the radicals. Their position was not without its strength in the diocese.⁸¹ However, as in the response of the Sydney's 'radical minority evangelical' tradition the tension was to be held in a balance, with proclamatory evangelism held as primary, despite continuous accusations to the contrary with continuous 'mud flung' at the 'radicals'. Those in their theological fold who dismissed the work of HMS as second rate, showed their demeanour by *not* financially supporting or praying for the work of the Anglican Home Mission Society or for those on its front lines.⁸²

Building Noah's Ark?

HMS personnel/staff, confronting desperate need on a daily basis, recognized only too well that they were in fact *not* in heaven. Those, such as R.B.S. 'Bob' Hammond, who raised funds to build affordable housing for the homeless during the Sydney 1930s Depression, never flirted with the complacent thought that they were in heaven.⁸³ Hammond was known for his remark: 'If Noah had had a committee he would never have built the Ark'.⁸⁴ The contrast between Knox/Robinson and Hammond in terms of response to social action could not have been greater. Hammond engaged in both evangelism and social action. The great danger of the 'Knox-Robinson' ecclesiology was that it would result in neither. S. Piggin describes the enduring influence and negative mission outcomes of Robinson's ecclesiology:

⁸⁰ J Woodhouse, "Evangelism and Social Responsibility," in *Explorations 3*, ed. B.G Webb (Homebush West, NSW: Lancer, 1988), 16.

⁸¹ I'd like to acknowledge the author's discussions with Assoc. Prof. Stuart Piggin clarifying the ongoing tensions in Australian Evangelicalism.

⁸² See also section titled: "A Lesser Priority: Social Engagement" in C McGillion, *The chosen ones : the politics of salvation in the Anglican Church* (Crows Nest, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin 2005), 152-60.

⁸³ For a well-researched biography based on the Hammondcare files following the unfolding homelessness / evictions' of the 1930's, see M. Lake, *Faith in Action* (UNSW Press, 2013), 44.

⁸⁴ J. Mansfield, Hammond, Robert Brodribb (1870–1946), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*

<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hammond-robert-brodribb-6543/text11243>

The earthly reality was that the true church, being the local assembly, is many. Church union, then, is neither proper nor possible. His most controversial emphasis was that the church was not an instrument of evangelism, but is rather the result of evangelism. This refusal to put the church at the disposal of the evangelistic cause distressed many evangelicals for whom evangelism is primary. The world strand was weakened and directors of missionary societies complained that Moore College graduates were not as interested in overseas missions as they once were.⁸⁵

Peter O'Brien, Vice-Principal of Moore College, supporting Robinson's view wrote:

The church is a gathering of believers whose focus is inwards and upwards but not outwards ... Individual Christians, have the task of 'evangelism' not some entity we might call "church".⁸⁶

The ensuing insularity was accompanied by a private piety. It was what missiologist, Harvie M. Conn described as 'a secular/sacred dichomotization of life'.⁸⁷ Knox and Robinson saw deeds as being 'private acts of compassion'. Jesus being the 'very nature God' did not come with a societal programme of social transformation. Transformation would be atomistic, that is, the work of individuals through personal relationships. However, Van Engen's prophetic note critiques this approach:

. . . the assumption that converted people will have an effect on the social, economic and political situation in a given country is to be questioned. True, it is doubtful that one can expect the macrostructures to be changed to any degree by a tiny minority of Christians. However, on the other hand can it be expected simply because people have become members of the church they will be concerned for social justice?⁸⁸

The boundaries of mainstream Sydney Anglican orthodoxy were thus firmly set in place. Those in the minority radical evangelical tradition met with murmurs of suspicion from within the Sydney Diocese. Do they run the risk of 'losing the true gospel'? A frightened or intimidated response to this statement is - not to try. An understanding of Christian ministry developed which had little relevance to the social

⁸⁵ *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, word and world*, 186.

⁸⁶ "The Church as a Heavenly and Eschatological Entity," in *The Church in the Bible and the World: An International Study*, ed. D.A Carson (Exeter, UK: Paternoster, 1987), 114. Cited in Jensen, *Sydney Anglicanism: An Apology*, 82-3.

⁸⁷ Conn, "Looking for a Method: Backgrounds and Suggestions," 83.

⁸⁸ C Van Engen, *The Growth of the True Church: An Analysis of the Ecclesiology of Church Growth Theory* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1981), 350.

context, a 'one size fits all' mentality and parish-structure, basically monolingual in approach as befitting a historically and culturally hegemonic 'white' culture.

The central emphasis for Robinson as he explained to HMS Staff was 'to get Sunday right'.⁸⁹ Yet the Staff of HMS considered it important to get other days right as well. They knew they were *not* in heaven, despite 'two or more being gathered in His name'. The Staff were not comforted by such piety, and found it more important to identify those churches which could accept and nurture their welfare clients in the long-term. They found another Scripture more relevant: 'the poor you will have with you always' (Deuteronomy 15:11; Matthew 26:11).

A further nail in the coffin of the radical evangelicals was hammered in by long-serving principal of Moore College, Broughton Knox, 'Father of Contemporary Sydney Anglicanism'.⁹⁰ He argued that revelation was propositional, a matter of God's words, not deeds. It was a view which rationalised the practice of evangelism as an exclusively spoken activity.⁹¹ It did not have to be accompanied by actions. The highest service was *preaching* not social concern. According to Knox:

The teaching and actions of Jesus nowhere show a concern for 'social justice'. The reason that the call for social justice springs from envy rather than compassion ... Compassion, not social justice, is the motivation for Christian social action ... Poverty calls for compassion ... but a Christian is not called on to campaign for a closer equalization of incomes either within society, or for that matter between nation and nation. Christ's gospel is not concerned with equity, but with relationships.⁹²

The premise that Jesus came *without* a social programme to transform society 'per se' has been debated robustly. On one side of the debate:

... social activity not only follows evangelism as its consequence and aim, and precedes it as its bridge, but also accompanies it as its *partner*. They are like the two blades of a pair of scissors or the two wings of a bird.⁹³

⁸⁹ *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, (Sydney Square Diocesan Registry, 1993), 271.

⁹⁰ See M. Cameron, (2006), *An Enigmatic Life, David Broughton Knox, Father of Sydney Anglicanism*.

⁹¹ B. Lawton's chapter, 'Australian Anglican Theology' in B. Kaye et al (eds), 2002, p.189.

⁹² Quoted in B. Lawton's chapter, 'Australian Anglican Theology' in B. Kaye et al (eds), 2002, p.193

⁹³ Section C, Three Kinds of relationship: "Lausanne Occasional Paper 21, LOP 21 – Evangelism and Social Responsibility: An Evangelical Commitment,," A Joint Publication of the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization and the World Evangelical Fellowship,, <https://www.lausanne.org/content/lop/lop-21.>, see also R.

On the other side of the debate, John Woodhouse, (who would later succeed Knox as the 12th Principal of Moore College) argues:

But when that obligation is given the theological undergirding that belongs properly to the task of evangelism, when the evangelistic task is no longer seen as unique in importance, when evangelistic responsibility is taken for granted, and our neglect of social action causes deeper remorse than our neglect of evangelism, then the cart has got before the horse, and is trying to grow legs.⁹⁴

In an environment where the majority of vocal church leaders were inclined to the latter view, it is no wonder that all welfare ministry was discounted, let alone the 'holistic' specialised ministry required for the NESB. This meant in practice that the energy which Sydney Anglicans had for caring ministries was circumscribed and therefore easily exhausted. The Archbishop had his own view on where such limited energy should be spent.

Archbishop's Vision for Growth

D.W.B. Robinson had beaten Bishop J.R. Reid in the Sydney race for Archbishop in 1982. In 1984 Synod approved a \$200,000 fund to 'kick-start' what would become the centre-piece of Robinson's vision, the hallmark of his leadership of the Sydney Diocese. The programme was aptly named: *Archbishop's Vision for Growth* (VFG).⁹⁵ It was described thus in his 1984 Presidential Address:

If this is successfully achieved, our Vision for Growth will not be restricted to the fulfilment of a particular goal of establishing a certain number of new centres of ministry in a given period of time; it will - and this is my earnest hope - open up a new impetus for growth and expansion in every part of the Diocese, affecting every part of our responsibility as Christians ... We are not just making an appeal; we are looking for a new commitment to the whole ministry of the fellowship of the gospel.

Sider, *Evangelism and Social Action: Uniting the Church to Heal a Lost and Broken World* (G.B.: Hodder & Stoughton, 1993), 183.

⁹⁴ "Evangelism and Social Responsibility," 20.

⁹⁵ *Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney*, 221, this was now a formalised programme to bring what was known prior as the 'New Areas Committee' into a more co-ordinated structure. That now included HMS representatives and the Archbishops VFG Appeal fund, and brought to the centre of diocesan life through both organisations.

Research has shown that we must necessarily allocate a large proportion of our funds to the purchase of land and buildings if we are to establish continuity of ministry and church life, as well as provide more ministers of the Gospel.⁹⁶

The vision and scope of this programme was to be unprecedented in the history of the Diocese in that it focused on the fringes of the city's new suburban growth. This was to be the clarion call to "go west young man ... go west". After all this had come from the former Bishop of Parramatta, the western and largest and fastest-growing region of the Diocese.

But the church was without effective ministry in the inner city as much as in the outer west. During the research conducted for the Marrickville Deanery Project (1986), the PCW found smarting inner west parishioners, who had sold church property as part of the "Redeployment of parish resources"⁹⁷ and who believed that the VFG programme was taken up only because of the influence of "North Shore"⁹⁸ families who were no longer able to purchase properties in the same or surrounding suburbs for their children. Hence, the new direction for Sydney Anglican expansion on the fringes of the city into new housing estates would principally benefit the middle classes. The churches flourished best in new suburbs in which couples could afford to buy their first home and raise their families. Meanwhile, the NES composition of the inner west parishes had substantially increased as urban centres attracted waves of NES migrants and refugees.

Rather than investing more in the NES areas, the Diocese urged those areas to divest in the interests of the new areas. Inner urban parishes 'in developed areas' were encouraged by way of 1984 Synod Resolution 44/84 to participate in a:

Review of Church Resources

Synod further calls on parishes to prayerfully consider rationalization within and between parishes in developed areas of the Diocese, so that human and material resources may be re-deployed in areas of the Diocese where growth and development of ministry is required. (Motion put by the Rev T. K. Dein-10.10.84)⁹⁹

⁹⁶ *ibid*, p.221.

⁹⁷ *Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney*, (St.Andrew's House, Sydney Square, NSW: Diocesan Registry, 1986), 213.

⁹⁸ For Sydney, the landmark Harbour Bridge, spans the city, also in terms of 'establishment' or 'old money' classes, the northern leafy suburbs are considered to be part of Sydney's bible-belt.

⁹⁹ *Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney*, 257., *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, (Sydney Square Diocesan Registry, 1986), 213.

Rationalization would, of course, always be needed by such an old institution in an increasingly urbanizing world. The shift in mindset from rural to urban was recognised through the Synod Resolution 22/84 which changed the name of *Rural* to *Area* Deanery. This was duly enacted in the Bill for the Area Deanery Ordinance 1985, and was later assented to by the Archbishop.¹⁰⁰ The following year (1986) in his Presidential Address, the Archbishop reported estimated proceeds raised toward a *Vision for Growth* from these 'rationalized' sales as over \$350,000.¹⁰¹ Uncharacteristically the Archbishop was positively brimming over in his public enthusiasm for his new vision:

A person at a Moss Vale meeting eight weeks ago said: "Anglicans have been known as 'God's frozen people', but Vision for Growth means that now we can be on fire!" ¹⁰²

The ambitious target was to establish and consolidate 19 new churches and centres of ministry in the six years to 1990. The new areas included Ambarvale, St Clair, Menai, Doonside, Cranebrook, Minchinbury, St Johns' Park.¹⁰³ In all these developing projects of the diocese, there had been no planning from the top to provide ancillary NES ministries in the 'new areas'. Provision was only made for the traditional parish plant of church, church hall and rectory. No innovative ministries were tied to the emerging multicultural populations¹⁰⁴ who were also following 'the Australian dream' into the suburbs. The target audience was ES and the new ministries only followed the old pattern, reflecting the assumption that new ethnic populations were just to be assimilated into the dominant 'Anglo' culture. The message heard by all newcomers was that if you're going to fit in you will need to be 'like us'. Ministry was conceived as using the cultural model earlier described by Bishop Reid as 'monochrome', and it became the legacy of the D.W.B. Robinson episcopate through his VFG programme.

¹⁰⁰ *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 255.

¹⁰¹ *Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney*, 213.

¹⁰² *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 212.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 213.

¹⁰⁴ The parish of St. John's Park, for example, represents a hub of multicultural activity, featuring the Buddhist Phap Bao temple ministering originally to the Vietnamese (Indo-Chinese boat-people (refugees), St Nikola Tavelic Croatian Catholic Church and community centre built in the actual architecture of a medieval castle and St Hurmizd Assyrian Church of the East Cathedral, all built in the late 1970s to mid-80s.

The six-year programme raised approximately \$7 million.¹⁰⁵ It was further reported that funding of “\$21 million from a central funding source will be needed before the end of the century to assist in church planting and expanding ministry”.¹⁰⁶

The VFG Robinson approach was to facilitate McGavran’s Homogeneous Unit Principle on a grand scale. Instead of designing additional ministries to fit each culture and people group as the more sophisticated HUP model envisaged, it was designed to fit just one such group – the majority Anglo-Australian culture. A project that spanned 6 years, it was unashamedly monolingual in its conception and implementation. NES ministry was belatedly addressed with the introduction of the funding of NESB initiatives through Archbishop Robinson’s subsequent appeal programme launched in 1991, *Vision 2001*. It involved the funding of Vietnamese outreach through the ministry of the Rev Vinh Pham. *Vision 2001* did not appear to muster from those who regularly received the Appeal letters the enthusiasm so characteristic of the Archbishop’s previous VFG programme.

The Australian Anglican connection

If radical evangelical Anglicanism was a minority tradition in Sydney, it was not necessarily so within the movement of international evangelicalism as a whole. Since 1974 increasing numbers of evangelicals were persuaded to adopt the thinking of Lausanne Convention on the necessity of evangelicals to increase their commitment to social concern. We shall have to return to this critical development in later chapters in this thesis, but it needs to be observed here that at the height of the controversy raised by the Knox/Robinson ecclesiology and Knox’s teaching on propositional revelation, the Lausanne view of these matters was injected into the Sydney scene through the meeting known as Lausanne II at Manila in 1989.

From Sydney, Bishop Reid and from Melbourne, Archbishop David Penman were actively involved in the Lausanne Movement. Their social conscience was piqued by encouragement from this world forum of evangelicals. Speakers included John Perkins, Samuel Escobar, and C. Rene Padilla, all internationally esteemed evangelicals. They were committed to evangelism wrestling with communicating to the grass-roots with appropriate ministries, based on the understanding of "the

¹⁰⁵ *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 257-60.

See also VISION FOR GROWTH final report released March 1992.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 258.

whole church taking the whole gospel to the whole world ".¹⁰⁷ Given that the whole world was changing so rapidly, to communicate the gospel meant that the gospel would have to be contextualised appropriately. Contextualization was defined as:

... the various processes by which a local church integrates the Gospel message (the "text") with its local culture (the "context"). The text and context must be blended into that one, God-intended reality called "Christian Living".¹⁰⁸

Anglican Bishop J. Harrower (Tasmania) and former CMS missionary to Argentina (1979-88) spoke of *Critical Contextualization*:

Thus for most Christians today the only option is a critical acceptance of the principle of contextualisation. This encourages *respect and the positive affirmation of other cultures*, sees our own culture like all other cultures as having good and bad elements and acknowledges that our cultural "spectacles", along with everybody else's, colours our thinking and theology. This does not mean we make no evaluations, endorse everything in another culture, or become thorough relativists. Critical acceptance implies that judgements are made but *sympathetically*, and not only of other cultures but also of our own. If this position is accepted in principle, unity does not necessarily follow. What to accept and what not to accept, and how far culture should be allowed to impact on theology remains an open question. (Italics mine).¹⁰⁹

Lausanne II was held in Manila, Philippines, July 11-20, 1989, fifteen years after the initial Conference. S. Escobar reported that Archbishop Penman of Melbourne (1985-9)¹¹⁰ presented some of the best missiological moments of Lausanne II expressed through the juncture of missiology (the study of missions) and theology. It was especially evident in the Bible studies prepared by David Penman and

¹⁰⁷ "The Willowbank Report: Consultation On Gospel And Culture," in *Lausanne Occasional Papers (LOPS)* (Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, 1978); "Evangelism and Social Responsibility: An Evangelical Commitment ", in *Lausanne Occasional Papers* (A Joint Publication of the

Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization

and the World Evangelical Fellowship, 1982); "The Manila Manifesto," <http://www.lausanne.org/en/documents/manila-manifesto.html>.

¹⁰⁸ Louis J. Luzbetak, *The Church and Cultures: New Perspectives in Missiological Anthropology* (New York: Orbis, 1988), 69.

¹⁰⁹ See web-page, "What is Contextualisation?," http://bushchurchaid.com.au/pdf/What_is_Contextualisation_Bishop_John_Harrower.pdf.

¹¹⁰ For a sensitive biography of D. Penman see Alan Nichols, *David Penman Bridge-builder, Peacemaker, Fighter for Social Justice* (Sutherland, NSW, Australia: Albatross Books, 1991), Biography.

John Stott.¹¹¹ The Lausanne Movement presented a forum where practitioners in missions could present their Christology from their contexts, through incarnational paradigms as lived-out from all over the globe.

Yet another challenge to Sydney Anglican complacency occurred in 1986 when Roman Catholicism overtook the Anglicans as the largest denomination in Australia (1986)¹¹². Fletcher gives immigration as one of the reasons.¹¹³

The scene was now set. Melbourne Diocese had led the way in terms of creating a department that could facilitate NES ministry at home. The contemporary union of the disciplines of missiology, theology, anthropology (through the Lausanne Movement) in terms of understanding missions had led to a greater appreciation of the concept of "culture". The proffering of a 'positive-affirming' response to cultural communication had changed the face of evangelical global mission. The recognition of the role of 'culture' in communicating cross-culturally led to the understanding of the role of the context in mission. The transferred knowledge from the overseas mission field back into the Australian continent cannot be overestimated. Australia was belatedly recognized as a multicultural nation by the once dominant founding Australian Protestant denomination. This multicultural perspective could now be recognised in the re-positioning of internal mission. The presence of the NESB in their midst could be seen. It would now be Sydney's turn to structurally address the newly discovered mission-field, through the formation of a department of its own.

¹¹¹ Samuel Escobar, "A Movement Divided Three approaches to world evangelization stand in tension with one another," *Transformation: An International Journal of Holistic Mission Studies* 8, no. 4 (1991): 11.

¹¹² See Tom Frame, "Part 2: The Anglican Church in Australia," General Synod, http://www.anglican.org.au/content/home/about/a_history_of_anglicanism/Part_2_The_Anglican_Church_in_Australia.aspx. In 1991 only a little over 1.5% of Anglicans were born in countries whose main language was not English and the situation had not sufficiently changed by 1996. Fletcher, "Anglicanism and National Identity in Australia Since 1962," 344.

¹¹³ "Anglicanism and National Identity in Australia Since 1962."

Chapter 3

The Birth of the Department of Cross-Cultural Ministries (1987)

The 1980s in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney opened a new era of experimentation in the inner city and inner west areas through mechanisms provided by the HMS for differing models of ministry. HMS was ably led by its General Secretary, Canon Allan Whitham (1982-90), and Chairman of the HMS Council, Bishop John Reid (1983¹-92), both God-parents to the inception of the new DCCM.² Both men now sought a greater role for HMS in the life of Sydney Anglican parishes. With the imprimatur of the HMS Council, they were prepared to oversee and fund church-based ministries, which could be characterized as “experimental” in character. Insight into the scope and breadth of the Society at that time is clear in Whitham’s retrospective speech:

However, the most significant growth ... a growth which brings real joy to my heart ... was in the amount which the Home Mission Society was able to allocate for additional parish ministry ... parish grants rose from \$38,000 in 1976 to \$347,000 in 1985, including the special grants for our Maori and Turkish Chaplains - an increase of more than 800%.³

It is therefore no co-incidence that the experimental Marrickville Deanery ESL pilot project was funded initially through HMS.⁴ Both Reid and Whitham were willing to fund and take creative risks in ministry. Their visionary zeal and ‘can-do’ attitude befit what this thesis describes as ‘the radical minority evangelical tradition’ in the Sydney Diocese. Based on their hard-won experience in ministry, they both recognized that theology had to be ‘contextualized’, that is grow out of and address the local culture. In reality, generations of Anglican women had been doing just that, though their contribution has been little recognised.⁵ Bishop Reid had learned to contextualize the gospel from the thousands

¹ First listing of Bishop Reid as Chairman of HMS Council "Annual Report," ed. Anglican Home Mission Society (Sydney: Anglican Home Mission Society, 1983), 11.

² HMS Council is the highest governing body of the Society. For the full list of annual members see HMS Annual Reports, diocesan Yearbooks under listing, Diocesan Organisation, Boards Councils, Committees.

³ A Whitham, "Crisis of Need a Doorway to the Gospel," *CARE incorporating Pulse* 1986, June 18, 1.

⁴ Swann, "The History of ESL in the Sydney Diocese: The First Decade (1988-1997).".

⁵ HMS as a historical Sydney Anglican organization (founded May 1856), was known for attracting parishioners who had concerns about the ‘ailments’ of Sydney society. It was historically a respectable avenue for women to

from all over the world who had attended conferences sponsored via the Lausanne movement (LCWE), the global evangelical movement for world evangelization.⁶ Both Reid and Whitham had come to understand that community 'care' programmes at the parish level would both facilitate evangelism and 'redeem the context' understood as genuine improvement in community wellbeing. For Whitham, the focus of the Parish Community Workers (through the HMS Care Force division) was to integrate church and wider community at the grass-roots level via the church community and community 'care' programmes. These programmes went almost unnoticed in the HMS structure. They were located under 'Community and Parish Services' which was itself under the HMS Welfare Division.⁷ Yet, they were boldly experimental, consistent with the quiet radicalism of their architects.

The difficulty of introducing the Community Development agenda in Sydney parishes appears to have come to the notice of Archbishop Robinson, as seen in his Presidential Address to the Sydney Synod in 1986:

Inner City Christians have had to ask hard questions about their life and witness in a multicultural, secularized Australian environment that is the mark of the inner west and other parishes ... We must continue to have a relevant Christian presence with flexibility to cope with changing circumstances and culture ... The changed sociological patterns ... Rationalisation and amalgamation are part of that flexibility and have often led to new life and innovative outreach. Nevertheless, the Inner City and the parishes *in the Marrickville and Petersham Deaneries still represent one of the neediest areas of the Diocese* and should not be overlooked in our emphasis on the new parishes in the west and south (Italics my own).⁸

involve themselves in voluntary work. Apart from the listing of the Division along with its accomplishments in HMS Annual Reports, little or no research has been done on the voluntary female lay aspect of this longstanding ministry.

⁶ Those able to attend LCWE Conferences saw and heard first-hand creative evangelistic strategies pioneered in differing contexts from around the world. It was where the first World met the majority two-thirds World on the same evangelical platform. The first Lausanne gathering, titled 'Let the Earth hear His voice', was called by a committee headed by Billy Graham and John Stott. It drew more than 2,300 evangelical leaders from 150 countries. The 2010 Cape Town Conference was attended by four thousand Christian leaders representing 198 countries. This latter Congress was brought together by a globalized leadership team from Africa, Egypt, Malaysia, India, North America and elsewhere. Several thousand more leaders participated in the Congress through the Cape Town Globalink and Lausanne Global Conversation. Lausanne Movement, "The Third Lausanne Congress on World Evangelization: Cape Town 2010," <http://www.lausanne.org/all-gatherings>. It is of enormous significance that the Lausanne Movement continues to grapple with evangelism and social responsibility through the process of 'contextualization'. For Sydney Diocese, HMS was the premier organization attempting to do likewise.

⁷ See chart of organization for HMS (later in this chapter) to find Department-Community and Parish Services, then sub-section Parish Community Work almost hidden under the Care Force/Welfare Division, HMS.

⁸ *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 216.

Advocates of the Parish Community Work scheme in the parishes of the Marrickville Deanery were looking for an under-the-radar grass-roots revolution. They hoped to bring Christian redemption to the largely 'poly-ethnic' wider community. But in the face of reluctance within the local Anglican churches,⁹ the introduction of cross-cultural ministry would have a baptism of fire.¹⁰

Christian community development: the 'culture-affirming approach'

Reid, Whitham and other supporters of the quiet revolution were looking for implementation of the recommendations from the Marrickville Area Deanery Research (1986) (see chapter one). The chief recommendation was that parish community programmes should provide for ESL *as well as* church-planting amongst NES populations. The 'needs' felt by the NES populations would have to be recognized and addressed by the church community. Thus, the mission field was to be understood no longer in the traditional sense as being overseas. It was now to be found inside the boundaries of the local parish church. The *modus operandi* were not only verbal communications of the redeeming nature of the Christian Saviour by way of the 'evangel' (i.e. the transmission of the message as a verbal exchange only). It would also be essential to harness the latent potential of the church community itself via its connectedness to the grassroots through 'the everyday'. In sociological terms this community held a precious, but at the time undervalued, 'connectedness' through its 'social capital'.¹¹

The concept of social capital turned the understanding of power on its head. The local church community achieved its real strength through inverting its hierarchical structure. The laity was the

⁹ The aim was to 'rationalize' church property and amalgamate dwindling urban congregations. Hence the Marrickville Area Deanery Committee (MADCOM) as an overseeing committee.

¹⁰ (Soulos, 1986) This reference is to the Marrickville Area Deanery Research Report, (1986), see previous chapter of this thesis.

¹¹ The term social capital was coined by P. Boudieu "Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of theory of research for the sociology of Education*, ed. J.E. Richardson (Greenwood Press, 1986), 47. Of the concept 'capital' he wrote:

... capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as *cultural capital*, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility. (ibid, p.47)

Boudieu defined social capital as:

Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable *network* of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and *recognition*--or in other words, to membership in a group--which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. *These relationships* may exist only in the practical state, in material and or symbolic exchanges which help to maintain them. (ibid, p.51), (Italics my own).

object of empowerment, not the traditional leaders. The strength of the laity was embedded in its networks at the grass-roots level. A 'bottom-up' approach was adopted, as opposed to a heavily clericalised, top-down approach.¹² This pioneering community-building strategy trained both laity and clergy in developing outreach using community programmes. Yet Parish Community Workers (PCWs) required permission from the clergy (the gate-keepers) to implement programmes blending both evangelism and the addressing of community need.

Christian community development, then, required the empowering of its laity, both in its fragility and in its daring. The key was to establish lay-ministries to address perceived social needs. It is reminiscent of the historic 'church, school and hospital' dictum employed as a strategy by missionary societies in previous centuries. In the Soldiers' Memorial Church, Cabramatta, Neil Flower, Rector, 1974-88, had a working model. The church hall housed the HMS's Careforce Welfare Office. In the mid-1970s, this church was mobilized as an epicentre for Indo-Chinese refugee migration to Sydney. It demonstrated that community development was integral to cross-cultural ministry.

The mission of the church was lived out within the context of the local community by empowered laity, including the Indo-Chinese former refugees. Tangible parish-based community programmes enabled points of contact and physically opened church buildings to the wider community. The church's message was not only verbally imposed from on high. Rather, it would take form and structure at the parish-community level. Whitham put the matter bluntly:

To neglect the home base is blind, arrogant folly. It is also a most foolish and presumptuous act to separate the gospel and good works, especially at the parish level, so that either one or the other is denigrated, or pushed aside, even accidentally.

Our diocese, Christ's people and the work and ministry of HMS itself have suffered grievous damage in recent years, because we have allowed this to happen in the life and witness of our church, both in our policies and our theological politities.

It is not that we have been in error but rather that our understanding and practice has been too limited and hence inadequate ... In the confusion and rapid change which industrialized urban living in a pluralistic and multicultural society has brought upon us willy-nilly, we urgently need

¹² The community development method contrasted dramatically with the 'fly-in, fly-out' tradition of the itinerant preacher evangelizing the masses.

to recover at the parish level the biblical balance between proclamation of the gospel and acts of compassion, as exemplified in Christ's own ministry.¹³

The authenticity of deeds, accompanying the word, was required to initiate community transformation. The term 'transformation' had been co-opted by the Lausanne movement. It spoke of 'Mission as Transformation' to describe the blending of evangelism and social responsibility in a more 'holistic missiology'. Tizon claims it is precisely because of the influence of 'radical evangelicals' worldwide that missiology has progressed from the post-Lausanne movement to 'Mission as Transformation'.¹⁴ It is a paradigm shift from evangelism by word only, irrespective of context, to the word plus social concern with sensitivity to cultural context. Missiologist Harvie M. Conn considered this shift necessary to move:

... the church beyond the limits of Western systematic theology and models of theological learning. Theology forged in the cultural settings of Africa, Asia, and Latin America could help lead the global church in mission.¹⁵

In response to the relentless movement of globalization and the global movements of people, missiology adopted what Charles Kraft coined a *culture affirming approach* to Christian Mission.¹⁶

¹³ Whitham, "Crisis of Need a Doorway to the Gospel," 1.

¹⁴ (2008, p.4). Vinay Samuel and Chris Sugden are considered the leading Systematic Theologians of the Lausanne 'Mission as Transformation' movement. They have recognized eight parameters of this transformative applied missiology:

1. An integral relationship between evangelism and social change.
2. Mission as witness and journey in the world.
3. Mission in context.
4. Truth commitment to change and imagination.
5. Christian mission and understanding are always local.
6. Freedom and power for the poor.
7. Reconciliation and solidarity.
8. Building communities of change.

V. Samuel & C. Sugden, (eds), *Mission as Transformation*, 1999, Oxford, Regnum, p. xvi.

¹⁵ The Legacy of Harvie M. Conn, Mark R. Gornik, "The Legacy of Harvie M. Conn," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 35, no. 4 (2011, October): 214-5.

The 'culture affirming approach' (i.e. the opposite of the Imperialist, subjugate 'the inferior natives' approach) has also been attributed to Archbishop Penman. Prior to becoming Melbourne's Anglican Archbishop, Penman worked as a CMS missionary in the Middle East for over a decade. Whilst in Pakistan, as well learning Urdu, he researched the sociology of religious minorities in Islamic societies at the University of Karachi (MA, 1969; PhD, 1977).¹⁷ He recognised that culture was to be respected and celebrated as a way forward when entering majority Islamic societies.¹⁸ It is not surprising, then, that culture becomes the frontier of evangelistic engagement. Clearly, given such cross-cultural dynamics, the bridges into the NES worlds through the 'local' become all the more important. Indeed, the building of such bridges is urgent before NES communities become enclaves themselves, impervious to mixing at the local level.

What was emerging was the concept of an urban Christian community capable of nurturing as well as discipling, by virtue of its inter-generational networks and its offering of sanctuary in and through its small group networks. It was widely recognised that Churches provide armies of volunteers for different community organizations.¹⁹ Sociologically, the local church as a voluntary community is recognised by its generation of social capital for the wider community. It is the antithesis to the 'holy huddle' in stasis, mesmerised by the greatness of its own reflection, to use the ancient Greek myth of Narcissus.

¹⁶ Charles H. Kraft, "My Pilgrimage in Mission," *ibid.* 22 (1998, October): 162. C. Kraft explains the paradigm-shift towards a 'culture affirming approach' when approaching Christian mission:

As we studied the dynamics of culture, we learned how important it is to respect and love a people for Christ by respecting the only way of life that makes sense to them. This gave rise to understanding a movement dedicated to applying anthropological insights to the practice of Christian mission ... As a leader in that movement Taylor in 1953 founded *Practical Anthropology*, a journal that became very influential vehicle of anthropology and communication theory for missionaries ... [this became] a major influence in the lives and ministries in those of us who were open to a culture affirming approach [*italics my own*] to Christian Mission.

¹⁷ Colin Holden, "Penman, David John (1936–1989)," National Centre of Biography, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/penman-david-john-15060/text26259>.

¹⁸ For the sake of this analysis I'm attributing post-facto a *culture affirming approach* (Kraft) to the late Archbishop David Penman.

... It was not culture which offended him. He could always see possibilities for good in it, as well as a basis for dialogue ... Nichols, *David Penman Bridge-builder, Peacemaker, Fighter for Social Justice*, 16.

¹⁹ A. Dinham, R. Furbey, and V. Lowndes, eds., *Faith In the Public Realm: Controversies, Policies and Practises* (Bristol, UK: The Policy Press, 2009), 127, 34., R.D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001), 129.

In defence of the Parish-Community work model

The community development model, developed in the late 1970s, was well designed to work within the local parish structure. The model featured devolution of collective power back to the grass-roots via the church's laity. It aimed to generate 'social capital' for the benefit of the local neighbourhood.²⁰ It facilitated 'entrepreneurial flourishing' among the laity, resulting in church-based, community-focussed, ministries for both men and women.²¹ Such concepts tested through praxis came to characterise a minority of Anglican parishes in Sydney in the 1980s. What for Sydney Diocese was the 'experimental' paradigm of community development involved an element of risk. The laity were encouraged to recognise the 'needs-based' programmes required in their local communities. e.g. After school care, playgroups, Christianity Explained classes, Better parenting classes, drug and alcohol education. Yet to create such a programme involved elements of risk and therefore the possibility of failure as well as of flourishing. It was in pursuit of such 'flourishing' that a minority of Sydney evangelicals (including the lay-PCW's) sought to liberate both the clergy and laity of the Sydney Diocese for ministry at the local level.

The paradigm of Christian community development, as we have seen, was the exact antithesis of another more common experiment in the 1980s: the church growth movement based on the

²⁰ This term is deliberately chosen to underscore the strength of a collective form of solidarity against the rampant individualism, thus enabling in response Church-based communitarian principles. Baker "Blurred encounters? Religious literacy, spiritual capital and language," in *Faith in the Public Realm: Controversies, Policies and Practices*, ed. A. Dinham, R. Furbey, and V. Lowndes (Bristol The Policy Press, 2009). Baker seeks to clarify the contribution of faiths by adapting the more secular language of social capital. He identifies 'religious capital' as the practical contribution to local and national life made by faith groups', which is distinct from 'spiritual capital' which motivates this contribution. Spiritual capital [e.g. the Christian faith through its responsibility back into local community] energizes by providing a theological identity [and] value system'. See his chapter, Blurred encounters? Religious literacy, spiritual capital and language in Dinham, Furbey, and Lowndes, *Faith In the Public Realm: Controversies, Policies and Practises*, 19.

²¹ Karen Healey, "Power and Activist Social work," in *Transforming Social Work Practise Post-Modern critical perspectives*, ed. B. Pease and J. Fook (St. Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1999), 119-20., recognizes the important contribution of critical analysis from the Social Sciences, for Social Work activism, of which she considers Community Development to be an 'activist' part:

Critical social scientists, emphasize the conflictual character of society. For them, society comprises opposing forces which exist in constant struggle with each other. A key tenet of *critical social science* [italics my own] is that overarching social structures, such as capitalism or patriarchy, fundamentally, order social relations at institutional and personal levels. These broader social structures determine local identities, power relations and interests.

[Such activism seeks] ... to enact a 'shift in power from established political, economic and cultural elites towards oppressed and powerless people'. [Healy quoting Galper, *Social Work Practice: A Radical Approach*, 61. See her chapter, 'Power and Activist Social Work' in Pease and Fook, *Transforming Social Work Practice Postmodern Critical Perspectives*, 120.

homogeneous unit principle.²² The parish community programmes were also in contra-distinction to the 'welfare-dependent' model, so often associated with charitable organisations.

In further defence of the Community Development Model

The DCCM's programmes were to be a marshalling of Sydney evangelical forces that reclaimed an older somewhat 'buried' Anglican identity and tradition - the centrality to community of the local parish church. The vision was of a re-invigorated 'enabling' church, with room for lay initiative, re-claiming its 'belonging' to, and Christian identity within its now urban local community. Such programmes helped open accessibility to local Anglican Churches that were increasingly estranged from their local (but now multicultural NES) communities, now immersed in relentless demographic change.²³

By design these new parish community programmes fostered the seeking of 'the other' even if this meant crossing, linguistic, cultural, class, and gender barriers. The design contrasted diametrically with the HUP which stressed that 'otherness' was a barrier to church growth. But in Sydney's immigrant communities, 'the other' was the norm. Therefore, in such high-density multicultural communities, the local church would need to venture out of its comfort zone in order to live out its mission through increasing heterogeneity.

Visions of inclusivity in Sydney

Canon Allan Whitham took the Home Mission Society back to 'first principles' as outlined by Sydney's Bishop Frederic Barker (1854-82) at the formation (May 20, 1856) of The Church Society, the earliest incarnation of HMS.²⁴ Whitham recognised, however, that there would have to be two major adjustments. First, the NES minorities in 1856, the Aborigines and the Chinese, were acknowledged from the outset,²⁵ but Whitham sought to make the NES the main focus of the DCCM and thereby turn the wheels of the CCM agenda throughout HMS.

²² Vallesky, "The Church Growth Movement: An Evaluation.", see his section titled, Homogeneous Unit Theory, Arthur F. Glasser, "Church Growth at Fuller," *Missiology: An International Review* 14, no. 4 (1986).

²³ For an in depth analysis, see previous chapter.

²⁴ Anderson, "The bishop's society, 1856-1958, A history of the Sydney Anglican Home Mission Society," 7-8.

²⁵ See *ibid.*, 12-13. for specialised ministries that included the Indigenous. For the early funding of Chinese ministry (1865) on the Goldfields, see *ibid.*, p.143.

Second, while in Barker's time the welfare agenda was excluded,²⁶ for Whitham the provision of welfare funding was *also* a priority for HMS. In this Whitham was in the tradition of Sydney Archbishops Mowll (1933-58)²⁷ and Loane (1966-82).²⁸ They had accepted government grants that supplemented funding for ministry (whether material and or personnel) for the welfare-needy. The combined Church planting/Welfare agenda was funded by the offertory going to HMS from Sydney parishes from Trinity and Advent Sundays, Confirmations, Bequests, and the Archbishop's Winter Relief Appeal. The funding mechanism, known as HMS Parish Grants, had also been strengthened by the fund-raising activities of HMS Auxiliaries, which had branches in most parishes.²⁹

The 1980s saw the building of a predominantly female volunteer base within the HMS organisation. Headed by Mrs Diana Stein, it consisted of more than 100 Auxiliary branches and support-groups.³⁰ They sought to fund specialized ministries that were not self-sustaining, such as youth workers, ministry to boarding houses, and ministries to homeless youth funded at the parish/regional level.

²⁶ Anderson (1990) convincingly argues in his thesis that social welfare was deliberately excluded from the Society's original agenda. There was little argument about such an exclusion as most Sydney Anglicans believed that welfare was best addressed by non-denominational groups. It is also historical testament to the Sydney 'brand' which to this day finds the provision of welfare problematic. The 'purer' form of evangelism requires it to be separated from welfare provision.

²⁷ This duality, providing social welfare and church-planting had been initially settled by Sydney Archbishop Mowll, former CMS missionary to Eastern Szechwan province, China. i.e. balancing both the welfare needs in accepting government grants and what can be described as parish-support and development. (See Anderson, "The bishop's society, 1856-1958, A history of the Sydney Anglican Home Mission Society," 14-15.

²⁸ Archbishop Loane had supported Frank (former Anglican Immigration Officer) and Gillian Garforth's ministry to the Indo-Chinese refugees (beginning 1976), given the changed direction of the former Anglican Immigration Department from 'meeting and greeting' British Church of England migrants to those fleeing the aftermath of the Vietnam war "The History of the Migrant Services Team," (Parramatta: Anglicare, 2004), 1. Loane personally intervened when the Grant-in-Aid (GIA) funding from the secular Immigration Department was cut towards the work with refugees. It was restored following his intervention. The newly-established ministry to refugees under the Garforths at Fairfield, NSW could continue. Today represented through the Chinese congregation, at Soldiers' Memorial and Care Force Office, Cabramatta. See case-study in video *Today's Anglicans. "Today's Anglicans: New Faces and Places."*

²⁹ This method of fundraising was originally pioneered by Bishop William Tyrrell (1847-79) through the Newcastle Church Society (NSW), which Bishop Barker replicated in Sydney Anderson, "The bishop's society, 1856-1958, A history of the Sydney Anglican Home Mission Society," 69.

³⁰ The work of this division was essential to fund-raising for the Society as well as flying the 'HMS flag' in the Sydney parishes. E.g. recycling of clothes that are then sent to the Op shops division. The Christmas distribution of food and gifts to the city's needy. In one year alone (the financial year 1990) they supplied clothing and goods worth \$192, 853 to the Society for distribution Diana Stein, "Auxiliaries Division," in *Annual Report of the Anglican Home Mission Society* (Sydney Square: St. Andrew's House, 1991), 11.

HMS and the birth of the Department of Cross-Cultural Ministries

The Standing Committee of the Sydney Anglican Synod appointed a Sub-Committee to consider Whitham's proposals for HMS. It met nine times between 4 May 1984 and August 1986. Its report³¹ approximates to a de-facto Diocesan policy of church-planting and planning for future ministries amongst the NES in Sydney. Hence it needs detailed analysis here.

The Committee was tasked to report on the following matters:

- (a) To consider the differing models of ministry to minority ethnic groups in the Diocese.
- (b) To consider whether ministry to minority ethnic groups should be linked with parishes or diocesan organisations.
- (c) To look at aims and objectives over the next 5 years.³²

Previously, ministry to the NES was considered part of CMS's brief, including ministry to Australia's Indigenous and Chinese populations.³³ The report sets the NES ministry in Sydney beginning about 1950, and is interpreted here as attempts at ministry among the Sydney urban population who were NES and *not* adherents of the Church of England.

Ministries to the non-English speaking people had been initiated (as shown in chapter 1) through Mr Frank and Mrs Gillian Garforth, whose work formerly through the Sydney Diocesan Immigration Department, was later transformed into the Migrant Services Team. The HMS with ministry to Indo-Chinese refugee programmes had been funded both from HMS and a Grant-In-Aid from the Federal Government. Department of Immigration funding was also available and it continues to fund direct service provision to CALD³⁴ refugee and migrant populations to the present day.³⁵

³¹ "Report of the Standing Committee, Cross-Cultural Ministries," 287.

³² Ibid.

³³ K Cole, *A history of the Church Missionary Society of Australia* (Church Missionary Historical publications, 1971)., see Chapter 1, Australian CMS Auxiliary 1825-1892, for the founding of the CMS in NSW by the Rev S. Marsden.

³⁴ Culturally and linguistically diverse, the preferred term of present government departments. CALD replaced NESB in 1996 as the favoured term on Department of Immigration documents, see discussion in Pooja Sawrikar and Ilan Katz, "How useful is the term 'culturally and linguistically diverse' (CALD) in Australian research and policy discourse?," (Sydney: Social Policy Research Centre, 2009). For this thesis the NESB term is preferred. In keeping with the secular term used for the period under examination.

Many examples may be given of ministries to NESB people at the time. Bishop Reid initiated Christian ministry to Turkish migrants in Sydney, beginning in the 1970s. Erol Ozer's Ministry to Turks, from 1984 to 1995, was funded through HMS, Chaplaincy division. The chaplain to the Maori community, Archdeacon Kingi Ihaka (1984-87) (formerly from the Bishopric of Aotearoa, New Zealand), at the initiative of Canon Allan Whitham, was also funded through Sydney HMS, Chaplaincy Division.³⁶ Ministry to Italian migrants was begun in Sydney, with missionary Joe Lenton, then Luciano Ricci, formerly a Lecturer in Italian at Sydney University. Ricci was initially funded as a Lay Evangelist to the Italian Community (1980-84) sponsored through the Department of Evangelism.³⁷ The Director, Canon John Chapman (1969-93), had an interest, as did his protégée³⁸ with an ever watchful eye for new and emerging talent, the Rev Phillip Jensen, Chaplain to the University of NSW (1975-2002).

Ministry to urban Aboriginals was conducted through the St. Paul's Centre, Redfern, with Indigenous Pastor Jack Braeside and funded through the Diocesan Inner City Committee, later headed by Archdeacon Huard.³⁹ Ministry to the Chinese by the Rev Maurice Lee (1983-89) was conducted through the parish of Neutral Bay with Kirribilli, a self-funding Chinese Anglican congregation in Sydney's immediate north.⁴⁰ A Cantonese-speaking congregation had also begun through the Soldiers' Memorial Church, Cabramatta. It was in the proximity of the Villawood and Cabramatta Migrant Hostels, since WWII used to house migrants and refugees. Overseen by the rector, Neil Flower (1974-88), along with Deaconess House student, Miss Irene Mok, teaching and pastoring the emerging Cantonese/Mandarin speaking congregation at Cabramatta had achieved some momentum. The parish of Cabramatta had the advantage of a Care Force Migrant Services Team Office, funded by a mix of government and HMS parish grants, located in the Anglican church hall of the parish. This

³⁵ Cited from "The History of the Migrant Services Team.", commissioned for the opening of the new headquarters of Anglicare, (2004) previously known as the Anglican Home Mission Society.

³⁶ The Trustees of the Catholic Apostolic Church gifted their church building, named The Church of the Holy Spirit, (Maori language: Te Wairua Tapu as it has been subsequently known), at Redfern, in Sydney's inner city, specifically for Anglican Maori ministry in 1986. Much of the behind the scenes negotiations were mediated by Canon Allan Whitham and Archdeacon Ihaka together with the Trustees. See Archbishop Robinson's public reference, 1986, Presidential Address to the Synod *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 217.

³⁷ This information was obtained through one of the personal files of Canon Allan Whitham, held at Anglicare, headquarters, Parramatta. I would like to acknowledge the gracious help of Ms Samantha Castley, personal assistant to the CEO, Anglicare, Sydney in providing this previously unopened archive.

³⁸ Formerly Assistant to Diocesan Missioner, Canon John Chapman within the Department of Evangelism.

³⁹ Cited from the Anglicare Archive, Ministry to Ethnic Minority Groups.

⁴⁰ Also cited from the Anglicare Archive, Ministry to Ethnic Minority Groups.

centre helped to create a natural symbiotic relationship between the needs of the new migrants and the growth of an emerging Chinese Anglican (refugee migrant) congregation.⁴¹

The Rev Bill Graham, a former CMS missionary to the Diocese of Chile, Bolivia and Peru (1968-74), who was fluent in Spanish, had experimented with an interpreted Spanish-speaking language component running parallel with the English service. The parallel service (interpreted through headphones) was conducted as part of the Sunday worship service for a Spanish-speaking Grandmother's group at St. Michael's Cathedral, Wollongong, when Graham was rector (1984-90). A bus service had been organised to collect the Spanish-speaking Grandmothers from different parts of Wollongong for the church service. Graham would pre-tape his sermon in Spanish and then play the Spanish version through the headsets during the English service sermon. This ministry was facilitated through the Spanish-speaking Care Force Case-worker for the Illawarra Region, Mrs Dorys Hernandez. She had made initial links with the Spanish-speaking families of the region and then co-ordinated the ministry through her own initiative with Graham.⁴²

All these examples of cross-cultural work for the Sydney Diocese amongst the NES were evidence to the Cross Cultural Ministries Sub-Committee that there was plenty of initiative and too little planning. The funding of such cross-cultural ministries to this point in time was without reference to a centralized department to rationalise the work. Being uncoordinated and funded through ad hoc mechanisms (whether HMS parish grants or Department of Evangelism support), such requests would test any enduring motivation through the Sydney Diocesan structures. Typically, too, funding NES ministries was considered and made available, when and only after, priority had been given to ES ministries.

The members the Cross Cultural Ministries Sub-Committee⁴³ were (in alphabetical order):

The Rev Philip Blake, theological training: Oak Hill Theological College, London. Former Curacies included: St. Paul, Slough, 1957-60, St. Barnabas, Old Mixon, Diocese of Bath (1960-62) England, Vicar, Branston, Diocese of Lichfield (1962-69) England consecutively, (1984-), Sydney, Part-time Chaplain to Parramatta Hospital (1986- 1991), Director, Chaplaincy Division (HMS), (1984-1991).

⁴¹ For a visual record with Neil Flower and Irene Mok being interviewed, see Case Study, no.3 of the Video, *Today's Anglicans': New Faces and Places*, Tonys-Soulos and Cole, "Today's Anglicans: New Faces and Places."

⁴² Point 17. From the 1987 Report, p. 290 makes the following reference: Different languages will 'group' people and it is always the non-Anglo-Saxons who 'wear the headsets'.

⁴³ Clergy who were theologically trained other than Moore Theological College, Sydney, have been noted within this listing. The majority of clergy from the listed Committee were trained through the Sydney institution.

Canon John 'Chappo' Chapman, Secretary of the Sub-Committee to Standing Committee: Cross-Cultural Ministries. Director, Department of Evangelism (1969-1995), member of Moore Theological College Council, clerical member of Standing Committee, Sydney Synod.

The Rev Alan Donohoo, former Director Inner City Committee (1975-80), Rector, Holy Trinity, Peakhurst (1981-1990) clerical member of the HMS Council.⁴⁴

Neil Flower, Rector, Soldiers' Memorial, Cabramatta, involved with ministry to the Indo-Chinese migrants/refugees (1974-88). Recipient of HMS parish grants.

The Rev Stephen Gabbott, formerly CMS missionary, (1971-9), Diocese of Central Tanganika, (1972-75), Diocese of Maseno South, Kenya (1976-9), Rector of St. John's Maroubra, Sydney (1987-92).

The Rev Geoffrey Huard, theological training: Clifton Theological College, Bristol, England. Former Curacies undertaken (1973-76), included St. Ambrose with St. Timothy Everton, St. Peter's Everton, Diocese of Liverpool, England, consecutively. Rector, St. Saviour's Redfern & St. Silas Waterloo, Sydney (1976-8). Director, Inner City Committee, (1981-92).

Mr C. M. Orpwood, lay member of Standing Committee, Sydney Synod. Lay member of the Department of Evangelism's governing Council body.⁴⁵

The Rev Jim Ramsay, Rector St Luke's, Liverpool (1982- 91), clerical member of Standing Committee to Sydney Synod.

The Ven. Vic. Roberts, Archdeacon of Wollongong and Camden (1984-93), clerical member of HMS Council, clerical member of Standing Committee to Sydney Synod.

Mr Tom R. Smith, lay member Standing Committee of Synod, member Anglican Youth Department (until 1992).

Mrs Diane Turner, Co-Ordinator the Migrant Services Team, Care Force, member of HMS Staff (1984-86).

The Rev Canon Allan Whitham, Chairman of the Sub-Committee to Standing Committee: Cross-Cultural Ministries. General Secretary of HMS (1982-1990), clerical member of Standing Committee to Synod, clerical member of the HMS Council.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ HMS Council being the highest governing body of HMS.

⁴⁵ *Chappo: For the Sake of the Gospel : John Chapman and the Department of Evangelism* (Eagleswift Press, 1995)., wrote an authorized biography of Canon John Chapman.

The composition of this surprisingly high-powered sub-committee suggests that Whitham must have been at the peak of his powers politically. Most members were practitioners engaged at the coal-face of welfare and evangelism. Most were connected and sympathetic to the aims of HMS. The absence of teaching representatives from Sydney's Moore Theological Colleges is notable and probably by design. Their absence highlighted the fault-lines⁴⁷ in place between the teaching of theology and theological praxis on the multicultural parish front-lines.

The Standing Committee Report on the founding of the DCCM (1987)

The 'Chairman's Comments' reveal a number of opposing tensions. He wanted to position Sydney to follow Melbourne's lead in its commitment to welfare as ministry, but following Melbourne's lead had never come easily to Sydney Anglicans. It is significant, for example, that the Committee preferred to call the work in Sydney 'Cross-cultural Ministries'. This was a pointed departure from 'Multicultural Ministries,' the name of the already inaugurated (1984) sister department in the Melbourne Diocese, under the leadership of Archbishop Penman. Happy to concede the name, Whitham was not happy to concede that the work was anything other than urgent. Sydney must now be seen for what it had become: a multicultural society with multiple identities. The multi-faith, multi-lingual NESB reality:

warrants the most urgent and significant consideration by us all in a Diocese where more than 100 different nationalities are proud to be Australians. Their very presence guarantees that the traditional concept of what it means "to be an Australian" is undergoing rapid and irreversible change.⁴⁸

Whitham's comments represent a considered attempt to reclaim the Anglican Church's central role as the historical symbolic national church of the nation, given its early colonial identity. He notes that the traditional understanding of Australian national identity was also undergoing 'change'. Hegemony could no longer be claimed by one identifiable cultural group, namely those of English speaking background. A new direction for future ministries was required of the church which was "the largest Protestant Church in Australia". It must now welcome and address the cultural plurality and acknowledge the cultural hybrid as mainstream Australia. He called for a new Sydney diocesan

⁴⁶ Most references regarding members of the sub-committee to Standing Committee re: Cross Cultural Ministries have been sourced from *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*.-2014.

⁴⁷ Both Moore Theological College and The Church Society (forerunner of the HMS) were created through Bishop Barker in the same year, 1856. The similarity ends there. These two streams represent the 'fault-lines' herein being considered even for English-speaking ministry. The praxis stream is represented by the Good Samaritan logo of HMS.

⁴⁸ *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 287.

multicultural policy in tandem with secular Australian governmental 'multicultural' policies. Such a perception, a key element in the minority radical evangelical tradition, would dramatically re-position Sydney Anglicans. They would no longer consider themselves, in Kaye's words, as "the old English hegemony".⁴⁹

In two paragraphs in the report, Whitham warned that Sydney Anglicans could opt to remain small and powerful or grow and serve:

4. As Anglicans we can choose to ignore this process and attempt to maintain what was, the end result ... being that Australian Anglicans in the long term will become a small but powerful group, as can be seen in the history of the Episcopalian Church in the U.S.A.

5. We can choose to co-operate with what is happening as the largest ethnic group in the country, play the major part in forging a new and dynamic Anglican church that maintains that which is precious and true in our Anglican heritage and our Anglo-Saxon culture but is truly representative of the newly emerging Australian community in all its rich variety.⁵⁰

'Re-scripting' Sydney Anglican identity?

The tension between ESB and NESB ministries, observed Whitham, was indicative of the priorities of Anglicans. Use of the Prayer Book in English is an illustration of where priorities lay at this time. The Anglican churches in Australia had produced the greatly esteemed *An Australian Prayer Book* (AAPB) in 1978. It was to be used in accordance with, not in lieu of, the 1662 Book of Common Prayer⁵¹ as the

⁴⁹ "Christianity and Multiculturalism in Australia," *Zadok Institute for Christianity and Society*, no. S42, June (1989): 4. The NSW Government's Anti-Discrimination Board produced a report which recommended with some qualifications that religion should be included as a ground for a complaint to the Board under the Act (15) (New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Board). The Standing Committee, Diocese of Sydney, rejected the main elements of the Report in their response to "Discrimination and Religious Conviction" Report from the NSW Anti-Discrimination Board, Sydney, 1984. They claimed it was an essential corollary in a belief system that "others were false", and therefore it was appropriate to discriminate. The response was adopted by the Standing Committee, 4 February 1985. Kaye, (1989, p.4) in analyzing Sydney's isolationist response to the Anti-Discrimination Board Report, writes:

'The Response reveals a considerable reluctance to recognize the multicultural situation that exists now in Australia and it seems unwilling to engage with the problem presented for public policy by that multicultural situation. This is the more significant, coming as it does from a group which has historically been seen to represent the old English hegemony.'

For a more detailed analysis see Kaye (1989, p.3-4)

⁵⁰ Op cit, 1987, p. 287

⁵¹ The inaugural Australian Prayerbook was written after the Australian Church separated itself from the mother church with a new Constitution (that provided for the commissioning of Australia's own Prayerbook (AAPB,

liturgical basis for Australian Anglican Services of Worship. The first of its kind, this version indigenised Anglican liturgy for Australia. The primacy of the English language, used in services of worship, whilst uniting a section of the population on one level, constituted a form of exclusion on another. The primacy of the English language as the vehicle for worship and the teaching of biblical texts excluded those of NESB who did not have command of this language in spoken and written form.

The primacy of language facilitated an economic class that *had* fluency and comprehension at the level required for congregational and community life to the exclusion of all others. The missiological consideration of the 'heart-language' for the NES and their receptivity in the new land had only occurred to some. They are the minority, those tending to be in 'the radical evangelical tradition'. Otherwise it was 'business as usual', despite the rapidly shifting indicators of community change.

Yet if the Great Commission of the gospel of Matthew (28:16-20) for Sydney evangelicals was to be implemented, that is 'making disciples *'of all nations'*, (Koine Greek, «τα πάντα ἔθνοι»⁵²) there would need to be deployment of missionaries and resources towards Sydney's people of NESB. This was especially the case, given that Australia had embarked on one of the most ambitiously designed, long term, post WWII immigration settlement programmes in the world.⁵³

Another view, apparently found among those on the sub-committee itself, was that the 'great commission' to make disciples was to be directed primarily to nominal Anglicans, understood as the primary mission field of Anglicans. This described the traditional 'maintenance mode' of the Diocese. The report states that 'nominal Anglicans' could '*perhaps* have first priority' (my italics), and it fails to insist on an *equal partnership* regarding mission to those of NESB. It implied an unequal deployment of resources, favouring nominal Anglicans before the NESB. Perhaps equality was still too much to expect, given the historic ethnocentrism of the Sydney Anglican Diocese. But if such discrimination were indeed intended it was contradicted by the theology of the sub-committee's professed evangelistic aspiration: 'As we seek to bring *all* Australians to a saving knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ'.⁵⁴ (Italics from original report).

1978). However, the last Prayerbook version, *A Prayer Book for Australia* (APBA, 1995)) was only selectively endorsed by the Sydney Diocese. That is written permission is requested for its use in the Sydney Diocese. C McGillion, *The chosen ones : the politics of salvation in the Anglican Church* (Crows Nest, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin 2005), 29-31.

⁵² The Koine Greek word «ἔθνοι» meaning 'nations' relates to discernible people-groups e.g. tribes, languages and dialects using an anthropological concept.

⁵³ Jim Houston, "Christians in Australia " *Zadok Centre News*, no. August (1979): 16., also quoted in Kaldor, *Who goes where? : who doesn't care?*, 182.

⁵⁴ Op cit, (1987, p.288).

Ministry then *should* require an equal deployment of resources. The Committee noted the scale and difficulty of the task through the following observations:

- (a) All of these efforts show that it is slow, hard work winning such people to Christ.
- (b) Developing integrated congregations composed of different ethnic groups is slow and hard work.
- (c) No ethnic group is immune from racism,
- (d) Australians are biased against other ethnic groups more than they care to admit.
- (e) Indigenous congregations from our multi-cultures will probably be small in the Anglican Church.⁵⁵

The Sydney 'hegemon' is here acknowledged as but one of the cultural groupings that make-up Australia's religious matrix. The position of the denomination now on a mission footing was clarified and the need for a more adequate response to NESB communities accepted. The recognition that the scale of the task was beyond the resources of any one Diocesan department was also made clear. The work of such a transformative mission would be long-suffering and 'slow'. Accompanying the ethnocentrism of the dominant grouping would be the natural wariness of newcomers. They found themselves in unfamiliar surroundings, pondering the construction of identity/ 'belonging' which often accompanies a questioning of religious belief given the journey of migration and acclimatization.

In considering 'Principles of Cross-Cultural Evangelism by Anglican Churches' three specific references are made to the concepts of 'race' and 'racism'.

10. There is no doubt that the Bible envisages that in Christ barriers between races are broken down in the one 'new man' ...

d. Congregations reflecting the true gathering around Christ in heaven should give expression to this. They should be places where racism is overcome as we seek to grow to a deeper oneness in Christ and eschew divisions (Ephesians 2:14-18) namely of not withdrawing and jointly proclaiming the Lord's death until He comes still apply ...

11. (c) Congregations will need to remove barriers to fellowship that they have brought with them from the world. Time and teaching will be necessary to overcome this problem.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ (1987, p.288)

⁵⁶ (1987, p.288-289).

It was clear that one of the core principles for Cross-Cultural Ministries (CCM) would be addressing racism, not a small task. Priority for the training of anti-racism in the life of the parish can face many kinds of obstacles when such ministry objectives need urgent address. Anti-racism materials (secular/sacred) existed, but it was clear to Sydney Anglican leaders that some of their own would need to write such materials for use in parishes.

The report was adamant that:

11. (a) We should as a Diocese be concerned for and be vigorously engaged in cross-cultural evangelism.”⁵⁷

The following strategies were considered for implementation where there was no identifiable dominant ethnic group, i.e. in the parish immersed in a plethora of non-English speaking populations. Here the report obliquely references the strategy pin-pointed by the Marrickville Area Deanery (1986) research:

14. The strategy used here could be to aim at initiating personal friendships and achieving one workable language. The teaching of English could be a first step in implementing evangelism in this type of area.

In areas with high concentrations of identifiable language groups, the local church, in engaging in evangelism, can start by:

- (a) seeking to have clergy, workers and some of the congregation learn the language and the culture of that group ...
- (d) seeking to win a number to Christ and build them up in their own language and culture, if necessary, with a national Christian of their own language group as pastor.

The modus operandi of cross-cultural (foreign) missionary societies and their candidates included learning language and culture. Attempting to bring the Gospel to what were foreign NES communities meant beginning from scratch. The very same missionary situation was now belatedly recognised at home. However, few at home were cognisant of the matter at hand given the changing pace of

⁵⁷ (1987, p.289)

Australian society. In the decade of the 1980s one out of every five people in Sydney (1986 Census) were speaking a NES language at home.⁵⁸

The report recommended the following strategies:

14. (g) bringing in Christians of the dominant ethnic group who will work alongside the local Christians until the locals can manage on their own; and

(h) encouraging the use of returned missionaries with particular language skills and cultural experiences.⁵⁹

Sydney Diocese, with its history of overseas missionary candidates, had already trained cross-cultural missionaries, especially women.⁶⁰ Such personnel would prove a major resource back at home. Previously, employment for women with such NES language and cross-cultural experience was often not readily available back in their home parishes, either as home missionaries or as pastors to NES groups. Of course, despite such giftedness, funding for these creative ministries would still need to be found.

Despite the availability of returning missionary personnel, the report clearly stipulates the preferred Diocesan model as being:

15. Ethnic ministers whether ordained or lay should be associated with local congregations. Having said this, we see certain immediate problems ... (*Italics in original report*)

(b) In some cases, any form of joint activity between the Anglo-Saxon group and the cross-cultural group is almost impossible. Nevertheless, the aim should be to develop at the local level of local congregational life ...

(e) It may only be possible initially to establish a ministry on 'neutral ground' such as a 'house church'.

⁵⁸ Clyne and Kipp (1997, p. 451-452) have analyzed the Census statistics of the Sydney population 'who speak another language other than English at home'; 20.8% (1986 Census) and 25.9% (1991 Census) and the proportion is highest in Sydney of all Australia's capital cities, 26.4% (1996 Census). See also chapter: 'Multicultural Australia' in Kaldor, *Who goes where? : who doesn't care?*

⁵⁹ (1987, p.290).

⁶⁰ On the number of female candidates sent by Australia to overseas missions by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) see listing in Cole, *A history of the Church Missionary Society of Australia*.; for an overview of Anglican women's ministry see A O'Brien, "Anglicanism and Gender Issues," in *Anglicanism in Australia A History*, ed. Bruce Kaye, et al. (Carlton South, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2002). See also S Judd and K. J. Cable, *Sydney Anglicans* (Sydney: Anglican Information Office, AIO, 2000).

(f) If a congregation does not see involvement and identification with the cross-cultural group as part of its life and work, it is questionable whether it is right to 'force' two groups together. It may be better, for a time, to let the 'ethnic pastor' be attached to a diocesan agency.⁶¹

The model described in 15(f) already operated in the case of the Maori, and Turkish ministries funded through the Chaplaincy Division (HMS), whilst the Ministry to Italians, was initially funded through the Department of Evangelism, then subsequently under Parish Grants through HMS. The report noted that this funding included provision for theological training only through the medium of the English language. The work of training for the NES mission would need to be funded and embraced in Sydney Anglican structures, so that the work of Cross-Cultural Ministries would have an educative aspect for the 'whole church' and its mission for all to journey altogether.

The report then pondered what these emerging congregations would look like and how they would relate to one another. The construction of community cohesion at the local level was the case in point, albeit through the reflection of Sydney Anglican congregations. How would such culturally and linguistically diverse congregations/populations mix if at all? Or would the partial answer be replicating the homogeneous unit principle i.e. replicating NES 'mono-ethnic churches' that were susceptible to losing another generation e.g. youth who had possibly lost their ancestral NES language caught in an identity, youth 'generation gap'? ⁶²

In answer to the question, 'To what extent can we expect to see merging of groups?', the report said:

16. There are strong prejudices in our present congregations and certain other ethnic groups that make the merging of groups a problem.

17. Different languages will 'group' people and it is always the non-Anglo-Saxons who 'wear the headsets'.

18. From the point of view of Aboriginal Ministry, it has *not* been helpful to encourage Christian work where whites and Aborigines have existed together. Perhaps the lesson of history is that so often 'integration' is misunderstood as 'domination' and not as 'equal partnership' ...

⁶¹ (1987, p. 290)

⁶² H. Conn explains the culturally-bound phenomenon in the following way,

Planting an urban church is frequently defined as planting an ethnic church. Whys is this so? What are the barriers that hinder further strategic planning? "The Rural/Urban Myth and World Mission," 126.

20. Whatever we do we must respect the cultural identity of the group in question. Christians will express their faith in ways that are appropriate to their particular culture. We should expect the particular strategies of pre-evangelism, evangelism, ministering and maturing to be different for different cultures.⁶³

Envisioning the future of Sydney Anglicanism

The remainder of the report reflected on the history of ministry amongst the NES as well as envisioning what such ministry in multicultural fields practically entailed and what differing forms it might take.

It is of significance that historic recognition of Indigenous ministry is made in this context alongside NES ministry. The Committee here recognized the enduring, historic failure of Christian missions to Australia's Indigenous people.⁶⁴ In addition, given such despondent history regarding Australian Indigenous race-relations, they recognized that "culture" and "gospel" are inextricably fused.⁶⁵

Separate development of ministries might well be necessary, although not desirable according to the report. The 'evangel', which had been communicated historically through an imported culture, now needed to be indigenized through a more contextualized form in daily life.⁶⁶ And 'respecting the cultural identity of the group in question' would allow a more 'flexible' form of ministry.

⁶³ (1987, p.290-291).

⁶⁴ The early NSW missions to the Indigenous were funded by CMS and The Church Society, forerunner of HMS. See Anderson, "The bishop's society, 1856-1958, A history of the Sydney Anglican Home Mission Society." For the definitive work on Christian missions to Australia's Indigenous see J. Harris, *One Blood: 200 years of Aboriginal Encounter with Christianity: A Story of Hope*, (Sydney: Albatross Books, 1990).

⁶⁵ As was also supported through the Lausanne Consultation (1978):

Sensitive cross-cultural witnesses will not arrive at their sphere of service with a pre-packaged gospel. They must have a clear grasp of the "given" truth of the gospel. But they will fail to communicate successfully if they try to impose this on people without reference to their own cultural situation and that of the people to whom they go. "The Willowbank Report: Consultation On Gospel And Culture.", Section 5(d).

⁶⁶ Referring to the concept of 'habitus' defined as:

the values, dispositions, expectations of particular social groups that are acquired through the activities and experiences of everyday life. J. Scott and G. Marshall, *A Dictionary of Sociology* (Oxford University Press, 2009).

The term has implications where social interactions already have a history of interaction and are internalized for the individual.

At the prompting of Stephen Gabbott,⁶⁷ a questionnaire was sent from the Committee to all incumbents of the Diocese attempting to 'discover their perceptions' regarding CCM. 104 returns were analysed, and the report summarizes the perceptions from the Sydney Clergy:

22. (a) Most respondents were aware that they are working in a multi-cultural society ... Most felt they could not cope with the workload represented by the traditional Australian population and felt there was little point in moving into more difficult waters.

(b) Few respondents felt they needed to address the question of ethnic evangelism in order for their parishes to survive, at least in the short to medium term ...

(c) Contrary to expectations, respondents reported that maximum integration occurred at the congregational level in the regular Sunday services. The rate at which people of non-Australian origin integrated declined through home groups, youth fellowships to a minimum in the Sunday Schools.

(d) Generally speaking, people of *non-Australian origin* who had been successfully grafted into Anglican congregations: (my italics)

(i) are fluent in English,

(ii) have already settled into the Australian community to some degree,

(iii) have already made a significant break with some of the dominant features of their national culture, e.g. Egyptians and Indians who came from Christian traditions in their own societies.⁶⁸

It is notable that the term 'non-Australian' is being substituted for non-English speaking (NES), and or the assumed 'non-British' background such as the Indian and or Egyptian examples used in 22(d). The perception, therefore, that these groups are 'non-Australian' relegates them to the position of 'outsider' or 'other' as not fully integrated. However, the fact that some have been perceived to be 'successfully grafted' into mainstream congregations reveals that they *have made* a 'significant break' with some of the dominant features of their culture (22.iii). This wording in turn reveals the underlying expectation for such people to conform to the hegemony of the English language as previously

⁶⁷ See Stephen Gabbott's letter sent to Anglican Parishes 1984, September 4. as well as Replies from Incumbents to Questionnaire (Appendix I, Summary of Survey). Access was obtained through Canon Allan Whitham's personal file and notes, in a previously uncatalogued Archive, titled Ministry to Ethnic Minority Groups held at Anglicare headquarters, Parramatta.

⁶⁸ (1987, p.291).

historically outlined and formerly through the implementation of The White Australia Policy⁶⁹. The expectation would be that 'non-Australian' people-groups would follow an 'assimilationist' line⁷⁰ if they were to be part of Sydney mainstream congregations.

The most relevant indicator from the foundational CCM report was that 'ethnic evangelism' for the majority of Sydney ministry *wasn't necessary for parishes to survive* in the 'short to medium term'. The Committee, however, recognized the long-term consequences of such views.

By this time, there was no organized and active missioning/church-planting agency on the home front among the NES for Sydney Anglicans. The 1987 report represents the 'paradigm shift' from 'monocultural' to 'multicultural' (cross-cultural), concluding with four main points:

26. The need to engage in evangelism among ethnic people in the Diocese is very great. Parishes need to be encouraged to take initiatives in this matter, particularly in areas in increasing density of ethnic population *before* the Anglo-Saxon population diminishes to the point where it feels threatened. [Italics in original report]

27. In a congregation of high ethnic population, the form that "Anglicanism" takes may need to be extremely flexible ...

28. In an area of high ethnic concentration of one nationality, the Anglican congregation should "adopt" the ethnic group and seek to understand and minister to it.

⁶⁹ An enforced part of the former White Australia Policy, was the infamous 'dictation test'. This was administered to anyone trying to enter the country, who would be deemed undesirable, including the wrong colour. It required the person to be able to write correctly at least 50 words dictated by the Immigration Officer in a form of the English language, including Scottish Gaelic. See High Court case R v Wilson; ex parte Kisch (1934). This practice ceased with the new Migration Act, 1958.

⁷⁰ Assimilation was a central plank of the White Australia Policy, it is significant that the 'integration' paradigm is recognized through the 1987 (Report) as anchoring new NESB converts at the local level, encouraging the transition to embracing cultural pluralism and hence the paradigm shift to Multiculturalism. Here represented as the forerunner of multicultural policies, based on the settlement needs of NES migrants. A subsequent Review was commissioned by the newly constituted Department of Community Services, (DOCS) 1984. The brief of the research was to analyze how to better serve government departments, e.g. Health and Social Security to address the needs of their NES clients. *The Equal Disappointment Opportunity?* Report, Helen Meerkosha et al., "Equal Disappointment Opportunity ?

A Report to the Department of Community Services on Programs for Immigrants and their Children," (Wollongong 1987). whilst commissioned was not accepted by the Department of Community Services (DOCS 1987) and has only been publicly released, 2014, by its authors. Ibid. The transition enabling the secular paradigm shift from assimilation to cultural plurality is discussed based on the research regarding the welfare/settlement needs of migrants. Andrew Jakubowicz, "The state and the welfare of immigrants in Australia," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 12, no. 1 (1989): 2-3.

29. Wherever possible, ethnic workers and congregations should be attached to an already existing Anglo-Saxon congregation where they can receive encouragement and support from the Christians already meeting.⁷¹(1987, p.292)

The Committee was now planning not only for the present, but also for the future, i.e. before the 'white fright/white flight syndrome' took hold 'and the Anglo-Saxon population diminishes to the point it feels threatened'. The Committee recognized that the fabric of Sydney society continued to be irrevocably altered. Sydney Diocese could now embrace multicultural Australia through a focused mechanism of cross-cultural ministry. This historic 'paradigm shift' could only have happened when key clergy accepted that in the future ministry and mission would have to be 'cross-cultural'. In the Standing Committee's 1987 Report Sydney Anglicanism had at last recognized its own identity and status, taking its place within the wider social framework of Sydney society. The report's inclusive vision for mission acknowledged Australia's irreversible cultural plurality.

Appointing one to implement the new vision

The final recommendation of the report was for a Department of Cross-Cultural Ministries (DCCM) be set up "within the structures" of the Home Mission Society (HMS). A Co-Ordinator was to be appointed to stimulate, initiate and co-ordinate the work within the Sydney Diocese funded through the Diocesan Income and Expenditure Ordinance.⁷²

For HMS, the DCCM completed the rebuilding of HMS ministry according to its 'first principles' as interpreted by Whitham. The DCCM could have been housed within other diocesan structures, e.g. the Department of Evangelism or the Board of Education. However, in the correspondence, dated 24th April, 1986, to the Rev Canon J.C. Chapman (Department of Evangelism) from the Archbishop of Sydney, Donald Robinson clearly responded to the Diocesan Evangelist in settling the matter of just *where* such a future DCCM would belong. It appears that HMS was not the only diocesan structure wanting to plant such a foundational department. The Archbishop wrote in his characteristic unequivocal tone:

My own strong preference would be for the matter to be established under the Home Mission Society which is your option (c). It would clearly be of help to the Standing Committee if your sub-committee [Ministry to Ethnic Minority Groups] had a preference about this, as it is not easy for Standing Committee to determine such options. An advantage of H.M.S. being

⁷¹ "Report of the Standing Committee, Cross-Cultural Ministries," 292.

⁷² Ibid.

responsible is that it would enable such a department to grow in a regulated way more readily than if it were springing out of the ground under some single person.⁷³

The matter was now settled. It was also evident that Whitham had the numbers on the Sub-Committee sufficient to scuttle any challenge that would be brought against the new work being housed away from HMS. This was a ministry dear to his heart and the long-time supporters of HMS on the Committee reflected this aim. That the DCCM was to be housed within the 'structures' of HMS was a victory for 'the radical evangelical Anglican minority'.

Such evangelicals had in fact won the day over those on the Committee who sought a more privately pious, evangelical faith, disconnected from the structural forces that perpetuate disadvantage in society.⁷⁴ The latter saw their mission principally through verbal proclamation *without* the intentional focus of local community-capacity building and intentional social transformation. In sharp contrast, the HMS was now committed to experimental involvement in grass-roots community transformation or Christian community development. The new structure of CCM, by way of the appointment of the founding Co-Ordinator, had the vision of community development at the parish level *as well as* church-planting amongst the NES. Inevitably this would allow a greater symbiotic approach between the NES, the local community and Sydney Diocese at large. The CCM vision, once blurred and on the margins, now experienced centre-stage in the life of HMS as the missionary society at home.

⁷³ Personal correspondence from Archbishop Robinson to Canon John Chapman, April 24, 1986. Cited from a personal file of Canon Allan Whitham, titled: Cross-Cultural Ministry. The respective file, had *not* been sent to Sydney Diocesan Archives (SDA) hence its availability for this thesis with grateful acknowledgement to Anglicare Head Office, Parkes St., Parramatta.

⁷⁴ In direct contrast the opposition between evangelism and social-justice melted away, as the NES communities were still being accommodated through the secular structures of Australia. Yet HMS already had working models of the synthesis between their needs e. the CareForce Offices and Parish churches.

Chapter 4

The Interplay of Church (Anglicanism) and State

Before detailing the early work of the DCCM, it is necessary to take stock of the considerable groundswell of support for multiculturalism both in secular and religious circles out of which it grew. Conservative Sydney Anglicans are sometimes good at insulating themselves from such thinking, but in this case they were closing their eyes and their hearts to a dynamic movement for social change. The location of this chapter within the structure of this thesis will appear strange at first sight since it covers events which predate the formation of the DCCM, sometimes by decades. But this reflects the experience of the Co-Ordinator herself as, on the job, she found it necessary to delve ever deeper into the background of the mission to which she had now been appointed. The structure of this thesis, then, reflects the chronology of her own growing familiarity with the history and theology of the minority evangelical radical tradition within Sydney Anglicanism.

The 1980s for Sydney Anglicanism represented a formative time when considering ministry to those of NESB. Paradigm-shifts were occurring on both the sacred and secular fronts. On the secular front, responses to WWII and the aftermath of the Vietnam War created issues for the Australian identity that also affected Anglican congregations. Few recognized the long-term impact and effect of large-scale immigration propelling social and cultural pluralism on the life of this denomination, let alone the nation.

From Australia's Anglicanism, the few prophets who did emerge, in what this thesis has coined 'the radical minority, evangelical tradition' were attempting to take the 'whole' church with them, from previous assimilationist social policies through to Multiculturalism. 'Multiculturalism' continues to be a highly contested social policy to this day, as do Australia's Immigration policies.

For the purposes of this analysis it will be necessary to examine in particular, Multiculturalism's secular theorists, including Jean I. Martin and Jerzy Zubrzycki. This will facilitate the analysis of disadvantage, social cohesion, and cultural/linguistic plurality within Australian society. The contribution of David Penman, Melbourne's Anglican Archbishop, cannot be over-estimated. He imparted a more inclusive vision for both the church and the nation. He also became Chairman of the peak-advisory body to the Fraser/Hawke government, the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA) 1985-6. He

modelled a greater inclusivity for the peoples of NESB, especially within Australian Anglicanism. His influence, life and direction was an inspiration to the newly-founded Department of Cross-Cultural Ministries (DCCM) created by the 1987 Sydney Synod, and he was one of the key drivers in the subsequent directions taken by the newly appointed Co-Ordinator of the DCCM.

Historically, the secular policies of inclusion ran ahead of parish mission strategies by Sydney Anglicans, regarding the NES. DCCM could not have come into being without the historical precedent of bi-partisan government policies, nor without Melbourne's Archbishop leading Australia in the creation of the first Anglican Department to address the changed and changing nation whilst attempting to address the paradigm-shift from ES to NES inclusion.

Anglican liberal evangelical Bishop Moyes of Armidale in 1941 was one of the few voices advocating the abandonment of the White Australia Policy.¹ Yet it was not until the mid-1980s that issues of multiculturalism were asked publicly with respect to the direction of Sydney Anglicanism. An entire issue of the Sydney Anglican newspaper, *Southern Cross*, (September 1986) was devoted to mission amongst the NESB, foreshadowing the work of the 1987 Sydney Synod report that created the DCCM.

Bishop John Reid in 1983 began to put the case that "in another generation Anglicans would be seen as an Anglo-Saxon" sect and the church would lose its leadership in its "historical role" as a national church² ... Archbishop Robinson raised the question: "Are we perhaps being reduced to a sect for white Australian Anglo-Saxon Australians?"³ Similar fears featured on the front-page of the *Church Scene* newspaper expressed by Allan Whitham, HMS General Secretary, quoting from the 1987 Synod report, into Minority Ethnic groups, warning that if Anglicans continued to ignore changes in society they would end up as "a small but powerful ghetto group".⁴ Archdeacon Geoff Huard observed of the Sydney Anglican Diocese that "it remained one of the last bastions of the British Empire".⁵ His Doctor of Ministry thesis titled: "The Phoenix of Petersham", examining the Petersham Deanery during the decade of the 1980's and 90's, spoke of:

¹ Moyes argues in his (1941) Moorhouse Lectures for the future Australia to have greater social and racial equality by negating the White Australia policy. Anne O'Brien and A. G Moyes, "Moyes, John Stoward (1884-1972)," <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/moyes-john-stoward-11190>. See also Chapter 2, P Terracini, "John Stoward Moyes and the social gospel : a study in Christian social engagement" (Sydney, Australia, 2012).

² *Church Scene*, 12 August, 1983, p.15

³ *Church Scene*, 16 March, 1984, p.3

⁴ *Church Scene*, 14 November 1986, p.1, quoted in Fletcher, "Anglicanism and National Identity in Australia Since 1962," 332.

⁵ This is taken from an interview with the Archdeacon 15/05/15, as part of this research.

Christian withdrawal from the local community ... in many places it became the last bastion of white, Anglo-Saxon culture resisting the in-coming tides of cultural diversity ... an inclusivist ministry all but disappeared under the weight of exclusivism and separation.⁶

The Archdeacon examined the retreat into a 'fortress mentality' that included the 'white flight/white flight syndrome'.⁷ It paralysed inner west churches (of which the Petersham Deanery was part), from seeing their church and their mission within a multicultural society. The Archdeacon recognized the lateness of the hour and the urgent need for a paradigm-shift within the local Anglican worshipping community towards 'the Other'.

Trends in religious belief during the 1980's-introducing the secularization thesis

Another reason for the advent of the department of Cross-Cultural Ministries in 1987 was the increasing impact of secularization. Large-scale immigration bolstered the statistics of various religious groups, e.g. Roman Catholic and Buddhist, but the Census also showed signs of dramatic secularization. The secularization thesis⁸ is evidenced by the increase in the number of those of 'no

⁶ The comment is also substantively supported through G. Huard's research (Doctor of Ministry thesis) into Anglican parishes of the Petersham Deanery, in Sydney's Inner West. "The Phoenix of Petersham" (Northern Baptist Theological Seminary, US, 1990, May), 82.

⁷ Examined in earlier chapter of this thesis discussing the "white flight/white flight" syndrome, see Bakke, "The Battle for the Cities:

What we have learned about urban evangelization since Pattaya 1980" 11.

⁸ The preferred definition for the secularization thesis is from Roger Fink (1997):

religion will decline as modernity erodes the demand for traditional religious beliefs. Cited from M. Bowman et al., *Religion Today: Tradition, Modernity and Change : Course Introduction* (Open University, 2009), 76.

Momen, *The Phenomenon of Religion: A Thematic Approach* (Oneworld, 1999), 480. gives 5 helpful markers for the secularization thesis:

- Decline of popular involvement in institutionalized religion. This can be seen in the decline in church attendance, with fewer marriages, baptisms and funerals being performed under religious auspices."
- The loss of prestige of religious institutions and symbols" and the decline in influence of religious organisations.
- The separation of society from the religious world, so that religion becomes purely personal matter."
- The loss of the idea of the sacred. "As science increases our understanding of humanity and of the world, the area of 'mystery' and the supernatural decrease."
- Religious groups themselves become increasingly concerned with the things of this world rather than the spiritual world."

religion' or 'no stated religion' accompanied by the decline in nominal adherence to mainstream (particularly Protestant) denominations. In 1981, the Catholic and Anglican denominations had little numerical difference by way of adherents, the former at 26% and the latter 26.1%. In 1986, however, the Roman Catholic Church overtook at 26% the previously majority Anglican adherents, now decreased to 23.9%. Of the 820,000 increase in the number of Catholics between 1981 and 1991, 321,000 (39%) were migrants who had arrived in Australia since 1981. A further 221,000 were children aged 0-9 years who had one or both parents born overseas. B. Fletcher is correct to assert that the Roman Catholic Church had increased in Australia helped by Immigration. This is confirmed in the table below .

By way of comparison, 86% of the growth in the number of Buddhists can be attributed to immigration between 1981 and 1991 and a further 10% to the Australian born children of (these) migrants. Because the migration waves of Muslims, mainly from Lebanon and Turkey, commenced in the 1970s, a larger proportion of the growth in Islam between 1981 and 1991 arose through births to overseas born people. One of the explanations for the increase in Buddhist and Muslim numbers is given by way of the secular policy of non-discriminatory selection of migrants, accompanied by the declining numbers coming from the British Isles.

GROWTH OF MAJOR RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS

Religion	1981	1981	1991	1991	Growth 1981-91
	'000	%	'000	%	%
Christian	11,133.3	76.4	12,466.4	74.0	12.0
Anglican	3,801.5	26.1	4,018.8	23.8	5.7
Baptist	190.3	1.3	279.8	1.7	47.0
Catholic	3,786.5	26.0	4,606.6	27.3	21.7
Churches of Christ	89.4	0.6	78.3	0.5	-12.5
Jehovah's Witness	51.8	0.4	74.8	0.4	44.4
Lutheran	199.8	1.4	250.9	1.5	25.6
Orthodox	421.3	2.9	474.8	2.8	12.7
Pentecostal	72.1	0.5	150.6	0.9	108.8
Presbyterian & Reformed	637.8	4.4	732.0	4.3	14.8
Salvation Army	71.6	0.5	72.4	0.4	1.1
Uniting Church	1,203.4	8.2	1,387.7	8.2	15.3
Other Christian	607.8	4.1	339.6	2.0	-43.3
Non-Christian	197.6	1.4	445.1	2.6	125.3
Buddhism	35.1	0.2	139.8	0.8	298.6
Islam	76.8	0.5	147.5	0.9	92.1
Judaism	62.1	0.4	74.3	0.4	19.5
Other non-Christian	23.6	0.2	83.6	0.5	254.4
Inadequately described	73.6	0.5	49.9	0.3	-32.2
No religion	1,576.7	10.8	2,176.6	12.9	38.0
Not stated	1,595.2	10.9	1,712.3	10.2	7.3
Total	14,576.3	100.0	16,850.3	100.0	15.6

COMPONENTS OF GROWTH

Religion	Children aged 0-9 years				
	Growth 1981-91		Migration 1981-91	Both parents born in Australia	
	%	'000	'000	'000	'000
Catholic	21.7	820.1	320.6	450.6	220.9
Baptist	47.1	89.5	24.4	27.2	9.9
Jehovah's Witness	44.4	23.0	5.2	7.1	4.9
Lutheran	25.6	51.1	12.9	24.1	6.2
Pentecostal	108.8	78.5	14.4	18.8	9.3
Buddhism	298.6	104.7	90.0	0.6	10.4
Islam	92.1	70.7	46.8	0.7	28.1

Source: Census of Population and Housing

"Trends in Religious Affiliation." Australian Bureau of Statistics,,
<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/2f762f95845417aeca25706c00834efa/10072ec3ffc4f7b4ca2570ec00787c40!OpenDocument> , 178

Australian Demographer, Charles Price, commented on the prevalence of unbelief with the astonishing figure of 14.5% citing 'No Religion' nationally.⁹ He charted first generation Dutch, Scandinavians and North Americans had proportions of 30%, while first generation Germans, Swiss, English, Scottish and Welsh had about 20% 'No Religion'. He concludes: 'This represents an importation of Atheism and Agnosticism from Northwest Europe and North America into this country: an importation reflecting increasing secularization in those regions.'¹⁰

He goes on to sketch from another part of the world a considered 'ethical' rather than religious identification, through the 'No religion' response of first generation Vietnamese (21.4%), Chinese (46.7%), Koreans (21.7%), and Japanese (56.9%). He identifies the age-range 20-34 years with 52% citing 'No religion' and a trend for this age group towards 'non-traditional' forms, e.g. conversion to Islam, Buddhism, Hindu as well as Baha'i, Meher Baba, Hare Krishna, Scientology.¹¹

The Immigration target was 74,000 in 1983-4. It was increased to 140,00 in 1987-89. The years 1985-9 averaged a net immigration of 142,000 per year, showing a higher net immigration than that of any four-year period since WWII.¹² The sociologist Hans Mol confirms the growth of secularism and tracks the declining nature of mainstream church attendance since WWII.¹³

Yet the role of the Churches and their socializing influence allowed for a 'bridge' to be constructed into the wider Australian society and/or as a 'buffer' allowing for respite in a familiar cultural setting: the church¹⁴. The same process allowed for NESB migrants to congregate within church structures, helping them to negotiate the 'New Australian' reality. The 'belief in God' factor as described in the

⁹ See his chapter: Immigration, Ethnicity and Religion in Australia Charles Price, "Immigration, Ethnicity and Religion in Australia," in *Multicultural Australia ? Ethnic Claims and Religious Values: Proceedings of the Galatians Group Conference, August 1995*, ed. E French (Dimboola, Vic: The Galatians Group Inc, 1995).

¹⁰ Price *ibid.*, 15.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, (1995, p. 14)

¹² *Ibid.*, p.20

¹³ H Mol, *The Faith of Australians* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1985).

¹⁴ J.J Mol "Immigrant Absorption and Religion," *International Migration Review* 5, no. 1 (1971): 70. describes the world of the migrant in the adjustment process here referring to the NES. Yet the sanctuary of the churches holds equally for the ES and NES as:

the more prominent the supra-national aspect of a religious orientation, the more religion can function for the migrant as the bridge between cultures;

previous chapter accompanied many on their migration to Australia, as well as sustaining NESB populations in their adjustment to their new homeland.

In his annual address to the 2009 Sydney Synod, subsequent to the financial losses of the Sydney Anglican denomination of approximately \$160-\$200 million, Archbishop Peter Jensen acknowledged the scale of the problem created by large demographic changes in cultural background and religious conviction, saying that the church was "up against a large challenge and there is no guarantee whatever that we will survive except as a small but wealthy cult. The cultural mood is not flowing with us," he said. "Immigrant numbers are not in our favour." Dr Jensen said he had been asking himself what God was saying "to us, as a diocese, through these large losses? Are there signs of the times for us here?"¹⁵

For Sydney Anglicans, however, immigrant numbers *had not been* in their favour since the 1960s (see tables below, for the break-down of overseas born NESB, eventually overtaking those of ESB migration to Australia).

Table 1.1: Proportion of the overseas-born population from main English-speaking countries

	1901	1921	1933	1947	1954	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
Overseas-born from main English-speaking countries (a)	713,895 83%	724,026 86%	770,666 85%	596,975 80%	721,815 56%	827,109 47%	1,224,204 48%	1,386,397 46%	1,538,149 42%	1,602,582 39%
Overseas-born from other countries (b)	143,681 17%	115,553 14%	132,607 15%	147,212 20%	564,651 44%	951,671 53%	1,355,114 52%	1,617,437 54%	2,150,979 58%	2,502,886 61%
Total overseas born	857,576	839,579	903,273	744,187	1,286,466	1,778,780	2,579,318	3,003,834	3,689,128	4,105,468

Source: Derived from Table 1: Birthplace of the Australian Population for Selected Censuses, DIMA, *Immigration: Federation to Century's End, 1901-2000*. Updated to include 2001 Census data C01_11. (a) Includes United Kingdom, Ireland, USA, New Zealand and South Africa. Canada was not included prior to 1961. (b) Includes all other birthplace countries.

"Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants." edited by Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs. Canberra: Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA), 2003,25

¹⁵ An excerpt from his Presidential Synod Address, 2009 cited in Caroline Overington, "Church loses \$160 m on Investments," The Australian, <http://www.news.com.au/business/church-loses-160m-on-investments/story-e6frfm1i-1225788586107>.

Birthplace	1947 Census		Birthplace	1961 Census	
	Number	%		Number:	%
1. United Kingdom	496,454	66.7	1. United Kingdom	718,345	40.4
2. Ireland	44,813	6.0	2. Italy	228,296	12.8
3. New Zealand	43,610	5.9	3. Germany	109,315	6.1
4. Italy	33,632	4.5	4. Netherlands	102,083	5.7
5. Germany	14,567	2.0	5. Greece	77,333	4.3
6. Greece	12,291	1.7	6. Poland	60,049	3.4
7. India and Sri Lanka (Ceylon)	8,160	1.1	7. Yugoslavia	49,776	2.8
8. Poland	6,573	0.9	8. New Zealand	47,011	2.6
9. China	6,404	0.9	9. Malta	39,337	2.2
10. USA	6,232	0.8	10. Ireland	37,057	2.1
Top Ten Total	672,736	90.4	Top Ten Total	1,468,602	82.6
Other	71,451	9.6	Other	310,178	17.4
Total Overseas-Born	744,187	100.0	Total Overseas-Born	1,778,780	100.0
Birthplace	1981 Census		Birthplace	2001 Census	
	Number	%		Number:	%
1. United Kingdom	1,086,625	36.2	1. United Kingdom	1,036,261	25.2
2. Italy	275,883	9.2	2. New Zealand	355,762	8.7
3. New Zealand	176,713	5.9	3. Italy	218,722	5.3
4. Yugoslavia	149,335	5.0	4. Viet Nam	154,818	3.8
5. Greece	146,625	4.9	5. China	142,807	3.5
6. Germany	110,758	3.7	6. Greece	116,431	2.8
7. Netherlands	96,044	3.2	7. Germany	108,214	2.6
8. Poland	59,441	2.0	8. Philippines	103,915	2.5
9. Malta	57,001	1.9	9. India	95,445	2.3
10. Lebanon	49,623	1.7	10. Netherlands	83,290	2.0
Top Ten Total	2,208,048	73.5	Top Ten Total	2,415,665	58.8
Other	795,786	26.5	Other	1,689,803	41.2
Total Overseas-Born	3,003,834	100.0	Total Overseas-Born	4,105,468	100.0

"Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants." edited by Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs. Canberra: Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA), 2003, p26.

Immigration and 'to populate or perish'?

The 'populate or perish' slogan from Australia's first minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell under the Chifley Labor Government (1945-9), helped initiate one of the most ambitious sociological experiments through large-scale immigration. The slogan implied that the present population was too small to defend such a disproportionately large continent, particularly after the geo-political reckoning

for Australia after WWII. Large-scale European migration was facilitated through Australia's post World War II agreements with European countries and included displaced persons from war-torn Europe.¹⁶ The 80s settler arrivals from other regions notably South East Asia, European/former USSR and Oceania, also significantly increased (See previous tables).¹⁷

Since WWII the population more than doubled from 7.5 million to 18 million up to the 1990s. Of this 10.5 million increase, 6.4 million has been due to post-war immigration, over 4 million was NES in origin as a result of non-discriminatory immigration selection criteria and the efforts to create a multi-cultural society.¹⁸

The transition into multiculturalism involves the process of moving from 'assimilation' (under the White Australia Policy) towards a process of integration. Significantly in 1964 the Assimilation Section of the Department of Immigration changed its name to Integration Section. By 1965 the major political parties had dropped 'White Australia' from their platforms.¹⁹ However, the historical desirability of the ES continued, particularly as they could access mainstream and welfare services more easily than those of NESB. L. Burnett observes:

Australian society, while culturally diverse, is largely monocultural in terms of the major social institutions (the political and legal system, educational institutions and the professions) and their Anglo-Australian power structure. It is also, in terms of the dominance of English in the institutions of power, monolingualistic.²⁰

¹⁶ "Immigration to Australia During the 20th Century –

Historical Impacts on Immigration Intake, Population Size and Population Composition–A Timeline," <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/federation/timeline1.pdf>.

¹⁷ This included: Europe and former USSR, 30.4%; Southeast Asia, 20.6%; Oceania 17.9%. "Immigration the Facts-Information Kit," Australian Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, <http://www.immi.gov.au/package/keyfacts.htm>.

¹⁸ The statistics have been cited from Price, "Immigration, Ethnicity and Religion in Australia," 11.

¹⁹ J. Jupp, *Understanding Australian Multiculturalism*, ed. Multicultural Bureau of Immigration, and Population Research (BIMPR) Australia, (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service (AGPS), 1996).

²⁰ See also Stephen Castles et al., *Mistaken identity: Multiculturalism and the demise of nationalism in Australia* (Pluto Press Sydney, 1988), 123-5; L Jayasuriya, "Multiculturalism and pluralism in Australia," in *Immigration and the politics of ethnicity and race in Australia and Britain*. London: Bureau of Immigration Research (Australia), ed. R Nile (London: Bureau of Immigration Research (BIR) Australia Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies University of London, 1991), 86. A Jamrozik, C Boland, and R Urquhart, *Social change and cultural transformation in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 223; R Fincher, L Foster and R Wilmot *Gender equity and Australian immigration policy* (Canberra: AGPS, 1994), 109. cited in Burnett, "Issues in immigrant settlement in Australia" 17. The required acknowledgement being that the responsibility falls on the majority shoulders of the NES in order to 'adapt' in order to use such structures.

The legacy of the White Australia policy and the construction of the 'Other'

In the forty years of planned post-war migration Australia's social policy of multiculturalism was an attempt to respond to settlement issues and the inadequacy of existing policies in coping with such vast and disparate cultural/linguistic groups. The former White Australia Policy, though very much enforcing the colour line in blocking non-European entry into Australia, simultaneously enforced the colour barrier when it came to Australia's Indigenous. The colour-lines started to blur when the requisite quotas for British migrants were not being filled. The 'chocos' or 'dagos' (as the Southern Europeans were nick-named) were exchanged for the previously identified 'Refos' and 'Balts', given the latter group's markings and their often, darker colouring. It is evident from the attributed slang names that the Southern Europeans were deemed neither 'white' nor 'yellow' nor 'black'.²¹ Yet they were now being brought to Australia along with their languages, cuisines and what would eventually become their fraternal diasporic associations. For example, Melbourne became the third largest Greek-speaking city in the world after Athens and Thessalonika.²² The carrier ships terminated at Port Melbourne and subsequent further destinations for the often beleaguered migrants were taken from there. The demographer R. Birrell notes 'their low status as ethnics' and continues: 'It was difficult for an individual of Greek or Italian origin to evade disparagement of their ethnic background.'²³

'Ethnic' became a defining term referring to those of NESB migrant background, who occupied low skilled positions. The term had become a marker of inferior ranking in the status order²⁴. Those at the bottom of the pile recognized the social-status of Australia's Indigenous. But if 'politics makes strange bedfellows' then sport, in particular soccer, i.e. 'the beautiful game', became a more level-playing field. The following account from the biography of Aboriginal Activist, Charles Perkins (1936-2000), makes the case for a new form of 'ethnic' camaraderie for those at the bottom of the pile who also recognised injustice when they saw it, and countered their response with the supposed Australian 'egalitarian' ethos of 'the fair go':

²¹ M. Giannacopoulos "Nomos Basileus: The Reign of Law in a 'World of Violence'," in *e-journal, Critical Race and Whiteness Studies (ACRAWA)* (2007), 7, citing Lopez, *The Origins of Multiculturalism in Australian Politics*, 43. clarifies:

The officially homogenised category of people called "Southern Europeans" were considered far less capable of assimilation and so were historically far less desired than the British or Northern Europeans.

²² Gary D Bouma, "The Emergence of Religious Plurality in Australia: A Multicultural Society+," *Sociology of religion* 56, no. 3 (1995): 286.

²³ B Birrell, "Dynamics of Multiculturalism in Australia," in *The Australian Political System*, ed. David W. Lovell [et al] (Melbourne: Addison Wesley Longman, 1995), 635.

²⁴ J. Collins, *Migrant Hands in a Distant Land: Australia's Post-war Immigration* (Pluto Press, 1988), 207-11.

Soccer, brought three glorious years to Perkin's life. The standard was excellent. The Pan-Hellenic supporters loved him and he, in turn, loved them. Eileen and Charles, [Perkins] found themselves guests at every Greek restaurant, cafe and delicatessen in the inner city. Wherever he went someone was sure to recognise him; even in the 1990s an old supporter was liable to greet him enthusiastically and reminisce over some long-forgotten victory or goal. Sometimes the only Australian born player in the team, Perkins captained the side in mid-1962. What the Greeks liked about him best of all was his enthusiasm.²⁵

In 1965 Perkins embarked on the 'the Freedom Rides', modelled on the U.S. Civil Rights movement. With 28 other students from Sydney University, Perkins set out on a road trip through north-western NSW to challenge the ingrained discrimination and racism that was a largely unacknowledged feature of NSW country towns, including Walgett, Moree and Kempsey. There 'separate development' for the Australia's Indigenous had been deliberately constructed.²⁶

The acceptance of 'separate development' for 'ethnic' minorities in Sydney evangelical circles was not new. For the Sydney Anglican Diocese had already leant ongoing support to the Church of England in South Africa (CESA) in its separate development from the Church of the Province of South Africa (CPSA). Some of the CESA's white bishops were imported from Australia, including Stephen Bradley (1965–1984) and Dudley Foord (1986–1989). The latter Bishop had to sign an affidavit that he was *not* sent to unite the 2 denominations.²⁷ The CESA was also funded in part through the Sydney Anglican denomination. The CESA shunned the political and social critique of 'apartheid' and proceeded with transplanting its inherited English-speaking albeit Sydney parish model and largely evangelical theology into African soil. At best this was an acceptance of the ruling status quo and the historical British legacy within South Africa. At worst, it was an acceptance of horrific oppression and poverty through state-sanctioned racial inequality and 'separate development'- apartheid.

The CESA changed its name to the Reformed Evangelical Anglican Church of South Africa (REACH-SA) in 2013. Presiding Bishop Desmond Inglesby recently explained that the reason for abandoning the

²⁵ Read, *Charles Perkins: a biography*, 73.

²⁶ Penelope Edmonds, "Unofficial apartheid, convention and country towns: reflections on Australian history and the New South Wales Freedom Rides of 1965," *Postcolonial Studies* 15, no. 2 (2012)., See also Ann Curthoys, *Freedom ride : a freedom rider remembers* (Sydney: Sydney : Allen & Unwin, 2002).

²⁷ See Alan Gill, "Aust Bishop Steps Down From South African Post," *Sydney Morning Herald* 1987, 28 June.

name CESA was because of 'its colonial overtones' and because it was 'linked with Apartheid'.²⁸The CPSA had changed its name to the Anglican Church of Southern Africa (ACSA) in 2006.

It was made clear from my interview with the Rev Dr B. Lawton (22/05/15) that the Principal of Moore College, Broughton Knox, held views supporting 'separate development', despite his 'great evangelical heart'.²⁹ Knox's influence spanned beyond his 26 years at Sydney's Moore Theological College. He became in 1989 founding Principal of Whitefield Theological College (CESA) in Capetown,³⁰ ironically not far from where the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings were being conducted.

Knox's example represents an embarrassing dilemma with the problems of race and evangelicalism.³¹ The radical Evangelical minority tradition attempted to remove this embarrassment through wider community and or political engagement. For many Sydney evangelicals, however, going beyond the privileged space of the status quo represented too long a bow to draw. It was, as D.B. Knox would have asserted, the beginnings of 'the slippery slope of the social gospel' – an ever-present distraction from the 'pure' evangelism beloved of the conservative evangelicals.

Constructing Identity through the crossing into cultures

The formation of identity has often been constructed between two opposing forces: 'us and them', 'them and us', 'who we are not' in order to ascertain 'who we are'. It is a form of 'binary opposition' that plays out in different Social Science disciplines, e.g. Post-modern 'de-construction' involves fashioning the concept of 'the Other' as seen in the philosophers Derrida³² and Levinas. Mark C. Taylor notes convincingly:

²⁸ See interview with Presiding CESA Bishop Inglesby, D.W Virtue, "South African Presiding Bishop (CESA) Sees GAFCON as Uniter and Unifier of Global Anglicanism," [www.virtueonline.org](http://www.virtueonline.org/portal/modules/news/print.php?storyid=15939) <http://www.virtueonline.org/portal/modules/news/print.php?storyid=15939>.

²⁹ For further clarification, see Dr Lawton's chapter, 'Australian Anglican Theology' "Australian Anglican Theology". Dr Lawton interviewed for this thesis, 22/05/15.

³⁰ R. Tong, "The Anglican Church of Australia," in *The Wiley-Blackwell companion to the Anglican Communion*, ed. Ian S. Markham, et al., The Wiley-Blackwell companions to religion (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 401.

³¹ Ibid, "White Evangelical Protestant Responses to the Civil Rights Movement *," *Harvard Theological Review* 102, no. 2 (2009): 246.

³² For the impact of Post-modernism see Derrida and Caputo, *Deconstruction in a nutshell a conversation with Jacques Derrida*; Hart, "Jacques Derrida: Introduction."; Taylor, "What Derrida Really Meant"., for Levinas see *Alterity and Transcendence.*, Robert Gibbs, "Emanuel Levinas (1906-1995) Introduction," in *The Postmodern God : a Theological Reader*, ed. Graham Ward (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell 1997); P Ricoeur and M Escobar, "Otherwise: A Reading of Emmanuel Levinas's 'Otherwise than Being or beyond Essence'," *Yale French Studies*, no. 104 (2004).

The guiding insight of deconstruction is that every structure - be it literary, psychological, social, economic, political or religious - that organizes our experience is constituted and maintained through acts of exclusion".³³

Social Psychology, as developed through H. Tajfel³⁴, considers the behaviour of minorities, as they construct self-validating, sustaining 'in-groups' as well as those opposed and relegated to 'out-group' status, that proceeds to validate the 'in-group'. In Anthropology forms of 'tribalism'³⁵ are studied with the emphasis on collectivist cultures as opposed to more western, contemporary individualist cultures.

Sydney Evangelicals are adept at constructing in- and out-groups. Witness the ferocity with which one can be set-upon for a dissenting view, if there is a hint of liberalism or questioning regarding the status quo, e.g. the ten-year fight over Women's' ordination.³⁶ There is no more demeaning comment than to be labelled 'a liberal' by the 'in-group' evangelicals. It also remains the process by which one is shunned.³⁷ It manifests what Tizon has described as a 'simultaneously affirming and rejecting nature'.³⁸ He goes onto make the valuable historical assessment:

Evangelicals have indeed suffered from a kind of myopia for the last eighty years, viewing mission narrowly in terms of verbal proclamation (evangelism) and church planting at the expense of social justice. Scholars across disciplines have offered their respective views to explain this myopia, but they share at least one common explanation. They all agree that it largely developed as a reaction to ultra-liberal definitions of mission in the early part of the

In gratitude I acknowledge the Rev Dr Bill Lawton who first alerted to me to the influence of, Phenomenology in Post-modern, contemporary thought as to the construction and place of 'the Other'.

³³ "What Derrida Really Meant" 125.

³⁴ Tajfel, *The social psychology of minorities*, Tajfel, "Individuals and groups in social psychology*."; Tajfel, "The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour."; H. (Ed.). Tajfel, ed. *Differentiation between social groups*. (London:: Academic, 1978).

³⁵ George Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution: Essays in the history of Anthropology* (New York, 1965)., the Collectivist/Individualist paradigm is also described through what is now termed Cross-Cultural Psychology, see Triandis, "Theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of collectivism and individualism."; H.C. Triandis and J.W. Berry, *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology* (Allyn and Bacon, 1980).

³⁶ S Piggin, "The Diocese of Sydney: This Terrible Conflict," in *Preachers, Prophets and Heretics: Anglican Women's Ministry*, ed. Elaine Lindsay and Janet Scarfe (Sydney: UNSW Press,, 2012).

³⁷ See also Packer, "The Evangelical Anglican Identity Problem: an Analysis.", Piggin, "Word Rather than Peace: The fight over the Ordination of Women in Australian Anglicanism, 1992."; "The Properties of Concrete," *Meanjin* 65, no. 4 (2006). The latter text relating their observed behaviour when compared to 'Concrete'.

³⁸ A. Tizon, *Transformation After Lausanne: Radical Evangelical Mission in Global-Local Perspective* (UK: Regnum, 2008), 2.

twentieth century that emphasized social justice at the expense of evangelization - a myopia of another sort.³⁹

For the radical evangelical, it is what D. Bonhoeffer described: 'It is not some religious act, which makes a Christian what he or she is, but participation in the sufferings of God in the secular life.'⁴⁰

For Sydney evangelicals up until mid-2015 the symbol for Anglicare (the new name taken by HMS in 1997) was 'the Good Samaritan' as the historical evangelical response to a class-conscious and multi-racial society. In this example, Christian identity is found through addressing the needs of 'the Other' both spiritual and material. The parable encourages us to place ourselves in the predicament of 'the Other', duly at our own risk. The responsibility is then placed on the shoulders of the one who recognizes the human mess lying helplessly at the side of the road. The parable (Luke 10: 25-37), as acted out throughout the history of HMS, demonstrates that the dichotomy between spiritual and material needs is indeed a false one. Or as an African proverb aptly describes: 'a hungry stomach has no ears'⁴¹, or from a Modern Greek saying: «νηστικό αρκούδι δεν χορεύει» translated: 'a hungry bear doesn't dance'.⁴²

The growing presence of those of NESB challenged first the essence of the White Australia Policy and then the Anglo-Saxon ethno-centricity of Anglicanism. To quote Mason: 'Marilyn Lake has commented that the new immigrants were assumed to make "contributions" to Australia's national history, rather than exist in an equal and dialogous relationship with it.'⁴³

The 'White Australia Policy' assumed an ethnic and racial homogeneity for the English-speaking population that was indeed a false construction, negating the Indigenous. The 'white' community can be described using B. Anderson's conceptual term from his political-science background. He states:

The modern nation, no matter how small or socially homogeneous, can only be an imagined community. And, as an imagined community, it needs its members to feel as if they have an

³⁹ Ibid., 4.

⁴⁰ D. Bonhoeffer, *Letters Papers from Prison* (Touchstone, 1944/2011), 361.

⁴¹ The African proverb first encountered through Jan Corbett-Jones, "'A Hungry Stomach has no Ears'," *MAC in Touch* 1998, June.

⁴² For a contemporary appraisal see the Lausanne's Movement's occasional paper "Evangelism and Social Responsibility: An Evangelical Commitment".

⁴³ Cited from Robert Mason, "Australian Multiculturalism: Revisiting Australia's Political Heritage and the Migrant Presence," *History Compass* 8, no. 8 (2010): 3.

intimate knowledge of one another. It needs constantly to be narrated through structures that are resonant and familiar to all.⁴⁴

Using the concept of 'imaginary community', we can then arrive at an understanding of the construction of the 'national imaginary' and the values and symbols that can be manipulated in terms of arriving at a constructed identity for the 'nation-state', as for Australia the preferred understanding of the identification of 'whiteness' under the White Australia Policy.

It is helpful to understand how nationalism can be galvanized historically e.g. in order to fight 'for God, King, Queen and country'. So for Australia, the historical construction of a transplanted British society is integral to understanding an 'imagined British community' for Sydney Anglicans. This also helps to construct a 'national imaginary' for its adherents. i.e. the construction of a white, mainly British Australia.⁴⁵ The manipulation of the 'national imaginary' can now be recognized through the interplay of such factors that aid group solidarity at even the basic level. Nation-states often frame and re-script their identities in relation to domestic and foreign policy, e.g. policies towards immigrants and refugees using the concept of 'imagined community'. Such paradigms ultimately contribute to the construction of identity for communities at the local and national level.

The underpinnings of multicultural Australia and the White Australia Policy

After WWII, Australia played a crucial role in the settlement of populations as one of the founding members of the UN and in the drafting of the UN Charter.⁴⁶ Australia became signatory to the UN *Convention relating to the Status of Refugees* (CRSR) 1951. The Convention proceeded with the definition of 'refugee' as applied to European states and subsequently in 1967 removed the 'time-limits' and geographical limitations through the added Protocol. The Convention is based on the concept of the non-refoulement of the refugee, defined as:

A person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country

⁴⁴ B Zwartz, "Australians A Hard Mob To Convert," theage.com.au, <http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2004/05/12/1084289749581.html?from=storylhs>.

⁴⁵ For a description of Australia's, British Anglican influences see Hilliard, "Anglicanism."

⁴⁶ See "Charter of the United Nations," United Nations, <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/>. which is the foundational document for the organization after WWII. The following played key roles in the policy development post WWII of the UN; 'Doc' H.V. Evatt, see "Australia and the United Nations-Fact sheet 88," National Archives of Australia, <http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/fact-sheets/fs88.aspx>, for the role of the Rev. Alan Walker, see D. I Wright, *Alan Walker: Conscience of the Nation* (Adelaide: Openbook, 1997). For the role of Jessie Street, Australia's first female representative on the delegation, see H Radi, "Street, Jessie Mary (1889-1970)," Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/street-jessie-mary-11789/text21089>.

of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.⁴⁷

For Australia's non-British immigration initially the largest group was that of the Displaced Persons who came from camps in Europe. Between 1947 and 1954, 170,000 displaced persons, mainly from Poland settled in Australia.⁴⁸ Colloquially and locally, these populations were nick-named 'white wogs' referring to their physically blending in with the Australia's 'imagined community' of the preferred 'body politic'. The critical factor was 'whiteness', then legally enforced, through the selective criteria for entry as constructed through 'The White Australia Policy'. The policy had its origins in the first piece of legislation from the newly federated Australian Parliament, *The Immigration Restriction Act* 1901, that added racial colour demarcation as its defining feature. According to Raymond Evans, 'White Australia across much of the twentieth century was to cast a long, dark, uneven shadow.'⁴⁹

Raymond Evans described in his chapter, 'Pigmentia', the underlying difficulty regarding historiographic analysis that kept the 'White' Australia Policy's 'imagined community', continuing whilst regulating orderly immigration:

Another difficult problem for historians studying the White Australia Policy is that it is never enunciated as a bounded official package of procedures. Its contours are elusive and controversial. Arguably, it can be suggested that its effective domain spreads far beyond the racially restrictive migration regime embodied in the *Immigration Restriction Act* of 1901.⁵⁰

The processes of exclusion as a consequence were simultaneously applied to Indigenous and 'other' coloured populations. Evans continues:

But these are in reality, interlocking parts of the one story - the single-minded drive to create in Australia a mono-racial continental community, via the processes of displacement, exclusion,

⁴⁷ United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), "Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees," UNHCR The UN Refugee Agency, <http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html>, Par(2), p.14

⁴⁸ "Australia's refugee policy," Museum of Australian Democracy, <http://static.moadoph.gov.au/ophgovau/media/images/apmc/docs/81-Refugees.pdf>.

⁴⁹ Evans cited in A. Dirk Moses, ed. *Genocide and Settler Society, Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History* (U.S.: Berghahn Books, 2004), 104.

⁵⁰ "Pigmentia," in *Genocide and Settler Society, Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History*, ed. A. Dirk Moses (US: Berghahn Books, 2004), 105.

deportation and segregation, targeted against non-white indigenes, outsiders or newcomer, viewed comprehensively as unwanted, tainted mélange of alien "others".

Its ideological underpinnings tell us as much about white self-perceptions and self-serving policies as they do about the beliefs, attitudes, and plans of Westerners concerning "non-white" peoples.

For racist perceptions, gaze simultaneously and provocatively in opposite but complementary directions. Boosting the human worth of the signifiers at the same time they denigrate the human worth of the signified.⁵¹

Arthur Calwell, architect of Australia's post-war Immigration in 1972 was quoted as saying:

... that "no red-blooded Australian" wanted to see a "chocolate coloured Australia in the 1980s." A day later, in an interview, Mr Calwell reaffirmed his opposition to the "flood of coloured migrants coming into the country" and described Asian migrants as "living on the smell of an oily rag and breeding like flies." The comments sparked an uproar.⁵²

They were condemned by the Immigration Reform Group⁵³ in a press release which included but was not limited to Protestant organisations. Among the signatories were:

Walter M. Lippmann, Chairman, Joint Committee on Migrant Welfare, Australian Council of Social Service, and ACFOA.

The Rev Alan Matheson, Victorian Council of Churches.

Professor George (his Polish name, Jerzy) Zubrzycki, Professor of Sociology, Australian National University, Canberra.

Professor Jean Martin, Professor of Sociology, La Trobe University.

Mr R. J. Hawke.

Mr David Scott, Director, Brotherhood of St Laurence.

⁵¹ Ibid., 110.

⁵² "Press Release, in response to former Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell," 1972, May 4.

⁵³ G Tavan, "Role of Immigration Reform Group in ending White Australia," <http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/library/media/Video/id/1175.Role-of-Immigration-Reform-Group-in-ending-White-Australia>. Considers the formidable influence of this group with which she credits as ending The White Australia Policy. It is noteworthy, that this was a largely Melbourne-based group, which included the Rev. Alan Matheson, Ecumenical Migration Centre (EMC).

Calwell, whilst accepting an imported essentially European population for Australia (albeit predominantly British) could not accept a fully, multi-racial one. The official policy regarding the management of Australia's immigrating populations was in place for over seventy years in what Gwenda Tavan has termed 'the long slow death of white Australia',⁵⁵ and 'officially' abolished in 1973 by another Labor Government. The Immigration Minister, Hon. Al Grassby, in the Whitlam Government remarked: "Give me a shovel and I will bury it".⁵⁶

It was a Senior Commonwealth Public Servant at the time, later to become the Director of Multi-Cultural Ministries (1996-99) in the Anglican Diocese, Melbourne, who wrote what is known today as Grassby's historic and transformative policy speech, titled: 'A multi-cultural society for the future'.⁵⁷ The speech was written by Jim Houston, Assistant Commissioner for Community Relations (Studies and Research). He served throughout Grassby's seven-year term as Commissioner for Community Relations from about July 1975 until he was hospitalized with Tuberculosis in early 1982. He contracted TB in far north Queensland when assessing the conditions of various Indigenous communities living in squalid conditions. He noted at the time Tuberculosis was 10 times more common, among the Indigenous when compared to the white population.⁵⁸

Previously, Grassby had asked him to do research regarding the state of NES migrants in the nation and whether they were fitting into the majority culture. Houston dutifully visited scores of agencies,

⁵⁴ "Press Release, in response to former Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell."

⁵⁵ Tavan, Gwenda. *The long slow death of white Australia*. Carlton North, VIC: Scribe, 2005.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ It is important to note that attributing the policy of Multiculturalism to Grassby is incorrect. Quoting Cope et al *Immigration, Ethnic Conflicts and Social Cohesion*, ed. Bureau of Immigration Research Australia (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1992), 12., Borowski "Creating a Virtuous Society: Immigration and Australia's Policies of Multiculturalism," *Journal of Social Policy* 29, no. 3 (2000): 464, notes this construction of the history of the policy of multiculturalism is in error. Grassby spoke of a *multicultural* society and not of *multiculturalism*. (My italics) The former descriptive term represented a form of integrationist, cultural pluralism that attempted to address the welfare needs of NES migrants in order to incorporate them into society. Whilst this is technically correct, the speech itself heralds the dawn of a new form of social inclusion-multiculturalism where:

The social and cultural rights of migrant Australians are just as compelling as the rights of other Australians. The full realisation of these rights would lead to reduced conflicts and tensions between the groups which are weaving an ever more complex fabric for Australian society as we hurry towards the turn of the century. A.J Grassby, "A multi-cultural society for the future," in *Strategy 2000: Australia for Tomorrow* (Cairnmillar Institute, Melbourne: Making Multicultural Australia Online Library, 1973, 11 August), 9.

⁵⁸ This is cited from written correspondence 1/07/July, 1 2015 from the Rev Jim Houston.

such as workplaces, industries, and unions, to form a view regarding the types of participation of NES migrants in Australian life in 1972-73. One of the more important outcomes of his research was that he recognised 'the great assimilationist dream' was certainly '*not going that way*'.⁵⁹ In writing the speech, Houston acknowledged the multitude of cultures the society represented. Australia had become what he coined a 'multi-cultural' mix of language, religion, and culture. His research on culturally pluralistic populations had been derived from his research into the Canadian experience.⁶⁰ Because of his knowledge of the French language (he was a teacher of the language), Houston was able to read contemporary social research from Canada. This involved the bi-cultural question of the Quebecois.⁶¹ It was Houston who subsequently commissioned a new file to be opened by the departmental registry (the file name) entitled 'Multiculturalism in Australia'. He writes of this:

I am confident it was the first time the word had gained official entry in the Australian Public Service. Naming it is half the battle: well begun is half done.⁶²

Houston wrote the speech, delivered it to Al Grassby's home letterbox promptly the night before, and Grassby publicly delivered the speech the next day, 11th August 1973 at a symposium titled: 'Strategy 2000: Australia for Tomorrow' held by the Cairnmillar Institute in Melbourne (Uniting Church agency specializing in psychotherapy). The construction of the term 'multi-cultural' then quickly transformed into 'multiculturalism' synthesizing the unique elements of the policy, formed by addressing disadvantage and exclusion, and leaving the White Australia Policy behind. Houston later became an Anglican Vicar in what Archbishop Penman described "as the poorest parish in the Diocese":⁶³ Dallas included Broadmeadows and one of the highest concentrations of Turkish-speaking migrants in Victoria. Houston's assessment of the 'multi-cultural' had synthesized all available research from the time, so much so that many credited Al Grassby with coming up with the term and selling the concept at the time. However, the paradigm-shift had been made by one from within the radical evangelical

⁵⁹ Italics mine. Interview of Jim Houston, 12/06/2015 for this thesis.

⁶⁰ For research into Canadian multiculturalism see David G Delafenetre, "Interculturalism, multiracialism and transculturalism: Australian and Canadian experiences in the 1990s," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 3, no. 1 (1997); Anthony H Richmond, Freda Richmond, and Jerzy Zubrzycki, *Immigrants in Canada and Australia: Economic adaptation*, vol. 2 (York University, Ethnic Research Programme, 1984); Christopher Bagley, ed. *Multiculturalism and Education in Canada*, Multicultural education: the interminable debate (Michigan: Falmer Press, 1985); Victoria M. Esses, "Multiculturalism in Canada: Context and current status," *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science* 28, no. 3 (1996).

⁶¹ He also acknowledged this in my interview of him, 12/06/15 for this thesis.

⁶² James Houston, "Chapter 41, Prophet ahead of His Time?," (2015), 1.

⁶³ Interview of Jim Houston, 12/06/2015 for this thesis.

minority tradition.⁶⁴ Houston had been a member of the Evangelical Union at Sydney University in his undergraduate days.

For A. Jakubowicz⁶⁵ the development of multiculturalism as a concept represents:

... one of the most important aspects of recognition and paradigm-shifts in Australian history. This meant that the history of Australia's past was no longer going to dominate the future.

Burnett adds:

... it has ... made impossible a return to a racist definition of the Australian nation.⁶⁶ Secondly, unlike assimilationism which requires all adaptation from the immigrant, multiculturalism has admitted the necessity of some (cultural) adjustment by Australian society.⁶⁷

Indeed, there had been a different Australia for 'whites' and non-whites, and for those in-between e.g. from Southern Europe who conformed by speaking their language 'other than English' at home and not in public. The preferred imported stock was British and emigrants were aided through 'assisted passage' Immigration Programmes e.g. 'Bring out a Briton (beginning in 1957),⁶⁸ and other schemes collectively known as the 'Ten Pound Pom'.

It was not until 1981 that the Commonwealth Government ended assisted passage (i.e. paid travel fares) for all, except refugees.⁶⁹ Assisted passage continued as per the Special

⁶⁴ In my interview of him, he happily accepted being part of this tradition.

⁶⁵ Prof. Andrew Jakubowicz made reference to this 'paradigm shift' in the history of the evolution of Australia's social policy, on the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the use of the term: Multiculturalism in a Sydney Conference titled: Multiculturalism, Inclusion and Participation, Lessons from the Research, (paper presented at the Multiculturalism, Inclusion and Participation, Lessons from the Research, Oct. 1, Dixon Room, Mitchell Wing, State Library of New South Wales, 2013)., hosted by Professor Gail Whiteford, Pro Vice Chancellor (Social Inclusion), Macquarie University.

⁶⁶ Burnett citing Castles et al., *Mistaken identity: Multiculturalism and the demise of nationalism in Australia*, 44.

⁶⁷ Burnett "Issues in immigrant settlement in Australia" 8., citing M Morrissey, "'Migrantness', culture and ideology," in *Ethnicity, class and gender in Australia*, ed. G Bottomley and M De Lepervanche (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984), 75.

⁶⁸ "Bring out a Briton," *The Australian Women's Weekly* 1957, 13 March.

⁶⁹ "Time-line: The 1980's: Multiculturalism takes effect," Museum Victoria,, <http://museumvictoria.com.au/discoverycentre/websites-mini/immigration-timeline/1980s/>.

Humanitarian Programme (SHP), i.e. for refugees and people groups unable to return to their homelands based on a 'well-grounded fear of persecution'.⁷⁰

Poster: *Bring Out a Briton*. Contributed by [National Archives of Australia](#), [SP545/3, 58/61]



This preferential treatment produced a recognised hierarchy of migrants even amongst the 'New Australians'.⁷¹ That is a view from below looking up. The 'New Australians', referring here to those of NESB because of the language barrier, often could not access requisite services, given the difficult

⁷⁰ Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC), "Key Events and the Racial Discrimination Act," in *State of the Nation 1995-A Report on People of Non-English Speaking Backgrounds* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1995), 2.

⁷¹ The term is attributed to Arthur Calwell. The use of the term was aimed at promoting the assimilability of migrants to Australia from continental Europe. Its use was intended to be positive, and to discourage use of pejorative terms such as "Reffo" or "Balt", "Pommy", "Wog" that were then in frequent use. J. Jupp, *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins* (North Ryde, NSW: Angus & Robertson, 1988), 103.

period of adjustment to the new Australia and the assumed automatic assimilation. By contrast, the Big Brother movement and Good Neighbour Councils (1949-72) almost exclusively worked with migrants of British backgrounds.⁷² Their brief was to activate, encourage and co-ordinate the efforts of local churches and community organisations in the important role of settlement for British migrants.

However, when the immigration quotas could not be filled 'other' European stock was sourced for an unprecedented Australian post-war industrialization programme that fuelled one of the longest economic booms in Australia's history.

No turning back

On 31st October 1975, The Whitlam Labor Government decided to ratify the UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination, despite the Convention having been already signed by Sir Paul Hasluck, under the Holt Liberal Government in October, 1966⁷³:

The Convention outlawed all forms of racial discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, ethnic background, place of birth or descent. It also involved a pledge under Article 7 to: adopt immediate and effective measures, particularly in the fields of teaching, education, culture and information, with a view to combating prejudices which lead to racial discrimination and to promoting understanding, tolerance and friendship among nations and racial or ethnical groups, as well as to propagating the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and this Convention.⁷⁴

The application of the UN convention resulted in the Racial Discrimination Act, (RDA) 1975, for the first time in Australian law mandated non-discriminatory mechanisms in addressing social policy, including those relating to employment, housing, the provision of goods and services and racial vilification. Guidelines needed to be anchored in Australian law with regard to the management of such diverse populations at home. The RDA could now provide the pivotal legal architecture for non-discriminatory criteria and Whitlam's stated aim of the inclusion and recognition of Indigenous cultures within the newly recognized Australian multicultural mix.

⁷² G. Papadopoulos, Commissioner Social Welfare Commission, "Outline of Comments to be made at the 25th Anniversary Conference of the Good Neighbour Council of NSW," (Multicultural Research Library, 1975).

⁷³ See the following section in Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC), "Key Events and the Racial Discrimination Act," 289-92.

⁷⁴ E. G Whitlam, *The Whitlam Government 1972-1975* (Melbourne: Penguin Books Australia, 1985), 505-6.

The new Act wrote it firmly into our laws that Australia is in reality a multicultural nation, in which the linguistic and cultural heritage of the Aboriginal people and of peoples from all parts of the world can find an honoured place. Programs of community education and development flowing from the Act will help to ensure that this reality is translated into practical measures affecting all areas of our national life.⁷⁵

The RDA became the working antithesis of the White Australia Policy and the first of a raft of Anti-Discrimination legislation, including Section 18C of the Act, where it is unlawful to: 'insult, intimidate, coerce' on the grounds of race. In 1977 the NSW Anti-Discrimination Board began the administration of the Anti-Discrimination Act.⁷⁶ Subsequently the Racial Hatred Act 1995 strengthens and amends the pre-existing Racial Discrimination Act 1975.⁷⁷ The racial immigration selection criteria were subsequently and progressively amended during and after the Whitlam government with successive federal governments having a bi-partisan approach that progressively ratified the UN Charter on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination, taking effect through social policies with non-discriminatory selection criteria for entry.

Whilst Whitlam can be credited with finally dismantling the White Australia Policy, the 'flood-gates' were well and truly opened with the Fraser Liberal (Conservative) Government's response (1975-83) to the Indo-Chinese refugee crisis and recognition that Australia needed to shift its attention to South-East Asia.⁷⁸ Legislation from Hasluck to Whitlam constituted Australia's legal pillars for its working policy of Multiculturalism. The ratification of the above conventions provided the foundations for non-discriminatory social policies in managing post WWII Australia.

The pivotal assessment of the scope and breadth of NES migration under the Fraser Government, setting the standard in addressing 'disadvantage', was conducted by a 'left-wing' criminal defence lawyer, Frank Galbally (1922-2005). Little has been made known of the following excerpt because of

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, 506.

⁷⁶ "New South Wales Consolidated Acts-Anti-Discrimination Act,," http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/nsw/consol_act/aa1977204/.

⁷⁷ Inserting Part IIA - Offensive Behaviour because of Race, Colour, National or Ethnic Origin. Australian Human Rights Commission, "The Racial Hatred Act: What is the Racial Hatred Act ?," Australian Human Rights Commission, <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/publications/racial-hatred-act-what-racial-hatred-act.>, 2015.

⁷⁸ Between 1976 and 1982, nearly 70,000 Indo-Chinese were resettled in Australia and approximately 80,000 came afterwards via the Orderly Departure Program and immigration channels established by the Fraser government DIAC, "Refugee and Humanitarian Issues: Australia's Response," ed. DIAC (Department of Immigration and Citizenship) (2009), 22. Cited from Katrina Stats, "Welcome to Australia? A reappraisal of the Fraser government's approach to refugees, 1975-83," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 69, no. 1 (2015): 71.

the political tensions between the left and right. He became Chairman of the landmark report: *Review of Post-arrival Programs and Services to Migrants*, , also titled: the Galbally Report. He explains his concerns in his autobiography:

... I met [with Malcolm Fraser] ... at his flat in South Yarra ... I raised with him the question of policy towards migrants, a central concern of mine. I was particularly concerned about policy relating to the arrival of migrants here and to their continued presence in Australia. He himself was clearly interested in improving government assistance ... to migrants; so we reached an agreement that, if he were to become prime minister, he would look very carefully at the deficiencies that I described ... Malcolm Fraser kept his promise about migrants and, within a year, had set up a working party on the subject.⁷⁹ One of the outcomes of the report, is that for the NES to participate in society, a multi-lingual broadcasting service through television and radio was necessary, to inform and consequently encourage participation of migrants, ES and NES. One of the recommendations implemented from this report was The Special Broadcasting Service, (SBS) television and radio services.⁸⁰

Efforts to resist it amalgamating with the national broadcaster, the ABC, have stood their ground ever since. The Galbally report conceptualized Australian identity in the following way and is crucial to the evolution of the social policies of Multiculturalism:

... [the report] took Edward Tylor's 1871 anthropological definition of culture as its starting point. The [Galbally] Report announces that '[w]e believe [culture to be] a way of life, that 'complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man [sic] as a member of Society'.

For Stratton and Ang, the absorption of the anthropological definition of culture in the development of multiculturalism:

... indicates the continued importance given to cultural practices (rather than ideological principles) for the construction of Australian national identity. The use of an anthropological - rather than a sociological - definition of culture also reinforces the holistic notion of cultures as being both integrated and bounded. What Australian multiculturalism does, is to locate the "ethnic community" as the site of a particular "culture", so that, logically, Australian national

⁷⁹ Cited from *Galbally! : the autobiography of Australia's leading criminal lawyer* (Ringwood, Vic.: Viking, 1989), 166-8.

⁸⁰ What differentiates the Australian broadcaster is it functions uniquely, with multi- languages/English not wholly confined to only one NES language/English. See Galbally's autobiography *ibid.*, 195-6.

culture now consists of many "cultures". As we will see, this conceptualization lies at the basis of the idea of multicultural Australia as a "unity-in-diversity".⁸¹

Australia's Policy of Multiculturalism-defined and defining



Cartoon: Ron Tandberg

Cartoon, Tandberg, Ron.

Making Multicultural Australia Library.

<http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/hotwords/index.php>

Also in Tandberg, Ron. "Are you against Multiculturalism?" INFOCUS Magazine, 1998, Summer, 6.

A re-defined concept and national policy of multiculturalism was developed under the Hawke Labor Government's *National Agenda for A Multicultural Australia* (1989), imposing 'obligations as well as conferring rights':

The Commonwealth Government has identified three dimensions of multicultural policy:

- cultural identity: the right of all Australians, within carefully defined limits, to express and share their individual cultural heritage, including their language and religion;
- social justice: the right of all Australians to equality of treatment and opportunity and the removal of barriers of race, ethnicity, culture, religion, language, gender or place of
- birth; and

⁸¹ Jon Stratton and Ien Ang, "Multicultural imagined communities: cultural difference and national identity in Australia and the USA," <http://www.mcc.murdoch.edu.au/ReadingRoom/8.2/Stratton.html>.

- economic efficiency: the need to maintain, develop and utilise effectively the skills and talents of all Australians, regardless of background.

This is balanced with:

- an overriding and unifying commitment to Australia, to its interests and future first and foremost;
- multicultural policies require all Australians to accept the basic structures and principles of Australian society - the Constitution and the rule of law, tolerance and equality, Parliamentary democracy, freedom of speech and religion, English as the national language and equality of the sexes; and
- multicultural policies impose obligations as well as conferring rights: the right to express one's own culture and beliefs involves reciprocal responsibility to accept the right of others to express their views and values.⁸²

This workable and implemented policy of Multiculturalism was one of only two legislated national policies in the world, Canada being the other.⁸³ Yet it did not stop other 'anti-multiculturalist' discourses from appearing, such as the Blainey debates in 1984,⁸⁴ which questioned the principles of 'unity in diversity' and the 'Asianization' of Australia.

Was Australia going to become a 'melting-pot' a 'salad bowl' or a good old stew with a bit of Irish Guinness thrown in for good measure?

By the 1970s and 80s, the myth of assimilability of the diverse NES populations was becoming apparent. Minority pressure groups began recognizing the need for greater representation and

⁸² "National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia. . . Sharing our Future," ed. Office of Multicultural Affairs and Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet (OMA) (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service (AGPS), 1989), 1.

⁸³ See Jatinder Mann, "The Abandonment of Multiculturalism in Europe? Lessons to be Learned from Multicultural Policies in Australia and Canada," in *Centre for Research on Nationalism, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism (CRONEM) Department of Politics: 8th Annual Cronem conference, The Future of Multiculturalism: Structures, Integration Policies and Practices, 26 – 27 June 2012* (University of Roehampton, UK 2012).

⁸⁴ "At the crossroads... No difference Interview with Geoffrey Blainey.," <http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/library/media/Audio/id/615.At-the-crossroads-No-difference>; Geoffrey Blainey, *The Blainey Debate on Immigration* (Making Multicultural Australia Online Library, 1986); "Race And Debate," *Bureau of Immigration and Population Research Bulletin*, , no. 11 (1994).

participation.⁸⁵ The multicultural transformation was well in train, owing to the importation of large diverse populations into a majority English-speaking culture. *The Migrant Presence*, Jean I. Martin's, 25 year *magnum opus* chronicling and analysing Australia's social laboratory with the non-English speaking populations, sets the benchmark for longitudinal research through the Social Sciences⁸⁶ addressing the life of the NES migrants into Australian society. For Mason, it was "one of the first serious attempts to theorize a post-war Australian cultural reality that included migrants".⁸⁷ Martin's topics included Migrant Health, Education and the Trade Unions as urgent areas of research that represented fundamental inequality. For Martin, the processes of migration and settlement begged for interdisciplinary analysis. In Martin's paper, 'Ethnic Pluralism and Identity' she recognizes from Glazer and Moynihan's book *Beyond the Melting Pot*, that the idea of the melting pot wasn't an accurate description. S. Encel's introduction to Martin's papers released posthumously confirmed the point:⁸⁸ 'The melting-pot hadn't worked' as the persistence of ethnic identity had led them to believe, that a new hybrid identity was emerging as:

Language and culture are largely lost in the first and second generations, and this makes the dream of 'cultural pluralism' ... as unlikely as the hope of the 'melting pot'. But as the groups were transformed by the influences in American society, stripped of their original attributes, they recreated something new, but still identifiable groups ... The ethnic group in American society became not a survival from the age of mass immigration but a new social form.⁸⁹

This aspect of development was also supported by Charles Perkins in his opposition to Prof. A. Elkin's claim that Indigenous culture had died out in NSW:

⁸⁵ Martin, *The migrant presence : Australian responses, 1947-1977. Research report for the National Population Inquiry* 78.

⁸⁶ See following inter-disciplinary works, analyzing Martin's research as the benchmark for Australian Social Sciences research, re: migration, ethnicity, evolution of Australia's social policies: multiculturalism Ghassan Hage and Rowanne Couch, eds., *The future of Australian multiculturalism : reflections on the twentieth anniversary of Jean Martin's The Migrant Presence* (Sydney, N.S.W.: Sydney, N.S.W. : Research Institute for Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Sydney, 1999)., Peter Beilharz, Trevor Hogan, and Sheila Shaver, *The Martin presence : Jean Martin and the making of social sciences in Australia* (Sydney, N.S.W.: NewSouth Publishing, 2015).

⁸⁷ Mason, "Australian Multiculturalism: Revisiting Australia's Political Heritage and the Migrant Presence," 4.

⁸⁸ J. I. Martin, *The Ethnic Dimension* (NSW Australia: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), Posthumous publication of Martin's Papers, 12.

⁸⁹ In *ibid.*, 141-2., this observation has been subsequently confirmed through research in Sydney, Forrest and Johnston, "The Geography of the New Ethnicity: Ethnic residential Segregation in Metropolitan Sydney, 1996," 57. confirming the development of identifiable cultural and spatial grouping despite forms of economic integration. The 'melting pot' concept wasn't working, various hybrid entities were being constructed, especially given first, second generation migrants and their children.

Elkin the eminent Professor and vice-chairman of the Aborigines Welfare Board, told the enquiry that Indigenous NSW culture no longer existed. Most of the Aborigines before the committee said it did. Perkins wanted to see all Aborigines as participating members of the White community, but without shame or disregard for their ancestors. Aboriginal culture like Christianity in Russia, existed without authority knowing anything about it [he said]. One Committee member observed to Perkins that the Scots were proud of their culture, but they did not have a 'complex' like many of 'your' people. Perkins replied that Aboriginality was not a complex but a concern. Neither traditional nor European, New South Wales Aborigines had their own special category 'with its own sense', with its own code of behaviour, ethics, code of morals. They had formed a culture of their own, not traditional but still Aboriginal. Even in the city, old structures like the kinship system existed more or less as they always had.⁹⁰

For Martin, her term the 'ideology of settlement' or assimilationism was implacably opposed to facilitating programmes that promoted and helped settlement of such vast NES populations. She advocated a form of cultural pluralism that involved what she termed 'structural pluralism'.⁹¹ She recognized, that 'ethnic groups' become 'interest groups', as a new social form of advocacy. Her term 'robust structural pluralism' represented a much stronger form of politicization, where migrant groups would be able to articulate their needs in the same way that those of English-speaking background had done, intersecting such concepts as ethnicity, class and religion in Australian society.⁹²

In Martin's assessment of the efficacy of education, she recognized the struggle in learning a new language through Dr Marta Rado's (1981) assessment of children of NESB:

During the period of transition between the two languages the child can easily find himself in a linguistic no-man's land. This can have disastrous consequences because it is tantamount to an intellectual moratorium at the very time the child needs all the cognitive stimulation he can get ... It ... seems that if all teaching is given in a poorly understood second language, conceptual thinking will adversely be affected. It may well be that children suffer permanent loss in this

⁹⁰ Read, *Charles Perkins: a biography*, 87.

⁹¹ Jean I Martin, "Ethnic pluralism and identity," *Critical Studies in Education* 18, no. 1 (1976).

⁹² See *ibid.*, 26., Martin, *The Ethnic Dimension*, 153. Sheila Shaver, "Networks and Pluralism, Chapter 5," (2013), 16., See also G. Bottomley's brilliant chapter "Towards a Robust Pluralism: Jean Martin's spirit of inquiry," in *The future of Australian multiculturalism : reflections on the twentieth anniversary of Jean Martin's The Migrant Presence* ed. Ghassan Hage (Sydney, NSW: Research Institute for Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Sydney, 1999).

way. Others may recover only slowly with a diminishing chance to make up for the loss as they grow older.⁹³

Like Galbally, Martin was determined if at all possible to prevent a 'permanent underclass' from forming.

Yet Protestant clergy were involved with ethnic minorities addressing welfare, trade union needs. David Cox⁹⁴ (a Ph. D student of Martin) identified the link between poverty in his research and southern Europeans,⁹⁵ through the European Australian Christian Fellowship/Ecumenical Migration Centre and his study of Greek migrants as well as his submission to the Henderson Enquiry into Poverty in 1975. The Ecumenical Migration Centre, Melbourne also supported the work of the Rev. Alan Matheson, who favoured an *Ethnic-Rights Multiculturalism*.⁹⁶ This was a community development approach that involved the organisation of migrant/ethnic communities into politically more self-conscious entities, with the formation of pressure groups to fight for migrant/ethnic rights in the political arena.⁹⁷ Arthur Faulkner considered the contribution of the churches in Australia's post-war migration,⁹⁸ while Des Storer wrote *Ethnic rights, power and participation toward a multi-cultural Australia*, (1975), *But I wouldn't want my wife to work here ... research report for International*

⁹³ Martin, *The Ethnic Dimension*, 43.

⁹⁴ Cox was to become Professor of Social Work at La Trobe University, Melbourne "Editorial: Social Work and Multiculturalism," *Australian Social Work* 43, no. 3 (1990); "Religion and the Welfare of Immigrants," *ibid.* 36, no. 1 (1983)., Cox was involved with the setting up of the European Australian Christian Fellowship (EACF) that had as its aims:

Close connection with and dependence on the Churches; welfare work often intertwined with religious teaching and a sense of 'mission'. See Michele Langfield, "Making Multicultural Australia Ecumenical Migration Centre, Melbourne – the first 20 years," in *Espresso Bar to EMC, a thirty-year history of the Ecumenical Migration Centre Melbourne* (Monash Publications in History, 1996), 4.

Both Matheson and Storer, conceived a form of "Ethnic Rights Multiculturalism", see Lopez "Introduction: An approach to understanding multiculturalism " (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2000), 6. The term has also been examined in 'Ethnic Rights Multiculturalism', "Migrant workers and unions in a multicultural Australia," *Social Alternatives* 3, no. 3 (1983, July).

⁹⁵ D.R Cox, "The role of ethnic groups in migrant welfare," in *Welfare of Migrants, Report to the Commission of Inquiry into Poverty* (Canberra 1983, March).

⁹⁶ Lopez, *The Origins of Multiculturalism in Australian Politics*, 448-49., see also Storer and Matheson, "Migrant workers and unions in a multicultural Australia.",

⁹⁷ See also Matheson's Report: *Australian Council of Trade Unions on racism and discrimination* cited in B Rule, "Racism: conflicting views-says report on racism and discrimination," See, *The journal of the Anglican Church in the Dioceses of Melbourne and Bendigo* 1994, July.

⁹⁸ Arthur Faulkner, "Post-war immigration and the Australian churches," *Migration action* (1980).

Women's Year (1976).⁹⁹ Their combined advocacy/written submissions represented working with the NES communities at the coal-face. They therefore have the credibility to influence policy-makers and academics in a bi-partisan government approach to settlement policies. Such clergy (including Brian Howe)¹⁰⁰, were described by Martin as, 'Protestant Clergy with views about social responsibility that ran counter to their church's traditional priorities'.¹⁰¹ Logically constructed, Martin's conception of a 'structural/robust pluralism' can be extended to the possibility of 'no-one racial grouping' dominating a future Australia.

Back to Basics - Martin and Zubrzycki

Jean Martin (1923-1979) and Jerzy Zubrzycki, (1920-2009) worked together on a number of reports and projects, conducting Social Science research into Australia's cultural diversity and its implications.¹⁰² G. Bottomley has defined them as the 'mother and father of Australia's Multiculturalism'. Both she described as 'hybrid anthropo-sociologists'.¹⁰³ They both argued for a pluralism, not the folkloric tokenistic superficial kind, but rather one that would be based on voluntary association between disparate groups of people engaged with and challenging common political frameworks. Their argument that local civic organisations would lead progressively to a sense of *inclusive national identity* became a fundamental tenet of Australian multiculturalism.¹⁰⁴ Zubrzycki credits his colleague Martin with the 'first conceptual social policy framework for what we now call

⁹⁹ Des Storer, *Ethnic rights, power and participation toward a multi-cultural Australia / compiled and edited by Des Storer*, ed. Research Centre for Urban, Action, and Issues Clearing House on Migration (Melbourne: Melbourne : Clearing House on Migration Issues, Ecumenical Migration Centre and Centre for Urban Research and Action, 1975); *'But I wouldn't want my wife to work here ...': research report for International Women's Year / by the Centre for Urban Research and Action*, ed. Research Centre for Urban and Action (Melbourne, Vic.: Melbourne, Vic. : Centre for Urban Research and Action, 1976). Also D. Storer and Institute of Family Studies, *Ethnic Family Values in Australia* (Prentice-Hall of Australia, 1985).

¹⁰⁰ B Howe, "The Church and Markets," in *The Church and the free market : dilemmas in church welfare agencies accepting contracts from government* ed. A Nichols and M Postma (Melbourne: Victorian Council of Churches, Australian Theological Forum,, 2002).

¹⁰¹ Martin quoted in Lopez, "Introduction: An approach to understanding multiculturalism " 11.

¹⁰² Australian Ethnic Affairs Council, "Australia as a Multicultural Society," (1977).

¹⁰³ Gillian Bottomley, "Jean Martin and the exploration of (in) difference," *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 1, no. 2 (2000): 110.

¹⁰⁴ Mason, "Australian Multiculturalism: Revisiting Australia's Political Heritage and the Migrant Presence." quoting S. Castles and M. J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 4th ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan 2009), 246.

multiculturalism'. He notes that 'the key argument ... is the conceptual link between the ideal of equality and the management of ethnic pluralism. The credit for this must belong to Jean Martin'.¹⁰⁵

Jerzy Zubrzycki bravely refines the policy of Multiculturalism to include the Indigenous as part of Australia's cultural plurality.¹⁰⁶ In his oversight as Chairman of the Ethnic Affairs Task Force of the Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs the report *Multiculturalism for All Australians - Our developing Nationhood* makes the point that:

Colloquial usage often restricts the term 'ethnic' to people of other than Anglo-Celtic origin, and particularly to migrants from non-English speaking countries. This usage ignores the fact that the term is derived from the Greek word *ethnos* meaning 'nation' or 'people'. Accordingly, all persons living in Australia are 'ethnic', whether they are Aboriginals, or trace their roots to the British Isles, continental Europe, Asia, Africa, the Pacific nations or the Americas, or regard themselves simply as Australians. This Paper argues that the phrase 'ethnic affairs' applies, strictly speaking, to the full range of inter-group relations and should not be limited to issues affecting minority groups alone. Thus, the ethnic affairs policies discussed in this Paper are for all Australians.¹⁰⁷

In this manner national identity would be constructed from various communities, who through encouraged participation would consist of the workings of many cultures. The Indigenous were to be included, being recognized in their contribution to the nation, and not just as 'internal aliens'. Arguably it is through the implementation of the Galbally Report (1978) by the Fraser Conservative government that ethno-specific services were funded on a larger scale precisely to facilitate a multicultural form of integration to occur. In implementing the 'Galbally Report', the Fraser Government founded the peak body to advise/research on the management of Australia's unique

¹⁰⁵ Bottomley, "Jean Martin and the exploration of (in) difference," 114. Quoting J. Zubrzycki, "The search for roots and nationalism in a multicultural Australia," in *Arrivals, departures, achievements: essays in honour of James Jupp*, ed. Andrea McRobbie (Canberra: Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies (ANU), 1992), 11.

¹⁰⁶ He goes as far as to assess:

. . . their standing [the migrants of NES] in the community may be handicapped as a result of many decades of neglect, as seen in the treatment of Aboriginal Australians.

Cited from *Multiculturalism for All Australians-Our developing Nationhood*, ed. Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1982), 1.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., for his evaluation of the conceptual social policy development of Multiculturalism see "The Evolution of the Policy of Multiculturalism in Australia 1968-95," Australian Government Department of Social Services. The Evolution of the Policy of Multiculturalism in Australia 1968-95; Jerzy Zubrzycki, "Multiculturalism and beyond: The Australian experience in retrospect and prospect," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 13, no. 2 (1986).

social policy, namely the Australian Institute for Multicultural Affairs, (AIMA), initially headed by Petro Georgiou.

David Penman and a manifesto for Australian Anglicanism and the State

Penman's initiative created in Melbourne the Department of Multicultural Ministries, the only such Australian Anglican department at the time). He initiated the ground-breaking. The report was intended as a blue-print for the transformation of his Diocese and possibly the Anglican Church in Australia. He revealed that 'the Church of England in Australia is currently unable to provide for anything other than *token* multicultural participation in its life and structure' (Italics mine). He added: 'It appears that the Anglican Church of Australia has evolved no clear and thorough policy towards multiculturalism.'¹⁰⁸

In the 80s he became the negotiator for the kidnapped Iranian hostage, the Archbishop of Canterbury's special envoy, Terry Waite. Penman became Chairman of the Australian Institute for Multicultural Affairs (AIMA), (1985-86).¹⁰⁹ He also became 'pastor' to the personnel in the Institute when the Hawke Government closed the peak advisory body down. In AIMA's last report, Penman as Chairman and on behalf of AIMA, calls the government of the day to account:

Australia has one of the most diverse populations in the world. In 1986 Australians included people born in more than 80 other countries, and speaking more than one hundred languages in addition to the approximately 150 Aboriginal languages still in existence. At the same time, Australia is a country remarkable for its internal peace and freedom ... Many believe that one factor in achieving the level of integration that characterizes this country is its policy of multiculturalism, directed towards giving everyone a fair go and respecting diversity. Yet the year 1986 has seen considerable questioning of the development of this policy in Australia ...¹¹⁰

In the context of the 1986/87 Budget, the Government announced that the Special Broadcasting Service and the Australian Broadcasting Corporation were to be amalgamated; funding for the English as a Second Language Program in schools was to be reduced by a half; the Multicultural Education Program was to cease, although some resources have been allocated for the development of proposals for a National Language Policy; and the Human

¹⁰⁸ *A garden of many colours : the report of the Archbishop's Commission on Multicultural Ministry and Mission Anglican Diocese of Melbourne*, 28.

¹⁰⁹ J. A. Gobbo, *Something to declare : a memoir* (Carlton, Vic: Miegunyah Press, , 2010). p.182

¹¹⁰ *Future Directions for Multiculturalism Final Report of the Council of AIMA* ed. Council of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA) and Council Chairman Dr David Penman (Melbourne1986), 1.

Rights Commission was to lapse at the end of the year, to be replaced by a smaller body about which no details are known at present. Whether the impact of these decisions will be to retard or more effectively promote the development of multiculturalism is a matter of controversy ... While the supporters of multiculturalism argue about the best strategy for its development, there continues to be debate about the wisdom of having such a policy at all. Many Australians remain uncertain about what multiculturalism means; others are certain that what they think it means is undesirable ... [AIMA] reiterates its view that the abolition of the Institute will prove to have been a retrograde step.¹¹¹

Penman died on 1 October 1989 of an undiagnosed heart condition. In what was to be one of his last Australian addresses, given at Robert Menzies College, Macquarie University, 3rd of July, 1989,¹¹² with an incomparable sense of urgency, he prophetically declared that the Australian church, at that very hour, needed to undergo a thorough self-examination. His address reads as a manifesto for Church/State community relations in Australia, based on tested, Christian, intentional, evangelical, incarnational theology and missiology:

... let me explain that I have deliberately chosen not to begin at the level of theoretical propositions but with daily life in this multicultural society. Our theory needs to be developed in response to social realities, for to debate it at the merely theoretical level is to play into the hands of those who have no awareness of what it is like to be at the receiving end of racial prejudice ... ¹¹³We need to listen carefully to those who have felt excluded from being regarded as 'normal' or 'legitimate' in this society or cut-off from full participation in its opportunities and rewards because of racial, linguistic or cultural disadvantage. And we need to listen to those who are relatively powerless to shape their own existence, despite (in some cases) having travelled half-way across the world in search of this promised land.¹¹⁴

The Melbourne Archbishop here challenged one of the most conservative structures in Australian life. He challenged the churches to see the people-groups to whom it traditionally had little or no historical outreach - the NES. He wanted to see ministry to the NES become the rule and not the exception.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 1986, p.1-2

¹¹² Cited in Alan Nichol's 1991 biography. For Penman's Address in full see Appendix, Nichols, *David Penman Bridge-builder, Peacemaker, Fighter for Social Justice*.

¹¹³ Ibid., p.221-7.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 227.

He commented on Federal Government policy, hitherto riddled and be-devilled by debates in the press. Australian historian Professor Geoffrey Blainey¹¹⁵ had re-ignited the immigration debate, publicly questioning whether the Australian people wanted a more 'Asian' Australia. The Fitzgerald Inquiry into Immigration (1988/9) described the growth of the 'ethnic lobby' and had sought to de-rail the policy of multiculturalism.¹¹⁶ "The FitzGerald Inquiry was of course positively hostile to the concept of multiculturalism, and (had) an underlying distrust of the power that was being wielded by ethnic communities."¹¹⁷ There was a great need to reaffirm the policy for the state as well as the church.

Penman offered an unparalleled exposition between government policy and church relations. For Anglicans in Australia the debate was now brought into the centre of church life, in their 'holy of holies' and not the ignored periphery. This was an Archbishop, making a clarion call to the whole church, not only for his diocese, as he was by now a significant player on the world-stage.¹¹⁸ For him, upon seeing the helpless, like the 'good Samaritan', Christians could not look away. Not even Sydney Anglicans could shade their diocesan eyes from such outstanding national multicultural leadership.

In fact, Melbourne Diocese had gazumped the powerful Sydney. The Department of Multicultural Ministries, had been created in 1984, three years before Sydney would do so. However, the question facing daily life in the parishes was pressing and evolving. Penman asked, what does it mean to be Christian, living within an Australian contemporary, multicultural society?

Multiculturalism is not holy writ, still less is it some sort of government conspiracy, but merely the best suggestion so far devised for facilitating a 'fair go' for all in a society of great cultural diversity. Neither is it the product of migrant activism or the seeking of favours for newcomers - or still less for the professionals who service their needs - though of course all these parties have quite properly had a hand in the public debate that shaped it.

¹¹⁵ See his written views Geoffrey Blainey, *All for Australia* (North Ryde, N.S.W.: Methuen Haynes, 1984)., also Gillian Bottomley, "Cultures, multiculturalism and the politics of representation," *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 8, no. 2 (1987); Andrew Jakubowicz, "Commentary on: A national multicultural agenda for all Australians," <http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/library/media/Timeline-Commentary/id/122.A-national-multicultural-agenda-for-all-Australians>; "The Blainey debate on Immigration," <http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/library/media/Audio/id/410>.,

¹¹⁶ The newly-defined policy remained in place till 1996. See <http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/library/media/Timeline-Commentary/id/122.A-national-multicultural-agenda-for-all-Australians>.

¹¹⁷ See transcript Peter Shergold, "Dr Peter Shergold discussing how he saw the National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia.," A national multicultural agenda for all Australians, <http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/library/media/Audio/id/424.A-national-multicultural-agenda-for-all-Australians>

¹¹⁸ Nichols, *David Penman Bridge-builder, Peacemaker, Fighter for Social Justice*, 229.

For Christians, above all, multiculturalism is a social justice issue. If the word and ideal were not here, we would need to formulate a term and social policy to fill the gap¹¹⁹.

In addressing inequality, the Archbishop appeared to echo the Hon. Gough Whitlam, shortly before his election as Prime Minister of Australia (1972-75):

We have thought it natural that migrants should be content to fill the lowest paid occupations, accept the costliest housing in the ugliest areas, send their children to the most crowded and least equipped schools, accept worse health services, worse public transport, fewer recreational amenities and poorer urban services than are available in any European cities and centres from which they have come.¹²⁰

Penman identified the secular and sacred need for understanding Multiculturalism as a social justice issue. He identified importantly where the White Australia policy had failed, excluding many from their churches. He outlined the following principles:

- all members of our society must have equal opportunity to realize their full potential and must have equal access to programs and services;
- every person should be able to maintain his or her culture without prejudice or disadvantage and should be encouraged to understand and embrace other cultures;
- the needs of migrants should, in general, be met by programs and services available to the whole community, but special services and programs are necessary at present to ensure equality of access and provision;
- services and programs should be designed and operated in full consultation with clients, and self-help should be encouraged as much as possible with a view to helping migrants to become self-reliant quickly.¹²¹

Penman was in no doubt that multiculturalism was the only possible way forward for Australia:

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ E.G. Whitlam, *Labor's Approach to Immigration* (Canberra: Australian Labor Party, 1971), 9.

¹²¹ Quoted in: Graeme Hugo, ARC Australian Professorial Fellow, Professor of Geography, "Submission to House of Representatives, Joint Standing Committee on Migration's Inquiry Into Multiculturalism in Australia," (Director of the Australian Population and Migration Research Centre, The University of Adelaide, 2011), 3-4.

I am convinced, that multiculturalism as currently formulated in official documents is the best solution available for the issues posed by the cultural diversity of the Australian population. Indeed, I would challenge the critics to come up with a better policy that would take account of all the needs in the equation. It is of course no solution to reject it out of hand, for that would be anarchic - at very least undemocratic. And dreams of reverting to a White Australia Policy are both nonsensical and offensive. How do you deport nearly a third of the population? ¹²²

At last Australia had given itself the right to take stock, re-define its position given the aftermath of the Vietnam War, a war lost by America and its allies, which of course included Australia. Australia, the nation, deliberately engineered and built on Immigration, was now re-defining itself as a work-in-progress, with its own identity, within its region and greatest sphere of influence - South East Asia. The Anglican Church of Australia now with its new name, after a near 20-year stint of legal processes to formalize this change (officially concluding 24 August, 1981)¹²³ was seeking a more authentic identity.

The Hawke government's landmark document (after its re-election in 1987) *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia* (launched July 29, 1989) was referred to in Penman's address before it was even launched. He accurately foretold the direction of future government policy.¹²⁴ He also referred to the initial 1973 document that helped coin the term 'multi-cultural', arguing that "the thrust of the policy had altered very little since it was propounded in a watershed document".¹²⁵ The writer of the hallmark speech would eventually become Penman's trusted Advisor on Multicultural Affairs for his Diocese. Jim Houston in a spirit of evangelical camaraderie would also later work together on projects with the Co-Ordinator of Sydney's equivalent department. For the Sydney department was structured, not as a department immediately under the authority of the Archbishop as in Melbourne, but as a diocesan department under Sydney's HMS.¹²⁶

The stark historical reality was now that *all* Australians were going to be defined as 'multicultural'. This was to be the all-inclusivism that would unite the country along all-inclusive parameters. It would further bury the White Australia policy. It was a marked definitive shift from all previous social policies. For Penman, this was not a left or right wing political shift, it represented an issue of equity, where

¹²² Nichols, *David Penman Bridge-builder, Peacemaker, Fighter for Social Justice*, 229.

¹²³ General Synod Office Anglican church of Australia, "Home page," http://www.anglican.org.au/content/home/about/students_page/When_did_the_Church_of_England_become_the_Anglican_Church_of_Australia.aspx.

¹²⁴ Nichols, *David Penman Bridge-builder, Peacemaker, Fighter for Social Justice*, 232.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ See previous chapter of this thesis.

one helps the weaker for the common good. The fact that the Archbishop begins his defence of Multiculturalism from everyday interaction provides the very arena for church engagement. He stresses the need for inclusivity including the Islamic world. Penman was the archetypal 'radical evangelical' within the 'minority tradition'. His biographer, A. Nichols, wrote:

... as time went on, David Penman, as an evangelical leader, provided an alternative definition across the Australian church of what an evangelical was, compared with the Sydney model. Sometimes it seemed as though some evangelicals would rather that there was *not* an alternative evangelical model, but that Sydney provided the 'only true-blue' example of what a trustworthy evangelical believed and said. But at other times there was a natural feeling of belonging among people who have the same mission and are committed to the same appreciation of the implications of the gospel.¹²⁷(Italics mine)

Penman ordained the first Archdeacon for Church Growth, Peter Corney, and was the first Archbishop to ordain women as Deacons in the Anglican church of Australia, in February 1986.¹²⁸ He was wanting to take the flock into the next century with a blue-print for change. *The Cultured Pearl: Australian readings in Cross-Cultural Theology and Mission* (ed. the Rev Jim Houston) was written expressly to address the need as identified by Penman for cross-cultural training within Australian theological colleges. The volume also addresses Indigenous issues.¹²⁹ It seeks to straddle opposing paradigms: 'culture was at the core of community'¹³⁰ and yet 'culture divides more than religion unites'.¹³¹

Another of Penman's legacies is that he encouraged the evangelicals within his Diocese, with his listening ear whilst being the statesman, appearing not to favour either low or high churchmanship. It He was greatly esteemed by all who served with him. A life cut too short. His church with 'the cultural mood against it' and 'the immigrant numbers not in their favour',¹³² was at the cross-roads.

¹²⁷ Nichols, *David Penman Bridge-builder, Peacemaker, Fighter for Social Justice*, 164-5.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 137; *ibid.*

¹²⁹ This is taken from a conversation with Rev. Jim Houston, on the day of his interview for this thesis.

¹³⁰ Cited in Martin, "Ethnic pluralism and identity," 20., from Judith Kramer, *The American Minority Community* (New York 1970).

¹³¹ Cox, "Religion and the Welfare of Immigrants," 4.

¹³² See Archbishop Jensen's Presidential Address, (2009), quoted in Overington, "Church loses \$160 m on Investments".

The secular and sacred vision for Australian society had now converged through the prophetic leadership of Penman. His example would have a lasting, inestimable influence upon Sydney's CCM Co-Ordinator. Yet in his own words:

The task of 'contextualizing' Christian faith in Australian soil has scarcely begun.¹³³

¹³³ Ibid (1985, p.25)

Chapter 5

Laying the CCM foundations: The Department takes shape

Structuring the department within the HMS organisation was not without its difficulties. Internal tensions and politics meant that different divisions within HMS wanted the department to come under their own jurisdiction. Once the founding Co-Ordinator of the department was appointed, a tug-of-war ensued, exacerbated by the appointment of a new General Secretary for HMS at the same time. Once again, the guiding light for the development of the Sydney CCM work would come from Melbourne. The choice to head up and found the CCM structures was a curious one. The person was appointed to prioritise evangelism and church planting as the 1987 synod report had indicated. However, the NES work would need to be anchored in Anglican parishes. This directive implied an educative function for the new department.

The founding Co-Ordinator was a young lay-woman of NES evangelical background familiar with models and ministries already planted both within the Anglican parishes and HMS structures. As the Parish Community Worker with the Marrickville Deanery, she had been involved with the research on the MADCOM report and now she was appointed to assist with its implementation. The Area Dean, John Woo showed remarkable leadership, both in the Deanery and in his parish, St. John the Evangelist, Campsie, setting a pioneering example for a cosmopolitan, international congregation. The mainstream of Sydney Anglican church life still needed convincing that multiculturalism was the way forward in the 1980s and shared in the denial of the changing 'ethnic' landscape of the city and its suburbs. Yet there were those who saw this as an opportunity for the contextualization of the gospel in suburbs whose populations were swelling with those of NESB. Committed to the challenge of "the whole church taking the whole gospel to the whole world",¹ they realized the world was now to be found in their own back-yard. They were in the minority of Sydney Anglicans, but, for once, they were in control. They produced a video, *Today's Anglicans: New Faces and Places* and Study-Guide which provided actual case-studies from the Diocese to facilitate introducing the mainstream church into multicultural ministry. They realised that the department could not flourish without allowing the founding Co-Ordinator to set a foundation in place from which to grow consistent with the legacy of Canon Allan Whitham. They sought and received episcopal protection and prayers of all those who

¹ The Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, "Lausanne Movement FAQ," http://www.lausanne.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/12/Lausanne_Movement_FAQs.pdf.

recognized its enduring significance. They acted in the belief that the hidden strength of the Sydney Diocese of the department, was 'more lay than clerical' in all of its fragility and in its hope.

In accepting her role, the CCM Co-Ordinator assented to the recommendations of the Sydney Synod's including:

30. The Home Mission Society has agreed to set up a department of cross-cultural ministries within its structures and to appoint a person to stimulate and co-ordinate this work in the Diocese. Funding is recommended through the Diocesan Income and Expenditure Ordinance.

31. The role of the Co-Ordinator will be as follows:

(a) To encourage parishes to take initiatives in evangelism among ethnic people in the Diocese, especially in areas of increasing density of ethnic population.

(b) To encourage parishes to consider the Report of the Committee re: Ministry to Ethnic Minority Groups, especially the section "principles of Cross-cultural Evangelism", when taking initiatives in evangelism.

(c) To recruit suitable persons to minister in parishes where there are large numbers of ethnic people, to negotiate with parishes to establish these ministries and to investigate ways by which funds could be found for the establishing of these ministries.

(d) To ensure that parishes are given practical information, such as case studies of the work already undertaken, so that they have actual "models" to help and encourage them to develop cross-cultural evangelism programmes of their own.

(e) To offer a "Parish Evaluation" Programme to help them identify the areas of migrant needs and to plan ways in which these needs can be met. (Note: This could include the co-ordination of skills available through the Board of Education, HMS Care Force Community Parish Services, Migrant Services Teams, Parish Community Worker Team and the HMS Chaplaincy Division where appropriate).

(f) To encourage conferences where parishes can investigate ways in which cross-cultural evangelism can be attempted.

(g) To notify parishes of any changes in ethnic population which affect them.

(h) To stimulate congregations to pray that suitable persons will become available to minister in ethnic work.

(i) To investigate ways in which diocesan grants and bursaries could be made available for the training of persons (both lay and clerical) for cross-cultural ministry.

(j) To stimulate suitable persons to learn another language which is relevant to our changing population with a view to cross-cultural ministry, especially those contemplating ordination.

32. The Archbishop has been asked to consider the desirability of using cross-cultural ministry situations, recently returned missionaries and clergy with languages other than English.

33. The Principal and Faculty of Moore College have been invited to encourage students to learn another language which is relevant to cross-cultural evangelism in the Diocese.

34. The Registrar has been encouraged to publish in the Year Book a list of clergy who are fluent in languages other than English.

For and on behalf of the Committee

ALLAN WHITHAM (Chairman)

JOHN CHAPMAN (Secretary), 5 August, 1986²

Points (a), (d), (e), (f), (g), (h), from this Report had already in large measure been fulfilled by the former PCW (Inner West) whilst working on the Marrickville Area Deanery Research Report . John Woo, Area Dean (1986-1998) of the Marrickville Area Deanery Committee (MADCOM), showed extraordinary leadership in wanting to build in his words: “an authentically Australian church”. He fostered the paradigm-shift from ES to NES through his parish St. John the Evangelist, Campsie. The role of the Co-Ordinator was to bring together the initiatives of those who were already pioneering CCM ministry.

Home-grown Leadership beginning from the ground-up and contextualized

John Woo (a fluent Cantonese speaker) had also applied for the position of founding the department, but he was not successful in his application. It was considered at the time that he was more valuable in parish life. This was Bishop Reid’s more urgent concern and focus. Woo’s and his family’s arrival at St. John the Evangelist in Campsie parish was not without controversy. An ethnic Chinese raised in Papua New Guinea (of a missionary family), he had to face ongoing court-cases under Australia’s regimen of

² *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 292-3.

the White Australia Policy in order to be able to stay in Australia. For 20 years, John Woo was deemed a “temporary protected person”.³ The effects of the White Australia Policy were ongoing.

We had to wait 20 years before we could become naturalized Australians. At various points the Australian government wanted to kick us back to Papua New Guinea, so we had to defend our right to remain through the Courts in this way. It was a very precarious existence for we migrant Chinese, coming from New Guinea. The White Australia Policy has gone as an official policy, the effects are still strong.⁴

Despite this he trained for the priesthood at Ridley College, Victoria (1963-65) and came to Sydney with a letter of recommendation from the world-famous New Testament Theologian, Dr Leon Morris. ‘John is an above-average student, he’s well worth considering for a full-time appointment’, observed Morris. Woo considers this letter opened the door for him in Sydney, because he was “not part of the Sydney Boy’s Club, that was over 90% ‘Anglo’ at the time”, studying at Moore Theological College, Sydney.⁵ On his appointment as rector of Campsie parish (1983-1998), there was a ground-swell of opposition to him. The concerns of representatives in the Congregation were eventually raised with Bishop Reid and Archdeacon Phillip Oliver. They explained that they didn’t want a ‘Chinaman’ to run their parish and promptly asked for him to be ‘sacked’.⁶

The hierarchy decidedly ‘stood by their man’ against such racism. However, the local church was split, with the result that half the ‘white, Anglo’ remnant congregation left their home church of many years. There was much soul-searching and consternation by the Woo family as a result. After much prayer, and encouragement from Bishop Reid and Archdeacon Oliver they decided they would ‘tough it out’ and decided to stay in the parish, regardless of the walk-out and its ongoing consequences.

Mr Frank Garforth (from the former HMS Immigration Department) contacted Woo with a list of names and addresses of refugees who were going to be settled in the Campsie area. Asked to follow up with visitation, the Woos promptly responded.

³ He remarked during the Interview:

“I have since queried what was I being protected from? Protection from myself? Because I needed protection from who I was?”

⁴ Quoted verbatim from the Interview, 26 June, 2015

⁵ Cited from his Interview for the thesis, 26 June, 2015

⁶ This is how Rev. John Woo explained the episode, during his interview for this thesis, 26 June, 2015

As the Case-study No.1 from the video *Today's Anglicans* visually portrays, Woo was to pioneer an international, cosmopolitan model of church. In his words this demonstrated:

- (a) integrating world mission at home;
- (b) counteracting prejudice and racism; and
- (c) encouraging cross-cultural integration rather than assimilation.⁷

The congregation at St. John's, formerly a "church dying and ready to close,"⁸ at the end of the Woo's ministry at Campsie included over 26 differing NES groups, happily mixing with the ES remnant (the original, aging component of the congregation) coming together in the one church. As part of the Local Government Area of Canterbury-Bankstown, Campsie had over 27.7% of the population born from NES countries.⁹ According to Woo "this was an urban cross-cultural mission field, with no one dominant NES group."¹⁰ The incarnation modelled by the 'Chinaman' and his family was splashed over the front-page of the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Bishop Reid proudly declared, "John, St. John's Campsie, has had a resurrection!"¹¹

⁷ From his Interview, for this thesis, 26 June 2015

⁸ From Rev. Woo's interview, 26 June 2015

⁹ See "Care Force Draft Migrant Policy Outline," ed. D Turner and C Webster (1988, March), Table D in Appendix. Statistics are from the 1986 Census.

¹⁰ From the Interview, Rev. J. Woo for this thesis, 26 June, 2015, Part 1, see also "Outreach a go-go at St. John's Campsie," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1985, December 6.

¹¹ Op cit Interview.



Jones, Quentin. "Bishop John Reid of South Sydney confirms members of his parish at St John's Anglican Church, Campsie." front-page Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney: Fairfax, 1993, 12 July. Permission granted courtesy SMH.

Good management is often modelled from the top. The Asian pastor had the capacity to draw disparate NESB migrant groups together, from an essentially working class to lower middle-class neighbourhood. The location of Campsie was situated between an inner west rail line and bus interchange. The church was also centrally located near the main shopping centre on Beamish St., easily accessible to public transport for migrants. John and Yuke Lan (his wife) had pioneered church/community activities as CMS missionaries in Sabah and in West Malaysia (1968-71), and now worked in the Campsie congregation. They had successfully obtained government funding for two consecutive years through the Community Employment Programme (CEP) to teach English to unemployed migrants. Mr John Lancaster taught the classes and was helped by volunteers from the congregation (1985-7). St. John's also obtained funding (HMS) for a Cross-Cultural Youth/Family

worker, Mr George Chambers, who began ministering amongst Muslim populations.¹² Worship services were conducted in English whilst using rudimentary forms of the Australian Anglican Prayerbook (AAPB). John Woo's NES background, albeit Chinese, identified him as one of the local NES migrants, and his role was pivotal when as Area Dean he sought funding for the 1986 Marrickville Area Deanery research project into possible Cross-Cultural ministry initiatives, whilst continuing the implementation of the same report's recommendations. The latter involved supporting the Deanery-wide ESL programme as originally drafted by the author/researcher M. Soulos and the actual implementation of the programme at the parish/level through to the appointment of the founding ESL Co-Ordinator for the Deanery, Miss Nancy Lewis, and her honorary assistant, Mrs Isobel Bennett. The Deanery ESL programme, in 4 parishes (Campsie, Marrickville, Earlwood, and Belmore) ran for over 10 years.¹³ The Area Dean through MADCOM showed a willingness to initiate research, as well as implement the findings not only for his own parish but Deanery-wide. He amicably demonstrated that "that Anglicanism did not equate with Anglo-Saxonism".¹⁴

Out of the Campsie English class (as part of the now implemented Deanery-wide ESL programme), church-planting was begun by Yuke Lan (Mrs Woo) in an honorary capacity amongst interested mainland Chinese students from the Campsie ESL class. In 1989, a Federal government amnesty¹⁵ was given to mainland Chinese students studying in Australia. She proceeded to plant a Chinese congregation (Mandarin-speaking) as part of St. John the Evangelist parish, Campsie.¹⁶ There were also church-planting attempts with interested Thai and Hindi language students.

As the researcher of the MADCOM original report (1986) had spent a month in the daily activities of each parish in the deanery (part of the requirements of the research), it was heartening for her to see the usual almost full-attendance of the monthly Parish Council meeting in the Campsie rectory,

¹² See "In Sydney: A Ministry to Muslims," *Care incorporating Pulse* 23rd September 1985., this is also noted in see Sydney Anglican Synod : Committee Cross-Cultural Ministries, "Committee for Cross-Cultural Ministries: A Brief Historical Survey,," in *(Background report)* (Home Mission Society, 1987).(Background Report-A Brief Historical Survey) Section 8, Home Mission Society Work.

¹³ Swann, "The History of ESL in the Sydney Diocese: The First Decade (1988-1997)," 20.

¹⁴ From his Interview Part 1, re-quoting his phrase spoken in Case-Study No.1, *Today's Anglicans*.

¹⁵ In 1989, after the Tiananmen Square massacre, Prime Minister Bob Hawke (1983 -1991) granted asylum to 42,000 Chinese students in Australia at the time. Amnesty International, "Australia must increase Syrian refugee intake," Amnesty International, <http://www.amnesty.org.au/refugees/comments/34849/>.

¹⁶ It was noted with regret in the Interview that the late Mrs. Woo had previously asked to proceed towards priesthood, for the purposes of recognition and ministry amongst this group, but was dissuaded in this endeavour by Bishop Ray Smith (Bishop of George's River at the time). (From Rev. Woo's interview). Rev. John and Mrs. Yuke Lan Woo received the Order of Australia (AO) for their services to the community. One of Australia's highest honours in recognition of their achievements.

featuring a magnificent home-cooked Chinese meal. Cooked by Yuke Lan of course, it was enjoyed by all attending, before each Parish Council meeting!

John Woo raised the important issue of leadership in NES ministry fields. He characterized this as “ethnic Australians”, those of NES background, ministering cross-culturally. They were unencumbered by cultural/language limitations, and willing to traverse into differing NES cultural worlds. The HMS Co-Ordinator supported such parish initiatives when quizzed by funding assessment committees within HMS. Now however, new CCM initiatives had to compete with traditional ES ministries, including curacies and youth work. Cases of support needed to be made to these committees as to why such new NES initiatives needed to be funded, and why such ‘experimental ministries’ would need to be funded in the short to medium term. The CCM Co-Ordinator had to front the decision-makers in various HMS committees and make the case for the funding of new initiatives. The Bishops from the relevant regions then gave their final word on the matter. As a matter of course the Bishops themselves consulted with the Co-Ordinator. Being a lay-woman, and not desiring to be priested within the denomination, she wasn’t threatening to them, nor the clergy, nor the laity. In the perspective of the raging 10-year debate regarding the Ordination of Women in the Sydney Diocese,¹⁷ the Co-Ordinator’s appointment was extraordinary, but the appointment was made just prior to the most heated battles in that war.

Appointment out of left field: set for growth

The growth of the department began with an exponential curve. It provided a focal point in the diocese for all those interested in mission with a cross-cultural NES focus, including returned CMS missionaries. The effect was most satisfying: the mobilization of interested laity and clergy, focussing the paradigm-shift into NES on the home front. Unwavering support was given by both Canon Allan Whitham and Bishop Reid.

Despite overseas applicants and local clergy applying for this unique role, the position was filled by a young, newly-married, lay-woman, Mrs Mersina (née Tonys) Soulos, from a Greek Orthodox background, converted to Protestantism initially through the Lay Institute for Evangelism (Student LIFE), through Mrs Kathy Helvey (née van Antwerp) an American Baptist on the campus of University of NSW. Mersina regularly attended Christian student gatherings at St. Matthias Anglican parish, Centennial Park. She was also one of the earliest members of what came to be known as the Greek Bible Fellowship (GBF), part of the church-planting initiative amongst students of Greek background at

¹⁷ See Piggin, "Word Rather than Peace: The fight over the Ordination of Women in Australian Anglicanism, 1992.", Chapter 9, *Word Rather than Peace: The fight over the Ordination of Women in Australian Anglicanism, 1992*

UNSW through the University Chaplain, Phillip Jensen (one of those designated 'purists' in this thesis) in the 1980s.¹⁸

The chasm in Sydney evangelical theology between those in 'the radical evangelical Anglican minority tradition' and those termed herein 'the purists' could not have been made clearer to the founder of the DCCM. 'The purists' deemed the work not worthy of public prayerful support, be it Christian Community development or the new initiative of the DCCM in HMS. Those herein labelled 'the purists', would claim the Christian community development agenda was venturing into 'the dark side'. For them, it was the 'slippery slope of the social gospel'. There could be *no* other way - it had to be 'pure' evangelism 'their way'. They shunned ministering to peoples' 'felt needs'. Here is a false dichotomy easily seen by those outside the hothouse of exclusive theological positions. For example, P. Hiebert, from both missiology and anthropology disciplines, gives the following criticism:

Finally, a global perspective requires recognition of both felt and real needs. Colonial missions focussed on the ultimate need for salvation; anticolonial missions looked to the felt needs of food, liberation, justice and self-esteem. Today we realize that we must bring a 'whole' gospel - one not divided between Greek dualism of eternal salvation and human needs. We may need to start with felt needs, but we must move to the ultimate human needs of salvation, reconciliation, justice and peace, both here and in eternity.¹⁹

In his earlier classic work, *Critical Contextualization* (1987), Hiebert endorsed a 'culture-affirming approach:

The gospel message had to be communicated in ways the people understood. It avoided the ethnocentrism of a monocultural approach by taking cultural differences seriously, and by affirming the good in all cultures.²⁰

¹⁸ Despite being involved in pioneering ministry, PCW (1985-86) then Co-Ordinator (from 1987), Mersina cannot ever recall being prayed for or commissioned through her home church, St. Matthias, Paddington, for these ground-breaking appointments. She regularly attended the evening congregation that largely included University students from UNSW. The Chaplain (UNSW), Phillip Jensen, asked for guidance by the newly appointed CCM Co-Ordinator, admitted that he prohibited the distribution of HMS ministry/publicity material in the church. He clearly explained to her, that she unfortunately would not be publicly prayed for by the congregation in her new role, especially as it was associated with HMS. The CCM Co-Ordinator had been a regular attendee of the St. Matthias Paddington, evening congregation for over 7 years.

¹⁹ P.G. Hiebert, *The Missiological Implications of Epistemological Shifts: Affirming Truth in a Modern/Postmodern World* (Bloomsbury Academic, 1999), 109.

²⁰ Paul G Hiebert, "Critical contextualization," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 11, no. 3 (1987): 107.

This was H. R. Niebuhr's paradigm in what he described as "the enduring problem": 'the double wrestle of the church with its Lord and with the cultural society with which it lives in symbiosis'. Not "Christ against culture", but its exact opposite i.e. seeking the Christ in culture.²¹ This would require what he described as '... to live the Christian life within a given culture calls for an infinite dialogue ... in the Christian conscience and the Christian community'.²²

For the Co-Ordinator, cross-cultural understanding had been historically fashioned whilst growing up within a Greek-speaking minority community within a dominant English-speaking culture in Sydney. She had been raised a kilometre away from the public housing estates of Mt. Druitt and schooled in Sydney's outer Western suburb, St. Marys²³. Raised in a devout Greek Orthodox family, the paternal side known for their Psalters in the Byzantine tradition, she was also formally trained as a Psalter²⁴ by the Greek Orthodox priest assigned to the parish, the Rev Z. Dardaneliotis. The family was one of a small group of Greek families who were instrumental in raising finances to build St. Demetrious Orthodox Church, Hobart St., St. Marys, and establish it as a separate parish in 1971²⁵. Home-life was conducted with Modern Greek being her first language. The Greek-speaking migrant community was also part of the St. Marys working class ES culture. Thus she learned to negotiate two worlds from the outset.²⁶ The functioning paradigms of different cultures operating within a majority English speaking culture helped her recognize the central place of NES culture. It required minority inter-group cohesion and individual/group identity struggling as a maligned minority within a majority ES culture

²¹ H. R. H.R. Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (Harper & Row, 1951), 1-44, xi.

²² Ibid, p.39

²³ The town had originally taken its name from the Anglican parish church, St. Mary Magdalene built between 1837-40). For a photograph of the church see: "St. Mary Magdalene, Anglican Church, St. Marys NSW," <https://www.google.com/maps/uv?hl=en&pb=!1s0x6b129aafa5062dc3:0x41ea10546e1d3916!2m5!2m2!1i80!2i80!3m1!2i100!3m1!7e1!4shttp://www.panoramio.com/photo/46134532!5sst+mary+magdalene+church+st+marys+nsw+-+Google+Search&sa=X&ved=0CHUQoiowCmoVChMluMqP9vLwxgIVodumCh2Fpgzr>.

For Canon Whitham, the fact that the Co-Ordinator CCM had been raised in Western Sydney, created an affinity with him as he had ministered for over a decade (1967-1980) in the housing estates of Mt. Druitt

²⁴ That is, one who leads the singing of the Psalms in Orthodox churches.

²⁵ "Greek Orthodox Parish of "St Demetrios", St Marys," Orthodox World Directory, http://orthodox-world.org/en/i/24642/Greek_Orthodox_Parish_of_%22St_Demetrios%22_St_Marys.

²⁶ Using an auto-ethnographic approach, it was evident that Ms Soulos' Mother, in the raising of their family in St Mary's, like many NES migrants *rejected* the 'White Australia' assimilationist construction of reality. Greek culture, language, food as well as religion deliberately upheld and continued a differing identity to the minority culture, albeit as a minority. After an absence of more than 30 years from the parish, whilst attending the funeral of her Uncle Nicholas Tonys, 8/04/14 (before entering St. Demetrious church) parishioners stopped and greeted and recognized her as one of their own, whilst referring to her as Peter and Angela's eldest daughter.

under the continuing legacy of White Australia.²⁷ For such NES minorities from an anthropological perspective:

... religion is at the centre of culture and permeates most of its forms. Food, clothing, house construction, marriages, markets, farming, fishing, hunting, festivals, music, dance and drums all had religious significance in traditional cultures.²⁸

For the children of the post-World War II immigrants this was a way of life.

The concept of religion at the NES community level encapsulated the antithesis of the western individualist, post-modern definition of organised religion. Religion and community amongst migrants of NESB mutually reinforced the identity of both NESB communities and their respective organised religions. This was earlier described in this thesis as the 'belief in God' factor associated with NESB migrants and their acculturation.

The department does not fit anywhere?

However, it appears that all was not plain sailing 'on the good ship' HMS and some did not welcome the appointment - the former Inner West's PCW's boss, no less. The position relative to the organisation was queried by Mrs Myfanwy Bosanquet, Director of Care Force since 1984.²⁹ Care Force ran Community and Parish Services which included the PCW and Migrant Services Teams. Mrs Bosanquet believed that she had lost this member of her staff in an HMS /Care Force 'power play':

... the CCM Co-Ordinator's position does not fit into the line management Chart. It is therefore unclear as to whether the position is at the level of Divisional Director, Departmental Director or Team Co-Ordinator.³⁰

The HMS General Secretary asked the Director of the Welfare Division, the Rev John Livingstone (1987-93) to respond to Mrs Bosanquet with this reply:

²⁷ Racism was a daily occurrence, growing up in St Mary's, NSW from being confronted with: "wogs go home", by the newly-arrived British settlers from the Mt. Druitt public housing estates to as a High School student, having continuing incidents e.g. having her hair deliberately set on fire "for fun" during her school bus-rides home.

²⁸ Hiebert, "Critical contextualization," 104.

²⁹ Cited from HMS's magazine, *PULSE* 1984, 13 February, 1.

³⁰ Memorandum M Bosanquet, 1989, 24 April. to Co-Ordinator CCM,

The Director of Cross-cultural Ministries position is a direct appointment from Synod, and it has been appropriate in the formative period of this new work for it to be directly related to the General Secretary ... the status quo as far as Line management will ... remain.³¹

Only Divisional Directors were directly answerable to the General Secretary as this represented the highest tier of management. Mrs Bosanquet, herself a Departmental Director (of the Migrant Services Team who had historically worked with the Indo-Chinese refugee populations), recognised the significance of this ruling.³² She was also denied her requested meeting with the newly appointed John Livingstone, Director of the Welfare Division and of the CCM Co-Ordinator, the Migrant Services Team, and the Parish Community Work Team.³³ Canon Whitham commented to the CCM Co-Ordinator: 'you were lucky to escape from her clutches'.

The other reason for the appointment was that the Parish Community work had not gone unnoticed by the Sydney Diocesan hierarchy. The understanding of the principles of Christian community development had been nurtured as central to the heart of parish mission. During an intensive 9 months working with the inner west parishes, the PCW had encouraged struggling parishes to become outward focussed. By pioneering models that were now working at the grass-roots for all to see, she encouraged parishioners to see that "yes, it could be done".³⁴ It was of value just to facilitate what the Sub-Committee to Standing Committee landmark report (1987, p. 290-1) described as the 'the merging of groups' (here referring to NES and ES ministry structures). The work of the department could not be done without a genuine identification and affinity with Sydney's Anglican congregations and the recognition of the difficulties they faced in seeing the church's prophetic role within a vastly changed and changing society focussed intentionally through the local neighbourhood.

³¹ Memorandum from A. V. Whitham, 1989, 27 June to Director of Welfare Division, Rev. John Livingstone, p.1

³² For a copy of the flow chart of Divisional Directors that includes CCM "Annual Report," (Sydney Square: Home Mission Society (HMS) 1988), 2.

³³ See Memorandum, 1989, 27 June, from Whitham to Rev. J. Livingstone. (Whitham Archive, Anglicare Parramatta).

³⁴ The Video, *Today's Anglicans* was made in response to parishes requesting working models of Cross-Cultural Ministry in the Diocese from the Co-Ordinator. This included ethno-specific NES congregations as well as the ESL Deanery project.



"Archbishop of Melbourne Preaches at HMS Festival." CARE incorporating PULSE, 1985, May 27, 1

The Sydney Synod approved in 1987 the beginning of a department of one, initially, to begin the work of taking 'the whole church' if possible on this journey. Was Sydney Anglican ministry salvageable in the now designated 'multicultural areas' of the Diocese of Sydney? Or was it to continue as the 'suicidal church' as Miley³⁵ described it?

At last the influences converged, including that of Archbishop Penman. The CCM Co-Ordinator was invited to attend a Moore College Student 'welcome evening' in order to discuss her work in the parishes³⁶. The evening was held bi-annually at Bishop Reid's residence, located in Sydney's upmarket eastern suburbs, with all the newly-enrolled students. This particular evening happened to coincide

³⁵ Miley, *The suicidal church : can the Anglican Church be saved? The suicidal church : can the Anglican Church be saved?*

³⁶ The Co-Ordinator puts the date 1988-89. As she was invited 2 years running to address the new Moore College students.

with a lightning visit from Archbishop David Penman³⁷. The Co-Ordinator was introduced to the Melbourne Archbishop for the first time by Bishop Reid who said: "... our hope ... for the future of this ministry ... is with her." The Co-Ordinator recoiled with embarrassment. She was in total disbelief that this was actually spoken about her. Yet in her astonishment, she recognized the gravity of the moment. There were those for whom this much-needed area of transformation was being held so close, so extraordinarily dear, in vision, word and deed. The goal of embracing the NES world was acknowledged on behalf of the 'whole' of the Australian Anglican church. The momentary 'ecclesia'³⁸ of this triumvirate, one Archbishop, one Bishop and one young lay-woman, united in the collective beating of their hearts and minds, recognized that they shared a vision for the present and for generations to come.

One of the first directives handed to the Co-Ordinator through the General Secretary (HMS), was a letter addressed to "My Dear John" [Reid] from Penman, in his role as Chairman, General Synod, International Affairs Commission. He referred to 'the appalling situation' of refugees around the world. Referring to the Anglican Consultative Council's³⁹ Refugee and Migrant Ministry Network's report, he observed:

the heart of the report is a call to the church throughout the world to journey with refugees (and migrants) in their search for social justice. We are invited to do this by making the refugee reality in all parts of the world an integral part of our church's ministry. In order to achieve this, the following recommendations have been made by the ACC network:

(a) On the Parochial Level

(1) Education of parish members of refugees and migrants;

(2) Involvement of congregations in a face-to-face refugee ministry, including orientation, counselling, language training and prevention of victimization;

(3) provision of pastoral care;

³⁷ He had previously been invited as guest speaker, at Sydney's, Annual Home Mission Society Festival, see "Archbishop of Melbourne Preaches at HMS Festival," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1985, May 27.

³⁸ From the Koine Greek meaning assembly

³⁹ ACC is the highest decision-making body of the world-wide Anglican Communion

(4) encouragement of refugees to become contributing members to their communities.⁴⁰

...

(6) The refugee and migrant responsibilities of the Anglican Churches of the ecumenical bodies should be reviewed to ensure that refugee and migrant ministry is included at all levels of the agenda of the Church-Parochial, Diocesan, and Provincial-and at the meetings of the Primates, the Anglican Consultative Council and Partners in Mission consultations.⁴¹

... I want to encourage you to write to leaders in Government and Opposition, to seek an increased commitment to re-settle refugees in Australia. The current quota for 1989 is 12,000, which seems an extremely small number compared with the 12 million awaiting assistance today. An intake of at least 20,000 is closer to the promises of earlier years. Further recent public debate on the media, has highlighted the needs to protect the rights of refugees, through the formation of a policy that is non-discriminatory.⁴²

The Melbourne Archbishop had made the case for the migrant and refugee agendas to be included together under the one department in Sydney, as he had structured his 2-year-old Melbourne Department, answerable directly to him. The letter concluded, "with warmest personal regards," the fraternal bonds stretching across Dioceses.

For much of the Sydney Anglican Diocese the alignment with the central ecumenical body that advocated on behalf of migrants and refugees, the Australian Council of Churches, was tokenism with revolving Sydney Anglican representatives.⁴³ The letter of Melbourne's Archbishop demonstrated the priority of 'the stranger', of those who had little or no power to direct their destiny, not only nationally but internationally. He had found a listening ear in Bishop Reid to whom the letter had been originally addressed, intentionally by-passing Sydney's Archbishop Robinson at the time.

⁴⁰ Personal Correspondence to Bishop Reid, D Penman, 1988, August 26.

⁴¹ Ibid., 3.

⁴² Op cit, p.3.

Australia consistently has been one of the top 3 countries in the world, resettling refugees. See Elibritt Karlsen, "Refugee resettlement to Australia: what are the facts?," Parliament of Australia, http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1415/RefugeeResettlement#_Toc410727184.

⁴³ The Co-Ordinator CCM, first met her Melbourne Anglican equivalent, Rev. Helen Hunter (trained at Deaconess House, Sydney), (founding Director of the Department of Multicultural Ministries, Melbourne under Penman). At one such ACC meeting to Ms Soulos' surprise was publically labelled a 'fundy' meaning 'fundamentalist' by Rev. Hunter to the group before a word had even been uttered, by the Sydney Anglican representative.

The letter was handed down to the Co-Ordinator from General Secretary Whitham highlighting the need to build a structure for the CCM work in the Diocese. Penman in his correspondence had given a grand vision at the Parochial, Diocesan, National/Provincial, and Global levels. However, for Sydney and its Anglican parishes, the position was filled by a young lay-woman (in her 20's) using parish-based, community development strategies. She recognised the work would need to be initiated in and through the parochial-level if lasting change were to occur, that is, through Anglican parishes and para-church organisations. That included, for example, the Returned Missionaries Association, CMS, Moore College students and other parachurch organisations. Clergy and laity would need to be convinced of the lasting way forward. The results may not have been immediately recognizable, but the foundation needed to be laid down for the long-term. The *modus operandi*, once again was to use a community development approach. As Hiebert was to put it a decade later: 'We must begin where people are and let them define the agenda and [arrive at] the solutions.'⁴⁴

"A place for everything and everything in its place"

With respect to Penman's letter, the Co-Ordinator responded to Bishop Reid that it "had broadened her horizons".⁴⁵ However, her response also included the recognition that Sydney would be doing things differently, and that she would need 'to consult with her superiors' regarding the direction of the DCCM.⁴⁶ Penman's letter had created an all-inclusive local/global view of the impact of NES ministry, uniting both migrant and refugee agendas, as well as making the NES agenda central to Australian church affairs. However, Bishop Reid had ongoing concerns regarding Penman's vision for Sydney. It was Bishop Reid who reported to Sydney Synod on the significance of Penman's untimely death on 1 October 1989.⁴⁷

At the same time, the Co-Ordinator was aware that the third year of the Sydney work included Canon Whitham's fast approaching retirement. Canon Bryce Wilson formerly Director of the Welfare Division

⁴⁴ Hiebert, *The Missiological Implications of Epistemological Shifts: Affirming Truth in a Modern/Postmodern World*, 60., see also his excellent chapter, cautioning an institutional approach in P. G. Hiebert, "Missions and the Renewal of the Church," in *Exploring Church Growth*, ed. W.R. Shenk (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983).

⁴⁵ Letter from CCM Co-Ordinator Mersina Soulos, 1989, 4 August. to Bishop Reid

⁴⁶ Op cit, 1989, 4 August

⁴⁷ Resolution 10/89, *Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney*, (Sydney Square: Diocesan Registry, 1990), 255.

(1982-1987)⁴⁸ that included Care Force, was made Associate General Secretary, of HMS, (1987-1990), then General Secretary.⁴⁹

Wilson in 1990 introduced his leadership with the insistence that 'All HMS work is to be administratively reviewed as efficiently as possible.'⁵⁰ One of the first actions Wilson undertook as Associate General Secretary was to negotiate for the Co-Ordinator to be demoted. The DCCM was no longer to be seen as a Division directly answerable to the General Secretary. He would not accept responsibility for the DCCM at the Divisional Director's level of HMS as previously under Whitham. Indeed, from the Co-Ordinator's recollection he didn't understand 'what all the fuss was about, seeing *they should all be assimilated anyway*, in due course'? (Italics mine)

Discussions were underway for the DCCM to be placed under the Parish Support and Development Division (PSD), which included the National Church Life Survey team and the handling of all Parish Grants,⁵¹ and was headed by the Rev Les Vitnell (1987-90), formerly Director Growth Areas, 1983-86, and not Community and Parish Services, Myf Bosanquet's department. During the discussions the Rev Bryce Wilson needed reminding by the Co-Ordinator that the funding for one person to undertake the work was through the Sydney Synod allocation and *not* HMS funds. Point 30, from the original 1987 Sydney Synod Report, read:

The Home Mission Society has agreed to set up a department of cross-cultural ministries within its structures and to appoint a person to stimulate and co-ordinate this work in the Diocese. Funding is recommended through the Diocesan Income and Expenditure Ordinance.⁵²

Wilson's first Annual Report in this position demonstrated the demotion of the department to being part of the new Parish Support and Development Division, headed by Vitnell. (1987-90). This prompted a question from the floor of the Sydney Synod (*not* organized through the Co-Ordinator)

⁴⁸ See "The Link," *CARE*1984, October, 3.

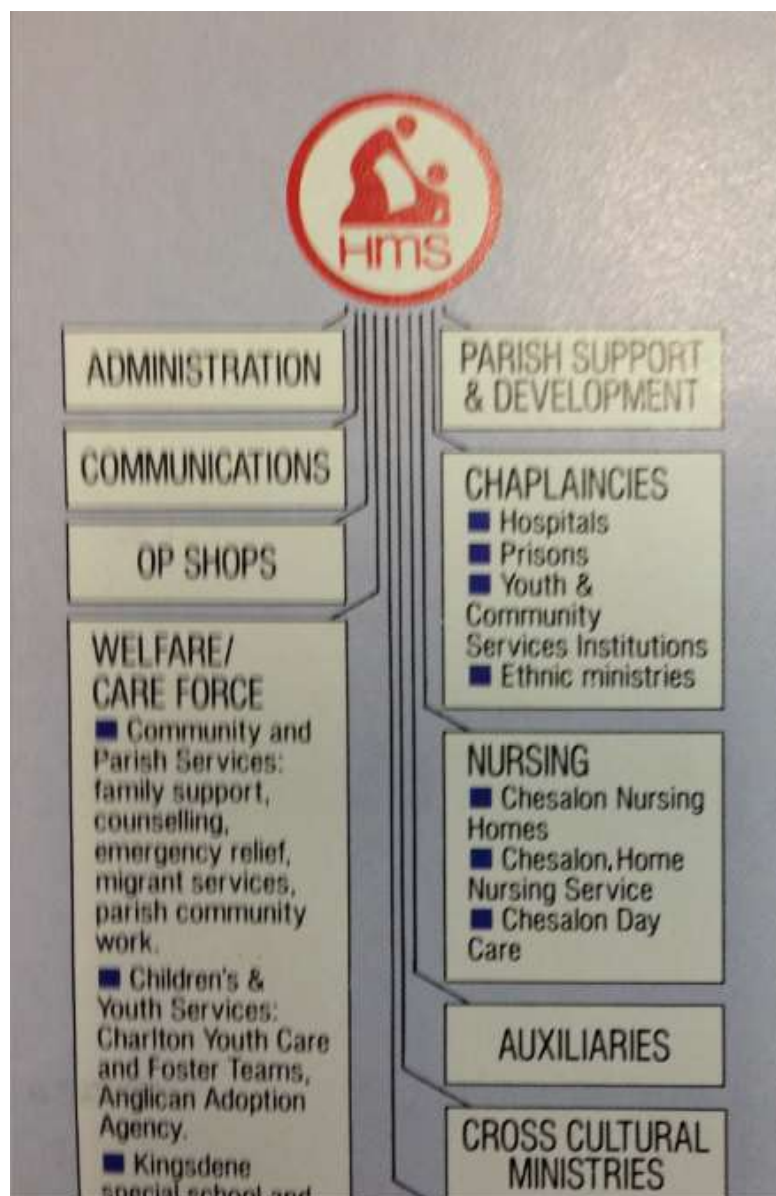
⁴⁹ The CCM Co-Ordinator recalls asking "boss", Canon Whitham, "how did he get the job?" His honest reply was, "We couldn't not give it to him!" Referring to the Rev Wilson's seat on the HMS Council, since 1969 and Director of Care Force1981 *PULSE*, *PULSE*1981, 27 November, 3., then Director of the Welfare Division that included Parish and Community Services (1982-87).

⁵⁰ See article in *CARE* magazine, , *CARE incorporating PULSE*1988, 20 June, 2. In his new position as Associate General Secretary, Wilson was taking on a greater administration workload, e.g. Op shops, Auxiliaries. He also served as a consultant for Parish Support Development Division HMS, Careforce HMS, Deputy Chairman of the Major Charitable Organisations Association, including the executive of the Christian Research Association.

⁵¹ DWB Robinson, "Presidential Address," in *Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney, 1990* (Sydney Square: Diocesan Registry, 1989, October 9), 236.

⁵² *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 292.

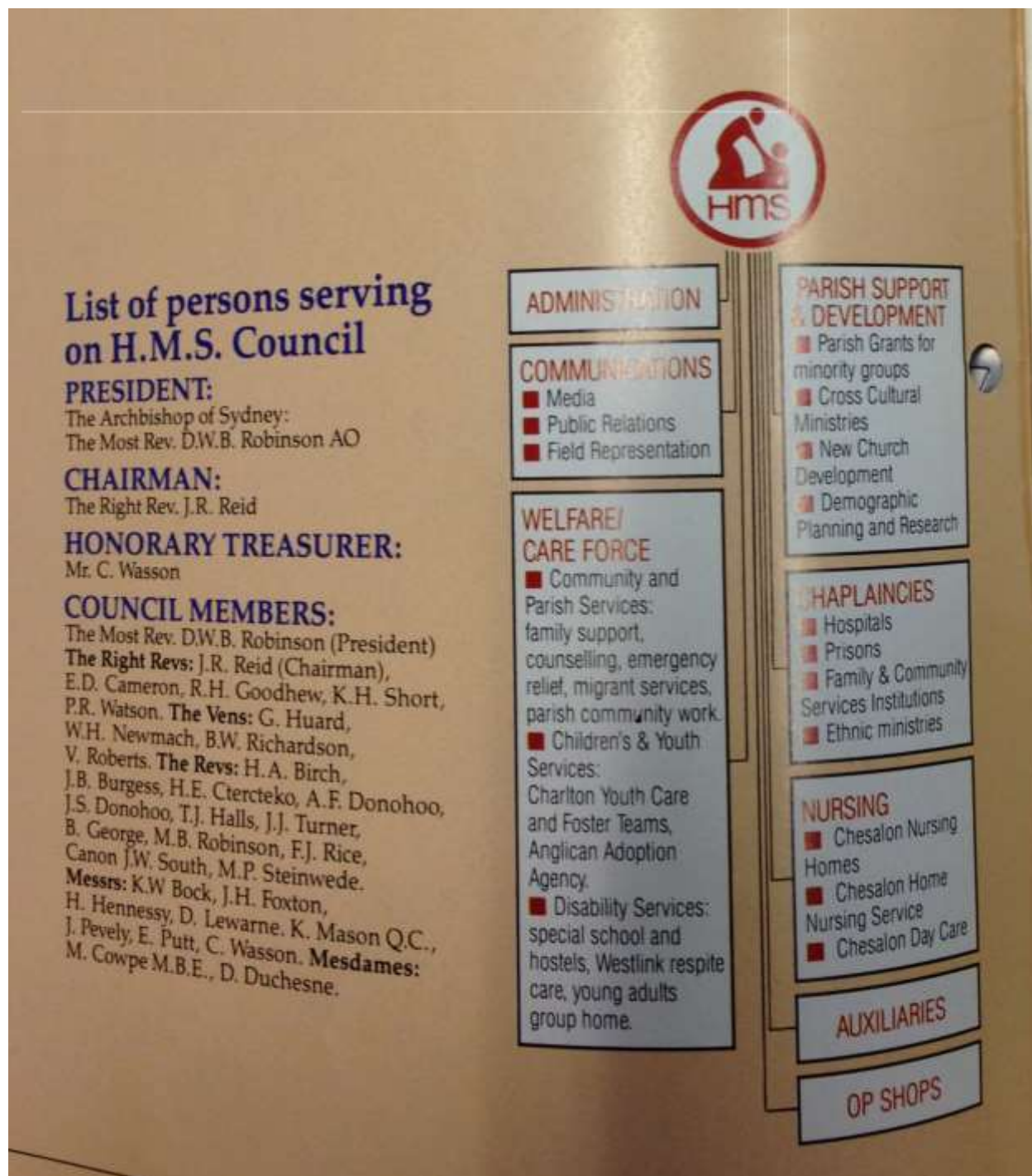
asking about the future of the Department from the Rev Don S. West (Earlwood Parish, part of the Marrickville Area Deanery), asking what in fact was happening to the DCCM?⁵³ The prepared response was read aloud by the President of Synod, Archbishop Robinson, 11/10/89 on the floor of Synod:



Explanatory note: Each box is represented at this level of management by one Director, who is initially answerable to the General Secretary. (n.b. This is not the level of HMS Council, which is the next level of accountability to this chart. i.e. the highest governing body of the Society). As a point of interest no personnel of NESB have been appointed to the level of Divisional Director (i.e. directly responsible to the General Secretary/CEO), to this 1st level of the Management Team in the organisation since.

"Annual Report." Sydney Square: Home Mission Society (HMS) 1988, 2.

⁵³ West D.S Rev, "Question for Sydney Synod," (1989, 11 October).



"Annual Report." Sydney Square: Home Mission Society (HMS) 1989, 2

Because (1) the Co-Ordinator of Cross-Cultural Ministries, has now demonstrated the validity and pertinence of all 10 of the original recommendations as adopted by Synod in 1986

and

(2) there is an increasing awareness in the Diocese of all the implications of multi-cultural communities to parish life or even survival.

The future of this ministry has to be one of growth.

HMS has decided that the Department of Cross-Cultural Ministries should become a permanent department within their Division of Parish Support and Development and Synod funding will continue to be sought as in this year's Income and Expenditure Ordinance, Item 117, for 1991 and beyond.⁵⁴

The aspect of growth was also re-iterated by Canon Whitham in his Annual Address at the HMS Festival Town Hall, 5th May, 1989 to a packed Sydney Town Hall (over 1,000 people from over 60 parishes)⁵⁵ where he declared:

But perhaps the most exciting development, with enormous implications for our diocese has been the rapid growth and strengthening of Cross-Cultural Ministries both at Parish and in Care Force.

The HMS CCM Co-Ordinator will rejoice in her report to Synod in 1989 that she under God achieved ... the goals which were established as a result of an extensive Synod enquiry just 2 years ago.⁵⁶

Thankfully, during the previous discussions Whitham and Vitnell had acceded to the Co-Ordinator's request that if she were moved to another Division (PS&D) the work would remain as a department in its own right with any new staff 'to work under the leadership of the Co-Ordinator', in order for it to grow, through the auspices of HMS. Both men honoured the commitment.⁵⁷ The Co-Ordinator pragmatically accepted the compromise that it was better for Vitnell to be directly answerable to the General Secretary within the culture of the organization, i.e. man-to-man. The Co-Ordinator was unquestionably loyal to the organization (HMS) that saw itself as a front-line resource to Sydney Anglican parishes, historically balancing evangelism with social responsibility, despite the set-back. She

⁵⁴ From the A. Whitham CCM file, archived at Anglicare, Parramatta.

⁵⁵ An account of the occasion is also given in "General Secretary Issues Mission Challenge,," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1989, 20th June.

⁵⁶ Quoting Canon Whitham, from the Co-Ordinator's Annual Report to the Sydney Synod "Annual Report to the Sydney Synod," (Sydney Square: Home Mission Society, 1989, 23 June). , see also "Launch of HMS Annual Report (1988)," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1989, 20 June 3.

⁵⁷ See personal communication Whitham Rev Canon AV, 1990, 24 January.

did not accept Phillip Jensen's earlier advice to take the Synod grant and set up a *separate* home mission in an Anglican church hall somewhere and continue the work.⁵⁸

The Co-Ordinator, ever-mindful that a top-down approach would not be integrated into the everyday life of the Sydney Anglican parishes, recognized the urgent need for cross-cultural sensitization. It was essential to achieve attitude change towards greater inclusion of the NESB at the parish level and generally in church-life. Penman had called for the inclusion of *both* migrant and refugee in the wider community. However, to begin the work one would need to be initially focused at the parochial level. So, for the Sydney Department the aim was to educate and engineer 'attitude-change' amongst the majority ES parishioners for the paradigm-shift of NES inclusion.⁵⁹

Working with Refugees, HMS

The Migrant Services Team had developed separately in its focus to ministering to NES refugees. Co-ordinated by Mrs D. Turner,⁶⁰ also a member of the Synod Committee on Cross-Cultural Ministries, 1984-6, it was re-structured in June 1985. Her team was under the department of Community and Parish Services, headed by Mrs Myf Bosanquet. It merged the MST specialist workers from 3 distinct geographical areas: Ashfield, Wollongong and Cabramatta. Ashfield was settled by newly emerging refugee groups, e.g. Afghans, Sudanese. The work there included conducting English classes at the former Charlton Boys home since the 1970s. The classes were run on the model of secular English Class provision (from government funding, Adult Migrant Education Service, (AMES), not as an integrated Anglican parish-based programme. Other foci of ministry were offices at Wollongong (Spanish-speaking) and Cabramatta (Indo-Chinese).⁶¹

The Care Force Office at Cabramatta was located in the Soldiers' Memorial Church Hall from 1980⁶² and had close ties with the parish through church-planting Indo-Chinese congregation. The physical/welfare needs were tended to by the Care Force Office, while the NES church-planting initiative was conducted by Deaconess student, Irene Mok. The Spanish-speaking Migrant worker, Mrs

⁵⁸ The consultation is noted in Minimal Summary of Co-Ordinator's Report, Mersina Soulos, "Minimal Summary of Co-Ordinator's first Report," (Home Mission Society, 1988).

⁵⁹ It was no secret that Sydney Anglicans had the weakest congregations (numerically) amongst some of the highest urban NESB populations, "Report of the Standing Committee, Cross-Cultural Ministries," 287-88.

⁶⁰ See "Care Force Draft Migrant Policy Outline," 7.

⁶¹ Formerly, Nancy Lewis was Co-Ordinator of Migrant Services Team, prior to her ESL Marrickville Deanery, appointment. See CARE magazine, *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1988, 18 September, 2.

⁶² "Our History, Anglicare", Anglicare Parramatta, <https://www.anglicare.org.au/who-we-are/our-history>.

Dorys Hernandez, had a working relationship through Bill Graham with the Spanish Grandmother's group, a ministry of the Cathedral at Wollongong. The Inner West worker, Mrs Cheryl Webster was not attached to any church in particular. The Grant-in-Aid funding formerly assisting Anglican church families in sponsoring refugees to Australia through the Community Refugee Resettlement Scheme, part of the Migrant Services Team at Ashfield, was no longer in operation by the early 1980's.⁶³

The Function of the Migrant Services Team (MST) as per their Draft Policy (1988) was to:

(a) provide specialist services to particular 'disadvantaged' ethnic groups. Including Koreans, Pacific Islanders, Africans, refugee minors, newly-arrived migrants/refugees and the Spanish-speaking community

(b) act as an advocate and lobby for migrants and for their service needs⁶⁴

In practice for most areas of Sydney, the specialist MST workers were placed too thinly on the ground. Most of their time was taken up with the welfare agenda in helping to resource 'disadvantaged' communities, when working with the general populations of NES (migrant and refugee). The Team was almost completely supported by government grants/guidelines that continue to this day. The focus of the MST was *not* primarily evangelism and/or church-planting in contrast to the 1987 Synod report on *Cross-cultural Ministries*.⁶⁵ The MST was effectively funded using a welfare model with follow-up in ministry terms through the parish Church Soldiers' Memorial team.⁶⁶

If Penman had his way in Sydney, he would have merged both areas of ministry (migrant/refugee) into the one department, directly answerable to the Archbishop, for such was his inclusive vision. He had already pioneered such a structure in his own diocese regarding diocesan structuring of the department of Multicultural Ministries, intentionally linked into the networks of the world-wide Anglican Communion.⁶⁷ The 'big picture' vision of what *could* be done he explained in his letter to

⁶³ "Care Force Draft Migrant Policy Outline," 7.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁶⁵ "Report of the Standing Committee, Cross-Cultural Ministries." In Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney, province of New South Wales, Anglican Church of Australia, 287-93 Sydney, Australia: Diocesan Registry, 1987.

⁶⁶ For an intense examination of the "Report of the Standing Committee, Cross-Cultural Ministries."

⁶⁷ In the secular world, the Hawke Government after abolishing the key research/advisory body to the Federal government, AIMA, elevated the former portfolio to the level of Prime Minister and Cabinet, known as the Office of Multicultural Affairs (OMA). "It was established early in 1987 to advise the Prime Minister directly, on issues relating to Australian multicultural society. The purpose of the office was to be that of a 'bridge-builder', linking community and government to further the policy of multiculturalism". "Office of Multicultural Affairs (Australia)

Bishop Reid (August 26, 1988), and the newly-appointed Co-Ordinator was privileged to study it and 'dream' regarding the potential, given such leadership. The correspondence, sets out Penman's vision for cross-cultural ministry in Australia in his capacity as Chairman, General Synod International Affairs Commission. However, this was not going to happen in Sydney. The key driver for Sydney's Archbishop Robinson (1982-93), was his beloved *Vision for Growth* (1984-90). This 6-year programme was large and ambitious, financing Anglican ministry (manpower and plant) for the Sydney diocese, raising over \$6 million dollars destined exclusively for extending and planting ES ministry on the growing populations on the Sydney fringes.⁶⁸

Starting small - finding one's place

The Co-Ordinator began from the already existing NES church-planted work. This included:

- an Aboriginal Centre of ministry at Redfern with Pastor Jack Braeside, financially supported by HMS/Inner City Committee parish grants;
- 2 Chinese (Cantonese-speaking) congregations, one at Millers Point, where the Rev Ernest Chau succeeded Maurice Lee (self-supporting), and the second at the Soldiers' Memorial Church, Cabramatta, with Deaconess Irene Mok, financially supported by HMS parish grants;
- Italian Ministry: the Rev Luciano Ricci, rector at Haberfield (self-funded) and Rocco Scarcella, at St. Luke's Liverpool (financially supported by HMS parish grants);
- Chaplain, to the Turkish Community, Erol Ozer (financially supported by HMS);
- Chaplain to the Maori Community, Archdeacon Kingi Ihaka (financially supported by HMS);
- Spanish speaking ministry with Mr Joseph De Matteo, at St. Thomas's Kingsgrove, and a Spanish Grandmothers' Group, under the oversight of Canon Bill Graham, Wollongong.

A total of 6 congregations were involved with NES work, and there were also some outreach ministries and bible-studies.⁶⁹

OMA, also known as Dept. of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Office of Multicultural Affairs (1987-1995), "Trove, National Library of Australia, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.party-491420>.

⁶⁸ Alan Gill, "A Spiritual Revival for the West," *Sydney Morning Herald* 1984, October 5, p.13., see also Chapter 2 of this thesis

⁶⁹ For the funding of the already established CC ministries see HMS, Annual Reports (1987-8). HMS funded 5 of the existing CC ministries.

One of the first ministries created by the Co-Ordinator was the *Ethnic Workers' Forum*. This was to be an informal support group for those at the coal-face in the NES fields to meet, pray for each other, encourage one another and seek support from each other. The Anglican hierarchy was deliberately excluded except when addressing the group through bible-studies or at planned retreats. The Co-Ordinator recognized first-hand the level of difficulty involved in their ministry as they straddled ES and the NES in their respective churches/parishes.

All work, except that at the Miller's Point Chinese congregation (soon to be amalgamated with Neutral Bay) and that of Mr De Matteo, was financed substantially with various grants, e.g. HMS, Inner City Committee (ICC), Parramatta Area Regional Council, (PARC), Wollongong Area Regional Council (WARC) grants. This prompted the Co-Ordinator to write a memorandum (with the agreement/support from her Advisory Committee) to the HMS Council, seeking to explain and rationalize the funding provision:

... those seeking to apply for Cross-Cultural Ministry can go through the following avenues:

1. General Parish grants (HMS)
2. Growth Area grants (VFG, HMS)
3. Regional Area grants, PARC, WARC, ICC, MADCOM
4. Chaplaincy Division (HMS)

My concern is that the whole spectrum of Cross-Cultural Ministries funding ... has been disadvantaged by the hitherto lack of diocesan co-ordination and planned development.

I am asking for HMS Council to consider as POLICY the introduction of a specific category of (CCM) grants ...

After discussion with the Director of Parish Support and Development, it would appear that approximately \$80,000 will be recommended by such ministries for 1989. This sum would represent, approximately 10% of the total parish grants made.⁷⁰

The new category of CCM grants was subsequently ratified by HMS Council and prepared the way for the PS&D division to ask for additional funding from future Synods.

⁷⁰ Memorandum to Home Mission Society Council, from Mersina Soulos, "Memorandum to Home Mission Society Council " (1988, 17 October).

The DCCM's inception under the stewardship of Allan Whitham (1987-89) initiated growth in NES ministries, allowing the Co-Ordinator the freedom to run as John Woo described 'as a bright comet that sped across the sky'⁷¹. She sought to make three areas of work foundational to CCM:

- Cross-Cultural sensitization (a form of anti-racism) workshops conducted in parishes by the Co-Ordinator (i.e. as a pre-requisite before the deployment of NES workers in parishes). Parishes included: St. David's Fairfield, the Liverpool Deanery, the Bankstown Deanery, St Peter's Cook's River, Ryde Area Deanery, Padstow parish, Pennant Hills, Fairfield, Canley Vale, St. George Area Deanery, West Lindfield, Enfield, and Moore College Student's Missionary Committee. A seminar on outreach to the Japanese was held at Deaconess House, with student Karen Darda participating. She was later accepted as a CMS missionary to Japan. 'There's more to Italians than pasta' was organised by Rocco and Sue Scarcella for the Liverpool Deanery. The work of the CCM Co-Ordinator involved liaising with various para-church organisations, e.g. Overseas Missionary Fellowship (OMF), South American Missionary Society (SAMS), CMS, Christian Women Communicating International (CWCI), Mothers' Union, and Middle-East Christian Outreach (MECO).
- The strengthening of existing NES ministries as the Co-Ordinator became a sounding board for those wanting to minister in the NES fields. The Ethnic Workers' Forum was inaugurated and began regular meetings throughout various parish centres. The Co-Ordinator's Office was based in HMS headquarters, located in Church House. HMS had moved into the multi-story building from June 1977.⁷² The building is located behind St. Andrew's Cathedral named St. Andrew's House, in Sydney Square, a 5-minute walk from the underground Town Hall Station (Sydney CBD). This became the focal point of contact for those contemplating CCM across the diocese. The Co-Ordinator also became part of various committees that had pastoral oversight of CCM workers in the field, e.g. Graham Scarratt, the Spanish-speaking ministry in Wollongong, Erol Ozer, Chaplain to the Turkish Community, and Nancy Lewis who ran the Marrickville Deanery ESL programme.

⁷¹ Cited from Rev. John Woo's Interview for this thesis, 26/06/15.

⁷² See HMS magazine, PULSE, 1977, June.

- The ongoing implementation of the Marrickville Area Deanery Report, along with consultancy on the development of ESL ministry within parishes, specifically those of this Deanery.⁷³ An ESL Teachers' Forum was also later developed through the DCCM.

According to the Co-Ordinator, the *modus operandi* was in asking "who is my neighbour?" Therefore, one did not need to differentiate between NES migrants and refugees. The imperative was promoting parish ministry towards such populations and not turning away.

The department of one was also brought to the notice of Canon Samuel Van Culin, then Secretary General of the Anglican Consultative Council. He met with the Co-Ordinator whilst in Sydney and asked about CCM developments and its ongoing pioneering work.

Yet a shadow was looming, retarding the work. Already apparent, it was not named until the Co-Ordinator's six monthly HMS report (18 April 1988 - 17 October 1988).

A particular heart-ache is a considerable number of parish clergy who do not seem to have the courage or the desire to reach out even though their congregations are withering and dying right before their very eyes. I consider this to be a sad thing and I wonder just how relevant and effective was their training? I have come to the end of my tether concerning racist comments that I've heard towards our NESB clergy from the laity. I consider this to be a disgrace and question also the effect of cumulative Christian teaching given.⁷⁴

The ongoing task of transformation would not be an easy one, but the Diocese of Sydney at the Synod level, by the mid-1980s, had officially embarked on this NES experiment, which it had now institutionalized by the creation of the department. The spectre of racism, whether outrightly expressed or not, continued within congregations. There remained generations who had envisioned an 'imagined community' of a more homogeneous Australia who had not come to terms nor

⁷³ The following is cited from Nancy Lewis's first Annual Report.

The ESL students from the Marrickville Deanery ESL programme came from diverse countries: China, Greece, Egypt, Hong Kong, Japan, Indonesia, Kampuchea, Korea, Lebanon, Malaysia, Peru, Turkey and Vietnam. About 50 students began attending the classes each week. Their stay in Australia ranged from a few months to 40 years. The programme *did not* request proof of Australian citizenship in order to enrol. The training of parishioners was an important part of the ESL project, as well as a growing awareness of multicultural issues. It appeared that much of the work was pre-evangelism, sensitizing parishioners to the needs of migrants and enabling friendships to be formed. In structuring the English teaching, Bible society and short videos were intentionally used as part of the Church-run language programme Nancy Lewis, "Marrickville Area Deanery Committee (ESL Project)," (1989, 21 April).

⁷⁴ Cited from Mersina Soulos, "Half-Yearly Report-Document R," (Home Mission Society, 1988, 18 April - 1988, 17 October), 5.

understood the phenomenal pace of change. They had not anticipated what P. Kaldor's collaborative HMS/Uniting Church research for Sydney would call 'transient communities'.⁷⁵ Anglican populations in highly populated NESB 'multicultural communities'⁷⁶ were fast becoming remnants that had been left behind. A resentment of diversity continued, as did opposition both to the notion of the nation becoming a partner in south-east Asia and to the secular social policy of Multiculturalism. But the world had changed. Parishes in Sydney were facing the prospect of ministering to over 100 different language groups practicing over 40 religions in any one parish. Aspects of 'poly-ethnic' world mission had arrived on the Sydney door-step. The Anglican parishes would need to engage with such rapid change and not retreat, with all the resources including those from HMS it could muster.

Today's Anglicans, New Faces and Places

A generous one-off \$10,000 grant was given to the Co-Ordinator by the General Secretary, HMS. It was decided by the Co-Ordinator to develop and write CCM Training material for parishes. The Video *Today's Anglicans*⁷⁷ and accompanying study-guide,⁷⁸ co-written by Mersina Soulos and Jeanette Boyd, Deputy Principal, St. Andrew's Hall, CMS, Melbourne, was made and was circulated for purchase across the Diocese, nationally and internationally. It was designed to be used in small groups with its 4 current but differing CCM case-studies from within the Sydney Diocese. The aim of the video was to equip Sydney Anglicans in Cross-Cultural Ministry and to facilitate and enhance existing Cross-Cultural Ministries. Each parish featured in the video had a unique multicultural setting in which various cultures were explored, providing parishioner engagement with the people of NESB. It sought to redress the understanding of Sydney Anglicanism as 'mono-cultural'.

⁷⁵ These communities are described as:

"... they tend to be inner urban areas ... facing 'gentrification' ... the churches in these communities pose great challenges. Congregations developed when area was a stable dormitory suburb, are often in decline and culturally quite different to the population around them ... The Sunday School strategy of mission is inadequate here (if indeed is adequate anywhere). The task for Christians to build bridges for those around them and to allow forms of Christian expression to develop that are appropriate to the changing nature of the community.

⁷⁶ Further designated by the collaborative research HMS/Uniting Church Board of Mission "Mission on our door step: the many different contexts for mission." 'transient communities' overlapping with 'multicultural communities', having the highest NESB populations, with the least Anglican attenders as well as Clergy to minister in such communities. The total population being 765,000, nominal Anglicans 126,000, number of Anglican parishes, 52, number of clergy 59, number of Anglican attenders 4,400. The 'multicultural' designated area (later to be named the George's River Region) featuring some of the highest NES indicators with the least resources, e.g. respective languages/cultures to minister to high turn-over of populations

⁷⁷ "Today's Anglicans: New Faces and Places."

⁷⁸ "Study-Guide (Approved) Today's Anglicans new faces and places,," (St. Andrew's House, Sydney Square: Home Mission Society, 1990, 29 January).

The video featured the parishes of:

1. St. John the Evangelist, Campsie, with Rev John Woo, and ESL Deanery Co-Ordinator, Miss Nancy Lewis
2. St. Oswald's, Haberfield, with Rev Luciano Ricci, and St. Luke's Liverpool, with Mr Rocco Scarcella on Italian Ministry.
3. St. Michael's Wollongong, with Canon Bill Graham, CCM ministry (former SAMS missionary), Mr G. Scarratt and Care Force, and Spanish-speaking worker, Mrs Dorys Hernandez
4. Soldiers' Memorial Church, Cabramatta, with Neil Flower and Chinese Ministry, led by Irene Mok.

The featured parishes captured the essential ingredient of 'contextualizing' the gospel amongst the NES, bringing mission back into parish life with different faces and places within local communities.



"Launch of Video 'Today's Anglicans'." In Annual Report, Sydney Square: Home Mission Society, 1989,9.

From left to right, Director, Communications Department, Graeme Cole, CCM Co-Ordinator, Mersina Soulos and former General Secretary (HMS), Canon Allan Whitham. The video was also re-launched by Archbishop Robinson for the Diocesan magazine *Southern Cross* so that he could be in attendance.⁷⁹

The Rev Dr Bill Lawton, Church Historian, Moore Theological College Lecturer (1976-94) and former rector of St. John's, Darlinghurst, East Sydney, which included Sydney's notorious red-light district (1989-1999), made the following prophetic comment based on the video: 'The churches have to examine the extent to which they draw cross-cultural work to the centre of their interest and don't allow it to continue on the edge of their interest.'⁸⁰

The DCCM became a magnet for returning overseas missionary personnel, predominantly through the efforts of the first Marrickville ESL Deanery Teacher/Co-Ordinator, Miss Nancy Lewis. A former CMS missionary to Tanzania, she successfully recruited other returned CMS missionaries as ESL helpers. She also recruited helpers from the local congregations for her classes. Among those who accepted this responsibility were former CMS missionaries Terry and Bee Horne Hume⁸¹, Dr Juliet Backhouse, and Jeanette Boyd. This also gave greater legitimacy to the task, ploughing under-utilised returned missionary expertise back into the CCM Sydney home fields.

The CCM Co-Ordinator argued successfully that the position of ESL Co-Ordinator for the Deanery would be paid according to secular Adult Migrant Education Service (AMES) teachers' rates.⁸² This is significant as the standard of teaching and writing biblically-based, ESL resource materials was lifted to the accredited secular teaching level. The other *raison d'être* was to allow this ministry to flourish by encouraging it to use biblical resources in simplified language, free from the obligations accompanying government funding. Therefore, in order to begin the programme, government funding was *deliberately not* sought by MADCOM and the CCM Co-Ordinator.

⁷⁹ See "Launch of Video-Today's Anglicans," *Southern Cross: the magazine of the Diocese of Sydney* 1990, April, 8.

⁸⁰ "HMS Releases Video on Multi-Cultural Ministries," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1990, 21 March.

⁸¹ See "Nancy's new role is just second nature," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1988, 22nd August, 2., *CARE incorporating PULSE*; *ibid*.

⁸² Teacher rates payment and work conditions established through the Adult Migrant Education Service (AMES), NSW.

A time for celebration

The first HMS/Diocesan Cross-Cultural Ministries Celebration was held in 1989 at St. Oswald's Haberfield (the inner west parish which was the home of ministry to Italians, directed by the Rev Luciano Ricci (1987-96)).



"Annual Report Cross-Cultural Ministries." Sydney Square, Home Mission Society, 1989, 10

The inaugural sermon⁸³ was given by Bishop J. R. Reid. The congregation represented almost all the NES ministries of the Diocese, accompanied by their multi-lingual prayers, bible-readings and musical items. It was followed by what can only be described as a cross-cultural feast. The General Secretary, hardly containing his enthusiasm, described the 'spirit-led service' in the following way:

⁸³ See Mersina Soulos, "Cross-Cultural Ministries," *Annual Report of the Anglican Home Mission Society (HMS)* 1989, 10.

We were all Aussies. We gathered together in Christ's name at St. Oswald's Haberfield on a Sunday afternoon. We sang "Amazing Grace" together in perfect harmony in nine languages – and it was wonderful.

Representatives of many of the congregations read from God's word and sang His praises in solo and group items. We sang other hymns to the Lord and we prayed, sometimes in English other times in some other tongue – and it was absolutely right, for we worshipped together in joy and gladness ... It was in some ways, a tiny glimpse of what Heaven will be like when the Tower of Babel is finally and irrevocably reversed.

We would pray that it was also a prophetic glimpse of what Australia will be like in fifty years' time because you and I have reached out in Jesus' name. The alternative for those yet to be born is unthinkable yet possible.

God give us the grace and the power of His Spirit while there is yet time.⁸⁴

The founding Co-Ordinator besides being immediately responsible to the General Secretary (HMS) from the beginning had another layer of accountability, the CCM Diocesan Advisory Committee. The Committee, despite being an informal structure, recognised the enormity of the task at hand without overwhelming the department of one. They proved to be an extremely important and trusted sounding-board for the testing of new ways forward in the Sydney Diocese. The Co-Ordinator and the work of the department were now represented by this Committee both at the HMS Council level and the Diocesan Synod level.

The CCM Advisory Committee included Alan Donohoo, the Rev Geoff Huard (Chairman), Jeanette Boyd (former CMS missionary to Tanzania, now Deputy Principal of St. Andrew's Hall, Melbourne-the training college for CMS missionaries), the Rev Peter Tasker (General Secretary, CMS, 1978-92), the Rev Jim Tahere (Chaplain to the Maori Community, 1988-93), and HMS General Secretary, Allan Whitham (1982-90). The CCM Advisory Committee 'sang in unison' regarding the transformational aspect of CCM for the church at home. Now a forum existed within HMS for returned missionaries to bring their views regarding the overdue transformation of Sydney Anglican ministry within its multicultural fields at home.

⁸⁴ Rev. Canon Allan Whitham, "Unity in diversity at cross-cultural celebration," (St. Andrew's House, Sydney: Home Mission Society, 1989, 20 June), 6.

The General Secretary stepped down in 1990, after leading HMS for 8 years and shepherding the DCCM for just under 2 and 1/2 years. His aim was to position 'HMS as the central missionary arm of Sydney evangelical Anglicanism'. ESL ministry in the decade of the nineties would pave the way for what would become a new lay-movement in the Diocese, predominantly by and through lay-women co-ordinated at the congregational/regional level via the DCCM.

The Sydney Anglican church's quiet revolution would be spear-headed through its laity, the majority of course, being women, in and through their connectedness to the grass-roots in their local communities. Some of the clergy recognized that the ESL programme had allowed parishioners 'to blossom' in terms of their own growth and ministry⁸⁵. The ESL teaching had allowed for enduring friendships to grow between the ESL 'helpers' recruited from the congregations and their ESL students.



"Representatives from the ESL Ministry " 1993. Foreground middle left, Nancy Lewis (with blue skirt), extreme left, newly appointed Kylie Smith (Co-Ordinator, Petersham Deanery), to her immediate right, honorary ESL Consultant to the group, that currently was also an Australian international Consultant on ESL, Pamela Riley, Muriel Clark third from the right.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ See, Soulos, "Half-Yearly Report-Documents R," 5.

⁸⁶ Subsequently to Nancy's passing (2007), her ministry photos were bequeathed to Mersina Soulos through Nancy's sister, Gwen.

For Sydney the construction of the church in community at the local level could never be thought of merely as a charity organization. Those aligned with the historical involvement of HMS, such as Penman, Reid, Whitham, Lewis, Woo, Soulos, represent a 'radical minority evangelical tradition'. It was committed to the freeing up of the laity and breathing fresh life into their community engagement, whether evangelistic or pre-evangelistic. It involved recognising the giftedness of the laity and the encouragement of their ministry. A prime example was the determination of Whitham and Reid to allow the Co-Ordinator of CCM to determine the priorities for the new-born department by bridging 'felt and spiritual needs'. The generalization that "evangelical Christians do evangelism and liberal Christians do social action" proved inaccurate.⁸⁷ The separation of evangelism from social action was a false dichotomy, as 'the Christian presence' within the local community implied responding to both. The work of the DCCM in serving the Sydney Anglican churches with integrating the migrant/refugee agenda would serve as a bridge between opposing theological factions.

⁸⁷ Cited in Tizon, *Transformation After Lausanne: Radical Evangelical Mission in Global-Local Perspective*, xiii., Foreword by Prof. R. Sider.

Chapter 6

The Department of Cross-Cultural Ministries at work, 1987-93

The decade of the early 90s was an extraordinary time of creative, innovative ministries with people of NES backgrounds. A number of structures had been created that facilitated the growth and funding of Cross-cultural ministries. The people behind these structures had recognised the importance of addressing populations of the NES in their midst, if belatedly. Penman's legacy was still being processed in Sydney as it encompassed a 'felt-needs' approach as well as evangelism by the church. The department (growing into a team of five) could not negotiate the ever present obstacles without the hope and protection that came from those who fathomed an inclusive future for the Sydney Diocese. This included those from the 'radical minority evangelical' tradition who addressed social concern as well as evangelism. The department's growth is an acknowledgement of the commitment from key lay-people as well as clergy who willingly entered into the cross-cultural fields with the resources of the HMS department at their disposal.

Towards an inclusive identity for the whole church

Archbishop Penman's missionary cross-cultural zeal would take root in Sydney soil via the CCM Co-Ordinator. She recognised the significance of Penman, supported in good faith primarily by Bishop Reid and Canon Whitham, by virtue of the core transformative documents Penman had initiated. These included *A garden of many colours: the report of the Archbishop's Commission on Multicultural Ministry and Mission Anglican Diocese of Melbourne*, (1985) and the tome aimed at Australian Theological College educators and their students, *The Cultured pearl, Australian readings in Cross-Cultural Theology and Mission*.¹ These works were prototypes grounded in the Australian context and attempted to grapple with hitherto excluded ethnic groups from the life of the mainstream churches. They address an evolving contemporary construction of cultural identity, uniquely Australian, and all the while grappling with the inclusion of Indigenous and NES identities, constructing a new identity for

¹ See Archbishop D. Penman's Introduction, (1986, p. xi-xii)

the 'imagined [church] community'.² One of the most profound descriptions of identity, both spiritual and cultural, re-configured the dilemma from an Indigenous perspective:

Today there is a struggle among our people for survival. This is not only for our physical well-being and health. But there is another dimension to survival, and only I and my people know it. It has to do with our true identity. If we do not know who we are, then we are nothing. We have been looking to the Church in its mission, for help in our struggle for the survival of our identity.

I believe that the role of the church is to help people develop, without losing their true identity - both as individuals and particularly in the case of Aboriginals and Islanders, as peoples.

The Rev Djiniyini Gondarra, Moderator of the Northern Synod of the Uniting Church, describes the Mission of the Church as follows:

- (i) to be the Jesus community in a broken world;
- (ii) to be the sign of renewal of creation and foretaste of the kingdom of God in love - loving God with all you are and your neighbour as yourself;
- (iii) to identify itself in life and deed, as Christian persons and as Christian community, with the oppressed, bringing awareness (i.e. sight) to the blind, freedom to the captives and community to the broken ...³

Yet if all of the above were to be undertaken, in re-constructing communities that included 'coloured' and 'white' brothers and sisters, the question remained: how did one confront racism that diminishes, disenfranchises and disempowers? The following powerful excerpt from 'Towards a Scriptural Critique of Racism' from *The Cultured pearl* proffers a Christian response. It tackles structural societal

² The concept originally coined by Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*

³ Djiniyini Gondarra, The Rev, Moderator of the Northern Synod of the Uniting Church,, "Overcoming the Captivities of the Western Church Context,," in *The Cultured pearl, Australian readings in Cross-Cultural Theology and Mission*, ed. J. Houston (Melbourne: Victorian Council of Churches, 1986), 179-80.

disadvantage through re-constructing, at the level of a values base⁴, the concept of an inclusive Christian community:

Jesus not only gave himself as a sacrifice for the world, but showed us a way whereby the Church must give itself in order that oppression may be defeated among us. He said to his disciples on many occasions: "Come take up your Cross and follow me if you want to be my disciples". To take up one's cross is not to bear a load of personal pain. It is to bear the blows of the oppressors on behalf of the oppressed. It is to stand beside the oppressed bearing the blows that were aimed at them, in order that the oppressor might see his or her oppression, be convicted and converted and changed.⁵



Cited from:

Mayne, Tom. "Reconciliation gains momentum." *Southern Cross*, newspaper of the Sydney Diocese, July 1997, 3.

So with regards to Penman's legacy, not only was his vision for the Anglican Church in Australia to embrace 'the Other', i.e. those of Indigenous and NES backgrounds. But he also saw the value of secular social policies of multiculturalism. He saw a continuing role for the church to play in terms of bringing all into communion, of solidarity across class, language and now the cultural divide. His 'culture-affirming' approach is allegorically summarized:

... Christianity has understood the Incarnation in such terms. Christ, set in the midst of every culture, is himself the pearl, beyond price. He does not take over, or dominate, local culture or

⁴ For an anthropological discussion of the concept of world-view, when crossing cultures, through the mechanism of values and allegiances, see Kraft and Kraft, *Christianity in culture: a study in dynamic biblical theologizing in cross cultural perspective*.

⁵ John Brown, Rev. Dr, "Towards a Scriptural Critique of Racism,," in *The Cultured pearl, Australian readings in Cross-Cultural Theology and Mission*, ed. J. Houston (Melbourne: Victorian Council of Churches, 1986), 69.

custom, but fills it with his own life and power. He enriches and interprets. He is implanted and rooted within every culture. He holds in himself the tension between the local and the universal.

It is hard to think of discovering a pearl outside of the shell within which it belongs. Some of these shells are in themselves of great beauty, others quite unexceptional. But all potentially hold such a treasure, and all are acknowledged to have the potential. Christ (the pearl of great price) is the focus of every culture.⁶

By way of contrast, the Rev Dr Peter Bolt, applied a 'Sydney evangelical' lens to the secular policy of Multiculturalism:

A Christian View of Culture

... A cultural group may well have their own religion, but if it is not the religion of Christ, it is wrong. It is not the truth, and it will mislead them now (and so a Christian may not be able to share with them in some social action), and ultimately it will take them to hell in eternity. If they are part of humanity, they need Jesus Christ (John 14:6, Acts 4:12).⁷

Bolt's approach engenders exclusion rather than inclusion. This is a culturally confrontational approach, 'the 'Christ against culture'⁸ model.

Kraft sagely argues:

A cross-cultural perspective on our culture and the influence of Christianity in it gives no support to the assumption that through the influence of Christianity ours has become the most ideal culture in the world. Christianity has indeed had an important impact on our culture but so

⁶ Op cit, (1986, p. xii). One is struck by three of the Niebuhr typologies: the 'Christ of culture', 'Christ above culture', 'Christ the Transformer of culture' in order for 'the Cultured pearl' within the Australian context to be made. For the typologies see Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*.

⁷ P Bolt, "From every nation: A Christian multiculturalism, Part 1, 2," *The Briefing* 1989, December 1.

⁸ Another Niebuhr typology, see Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*.

has human sinfulness - and the latter appears to be winning out, culturally as well as individually.⁹

Bolt states further in his response to Australia's policies of multiculturalism:

The Christian church

A Christian's country or racial background is ultimately insignificant. He has no loyalties to any human culture. This is because his loyalties are to the country of our new citizenship: we are aliens and strangers on our way to heaven. Our orientation is not to the culture of our past, but to the culture of our future.

Whilst his eschatological response may have validity, the Christian Incarnation was enculturated in the 1st century AD, under Roman occupiers of the land of Israel. The accounts of that event are translated from the Koine Greek (lingua franca of the first century AD) into our contemporary era. Unfortunately, without an understanding of the 'culture of the past' we have no earthly identity, means of 'belonging', 'connectedness' e.g. social capital¹⁰, cultural capital,¹¹, social solidarity¹² and reference points with which to engage with other cultures. His statement diminishes the earthly reality of the human need to construct identity and 'belong', the history of slavery, the history of the Australia's Indigenous,¹³ significantly based on what has been described as the 'phenotypical marker' of colour.¹⁴ Bolt describes, for we are not in heaven yet,

⁹ C.H Kraft and M.G Kraft, "Humans in Culture," in *Christianity in culture: a study in dynamic biblical theologizing in cross cultural perspective* (N.Y.: Orbis, 1979/2005), 43.

¹⁰ For a sociological definition of social capital see Bourdieu, "Forms of Capital," 51.

¹¹ ¹¹ For a sociological definition of cultural capital see *ibid.*, 47.

¹² Referring to the sociological concepts of solidarity subsequently described as 'connectedness' in developing urban societies via the concepts of 'gesellschaft', 'gemeinschaft'. F. Tönnies and J. Harris, *Tönnies: Community and Civil Society [Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft]* (Cambridge University Press, 1887/2001). and also , 'mechanical' and 'organic' solidarity as developed by E. Durkheim and S. Lukes, *The Division of Labor in Society* (Free Press, 1893/2014).

¹³ Referring to the practice of removing of lighter skinned Indigenous children from their families, in "Bringing them Home: National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families," (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC), 1997).

¹⁴ For a discussion of the relegated position of human racial difference through her coined term 'phenotypical markers' as pertaining to race/ status, see M. Soulos's MA Thesis, particularly the discussion of the

even if 'we are on the way'. C. Kraft goes further and refers to a psychological dimension to 'belonging' in his discussion of the concept of 'world-view'.¹⁵

To state that 'a Christian's country or racial background is ultimately insignificant', begs the question: what responsibility did the church have for past injustices e.g. the regime of Apartheid in South Africa? The former CESA, now REACH, in South Africa is a sister church of the Sydney Anglican Diocese. The CESA colluded in the racial discrimination, as history would have it, to its own cost. The 'wall of separation between church and state'¹⁶ appeared as a confused delusion (see chapter 8 below).

The DCCM, by contrast, would welcome one and all, 'black, white and brindle'. Kinship mattered, culture mattered, language mattered and the Sydney Anglican diocese would need to address the NES as well as Indigenous populations from within their 'holy of holies'. Those on the margins were now *not* 'insignificant'. As for the unprecedented growth of the Sydney DCCM, B. Fletcher correctly noted that '... the diocese of Sydney ... had moved more rapidly within a framework influenced by the original Melbourne report'.¹⁷

The Melbourne experience helped form the basis for the founding Co-Ordinator's rationale for the establishing and growth of the fledgling Sydney Department, due largely to Penman's vision for a Christian multicultural Australia. However, the work in Sydney Diocese could not begin without the continuing prophetic courage of Bishop Reid, Canon Whitham, Archdeacon Huard (Chairman of the Co-Ordinator's Advisory Committee) and subsequently the Rev. Les Vitnell (head of Parish, Support and Development Division). They welcomed the future growth of the department as cross-cultural ministry issues were tackled on at least two fronts. In effect HMS supported ES and NES ministries, whilst establishing reference points into the wider NES community, with congregations through the community development agenda.

transformation from 'black' to 'white' of Pop Music Icon, Michael Jackson. See Mersina Soulos, "From Ethnicity to Identity : From Identity to Ethnicity" (Macquarie University, 1994).

¹⁵ (Ibid., p.55)

¹⁶ The concept is taken from T. Jefferson's letter to the Danbury Baptists, 1802, for a socio-political discussion of its application see Section 1, Religion and State, A. Aldridge, *Religion in the Contemporary World: A Sociological Introduction* (Wiley, 2013).

¹⁷ The quotation referring to *A garden of many colours : the report of the Archbishop's Commission on Multicultural Ministry and Mission Anglican Diocese of Melbourne*. Cited from Fletcher, "Anglicanism and National Identity in Australia Since 1962," 336. His footnote: Church Scene, 23 September, 1994, p.2

At this juncture once again, Bishop Reid asked the Co-Ordinator to write a paper, titled: *Reflections and Observations* (22/7/92)¹⁸ regarding CCM issues at the parish level. HMS had introduced CCM grants through PS&D. It was apparent that the student training system, curacies etc., presumed a homogeneous ES culture, not a “mission” context within the diocese. The CCM Co-Ordinator found that:

in areas of high NES concentration ... are located some of our poorest churches who cannot afford Assistant Ministers except on HMS, CCM grants to these areas. Often then our theological students receive their [practical] training in churches that can afford to pay for them. Of course, these churches will not be in the high NESB needy areas.¹⁹

Further,

Parishes however, tend to consult with us when “maintenance-mode” can no longer be continued and reaching the NES represents a possibility of keeping the church open rather than witnessing its closure. Presently 37% of Sydney parishes are not viable. The impact of this kind of migration is already making its presence felt.²⁰

It was observed that the significant concepts of world-view and culture had been taught to the overseas missionary candidates, yet multicultural training was sorely lacking on the home-front. To add to the level of difficulty, diminished congregations often exhibited a “fortress mentality”, internalizing anxiety rather than opening up to a greater mission focus.²¹

¹⁸ See Mersina Soulos, "Cross-Cultural Ministry: Sydney Anglican Diocese Australia Reflections and Observations," (St. Andrew's House Sydney: Home Mission Society, 1992, 27 July). Sourced from the CCM Co-Ordinator's retained HMS files.

¹⁹ Ibid., 2.

²⁰ Ibid, (1992, p.2) The figure of 37% re: non-viable parishes cited from Report: "1990 Synod Summary: Parish Property and Ministry, 24/88 Development of Parish Property and Ministry ", in *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney* (Sydney Square: Diocesan Secretariat, 1991), 391.

²¹ Archdeacon Huard's thesis examines just such a setting, using the Petersham Area Deanery, as its subject matter. He notes the fortress mentality:

Resistance to 'ethnics' generally, inability to accommodate ethnic congregations requesting rented space for Sunday worship, and little inclination to see these other groups as being part of the body of Christ and therefore working out a relationship with them. Huard, "The Phoenix of Petersham," 86.

The Department and its growth

Amid the competing priorities of the Society, three years into the work of the Co-Ordinator a major Review of the work of Cross-Cultural Ministries was undertaken. The Chairman of the Committee, Archdeacon Geoff Huard, Archdeacon for South Sydney Region (Bishop Reid's protégé)²² oversaw the process²³. The end-product of the Review (1991)²⁴ was as far removed from diminishing the role of the department, or 'hiding it under a bushel' as it might have done. The Review and its internal processes in effect strengthened the fledgling ministry and presented the *raison d'être* for the department's growth addressing the need for prospective additional personnel²⁵ and also the need for funding of new parish initiatives. However, the report anticipated forthcoming resistance now under the new leadership of HMS under Canon Bryce Wilson.²⁶

The Co-Ordinator's Advisory Committee members added their talents to the mix. Mrs Geraldine Ricci, ESL teacher Petersham TAFE, wife of the Rev Luciano Ricci (Ministry to the Italians), member of the

²² For the Archdeacon's social agenda, see "Cabramatta Peace Rally draws Archbishop's Representative," *Church Scene, a national Anglican newspaper* 1993, September 23, 3. He explicitly declares at the rally:

I say bluntly that racism is a sin against God ...

Racism denies the God-given value and dignity of every individual human being ... Those building a multicultural society are doing God's work ... Anglicans deplore racist attitudes and opinions ... Anglicans support strongly the good work being done to build a multicultural community in Cabramatta ...

²³ G.R Huard, "Resolution 18/90 Cross-Cultural Ministry," in *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney* (Sydney Square: Diocesan Registry, 1991), 291-92.

²⁴ For the outcome of the final Review see "Resolution 21/91 Cross-Cultural Ministries," in *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, (Sydney Square: Diocesan Secretariat, 1992), 287-88., for the full report see Geoff Huard, "Report of Cross-Cultural Ministry Advisory Committee," *Whitham Archive CCM, Anglicare* (1991, February 21 amended 1991, May 16).

²⁵ A particular aspect to the development of CCM work, would need to address the church's ministry role with the NES, inevitably, this aspect would need to address forms of anti-racism training for mission, as envisaged by the Co-Ordinator. The Review Committee agreed and recognised the need for such training at the parish level, hence the new initiative recognised within the report. See Section (c), Huard, "Resolution 21/91 Cross-Cultural Ministries," 287.

²⁶ The Secretary, minute-taker for the 6-month review was an extraordinary woman, Mrs. Kay Merriment who was employed during Canon Whitham's time. She was tragically left a young widow with 3 young boys to raise on her own. Her late husband, an Anglican clergyman had been the rector at Mt. Druitt. An observation from the CCM Co-Ordinator notes that Rev. Bryce Wilson did not miss an opportunity in asking the CCM Co-Ordinator, why was she (Kay) necessary as part of the Review? It was clear to the Co-Ordinator that the work of CCM was being protected through the CCM Advisory Committee, who also happened to be members of HMS Council, hence also the outcome of the Review.

CCM Co-Ordinator's Advisory Committee, produced the first Manual for parishes introducing them to ESL ministry, *ESL OK, Let's DO it!*²⁷

Nancy Lewis became the first Diocesan ESL Co-Ordinator as part of the DCCM (1993-6), while her replacement, Mrs Isobel Bennett, continued ESL ministry in the Marrickville Deanery. Nancy, who pioneered the deanery model, before retiring in 1996, would see the fruit of her labours with more than 160 parishioners and almost 1,000 students involved in parish-based ESL ministry, resourced through the DCCM.²⁸

The now recognised ESL ministry found its feet through purpose-written parish ESL materials. These were written with intentional Christian content. The original pilot project was conceived by Mersina Soulos and Nancy Lewis and trialled within the Marrickville Deanery, but now responsibility for the ministry was put back onto the parishes. An ESL Resource Library through HMS was established, enabling the Department to further resource parish initiatives.

After the CCM Co-Ordinator addressed Moore College students in 1989 a part/time Deaconess House student, Sue Keevers, began voluntary work with the CCM Co-Ordinator and was encouraged to complete an accredited ESL training course on top of her Moore College studies.²⁹ Vic Roberts (Archdeacon of Wollongong and Camden, 1984-93) introduced Helen Stone, laywoman from Figtree parish, to the CCM Co-Ordinator regarding possible Multicultural/ESL ministry in the Illawarra region. Mrs Stone subsequently initiated through the Wollongong Area Regional Council (WARC) an agreement to fund ESL ministry in the Illawarra region. Sue Keevers took up the position of Regional ESL Co-Ordinator for WARC in 1990, and developed ESL through the Portuguese Association, Cringila, St. Andrew's Anglican Church, Warrawong (part of Port Kembla parish), St. Paul's Anglican Church, Fairy Meadow, St. John's Anglican Church, Keiraville and St. Michael's Anglican Cathedral, Wollongong. Her work was noticed in the region and she was invited to develop a Multicultural Bible-study with International Students at Graduate House, Wollongong University, as well as the University's Campus

²⁷ For the article see "ESL GUIDE Helps Gospel Outreach, *ESL OK Let's DO It !* ," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1994, 13 July, 3.

²⁸ See H Dillon, "Annual Report, Parish Support and Development Division," in *Annual Report* (Sydney: Home Mission Society, 1996), 10.

²⁹ Cited from "Prayerpoints," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1989, September 9.

East.³⁰ Ever the entrepreneur, Sue Keevers began 'English for Life'³¹ classes in the region and further co-ordinated with the staff of Care Force, Wollongong, for the additional ministry the ESL students needed. The CCM Co-Ordinator continued cross-cultural parish training and CCM evaluations in the diocese. At the request of the Rev Dr John Capper (Principal, Church Army College) she wrote and taught a prototype Cross-Cultural Ministry training course for Church Army students.³²

Touching a nerve

The importance of changing racist or even indifferent attitudes towards the NES in regards to mission was of prime importance as diagnosed by the CCM Co-Ordinator from her work in the parishes. She believed this was the key to unlocking the church's potential.³³ Prof. David Cox, describes the problematic hidden aspect of cultural pluralism:

If we do accept the challenge that multiculturalism presents, we should acknowledge, first and foremost, that we have *an attitudinal problem*. There are probably still many among us who would prefer that immigration be stopped and that those who elect to stay here conform to 'Australian' ways, however, they define those ways. If such attitudes are pervasive, little can be achieved, and the multicultural policy statements will be rhetoric seeking to disguise a reality of injustice, inequality and pockets of disadvantage. Genuine acceptance of the reality of

³⁰ In Sue Keevers' Interview for this thesis, she explains that the density of NES speakers in the Illawarra nudged 50% of the population, see (Audio Interview Part 1, 3:07 min). She further explains: "Wollongong Careforce ran play groups tacked onto English classes". I had the babies in the English Classes, she explained, see (Audio Interview Part 4), interview by M. (Tonys-Soulos) Papantoniou, 2015, 20th May.

³¹ See J Thew, "English for Life," *Southern Cross, the magazine of the Diocese of Sydney* 1994, December stating her work 'has grown 10 parish-based classes, with over 140 current students'.

³² "Crossing boundaries with my neighbours," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1991, September 18, 3.

³³ The view was held by both Penman, see his interview Candida Baker and David Penman, "Multiculturalism and the Church: an interview with Dr Penman," *Mosaic, newsletter of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA)* 1985, 1. Bishop Reid, tried to attend Co-Ordinator's parish workshops, wanting to see the effects of possible attitude change in parishioners. He undertakes through the Social Issues Committee for further research: "Resolution 29/91 Programme to Combat Racism," in *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney* (Sydney Square: Diocesan Registry, 1993), 312.

multiculturalism and of the potential benefits of cultural diversity is a pre-requisite for taking reality seriously (*Italics my own*).³⁴

In facing alterity³⁵ or the presence of 'the Other', belief would be tested and so would humanity. Mission that responds to 'the Other' transcends culture and language, whilst seeking to engage with 'the Other' through a tried and tested incarnational paradigm, 'cheek by jowl' in an urban setting, not a segregated compound.

Former Interserve missionary, Pakistan, the Rev Mike Wilson became the CCM Trainer for Anglican parishes in 1994. He had spent 7 of those years establishing a Bible College in Pakistan through the sponsorship of the American Presbyterian Church.³⁶ The aim of the position, as originally conceived by the Co-Ordinator, was to break-down stereotypes, address racist attitudes and create cross-cultural training (anti-racism) workshops at the parish level.³⁷ Wilson would write 3 volumes of CCM resources, whilst also lecturing in the Presbyterian Theological College, Sydney. He subsequently developed CCM training for clergy with the Rev Ian Mears, diocesan Department of Education.

Deaconess House graduate, Irene Mok in 1991 tentatively began to church-plant amongst the Chinese in the Sydney suburb of Cherrybrook.³⁸ Irene was subsequently appointed as Evangelist to the Chinese, (1995-2000) within the DCCM. She proceeded to plant Chinese, (Mandarin and or Cantonese) churches within established Anglican parishes. Her first attempts were with the Soldiers' Memorial congregation, from 1982 to 1989. Then she ministered in a range of parishes:

³⁴ Cited from his Editorial, Cox, "Editorial: Social Work and Multiculturalism," 2.

³⁵ Referring to a concept in Anthropology, meaning 'otherness', especially when physically confronted with human physical differences, see discussions in Taussig, *Mimesis and alterity: A particular history of the senses*; Ralph Grillo, "An Excess of Alterity? Debating difference in a multicultural Society," in *Anthropology of Migration and Multiculturalism: New Directions*, ed. S. Vertovec (Taylor & Francis, 2013); Gerd Baumann and Andre Gingrich, *Grammars of identity/alterity: A structural approach*, vol. 3 (Berghahn Books, 2005).

³⁶ See "Mike tackles Cultural Mix," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1994, 16 April 2.

³⁷ The newly-created position was echoing, Federal Government guidelines, through Access and Equity strategies that were being employed in order to build a 'multi-cultural work-force'. For Access and Equity principles see *Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants*, DIMIA *Report of the review of settlement services for migrants and humanitarian entrants / DIMIA* (Belconnen, A.C.T.: Belconnen, A.C.T. : Dept. of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, 2003), 32-33.

³⁸ "Prayer-points," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1991, 17 April, 4.

- Church-planting initially began through Holy Trinity, Dulwich Hill as a Mandarin-speaking Chinese service, the congregation was then adopted by St Clement's Marrickville, (1989).
- St. James, Minto (1991) the work started by reaching out through Chinese language school on Saturdays and Evangelistic services during Chinese festivals, later developed into a Chinese congregation.
- St. George's Hurstville 1995, with the encouragement of Rev David West.
- She encouraged St. Matthew's West Pennant Hills with Cherrybrook in starting their Chinese service as the Chinese evangelist, 1995.
- St. John's Cathedral, Parramatta in 1997.³⁹ Irene had charge of two congregations, Cantonese and Mandarin.⁴⁰



Photo: "Chinese congregation comes of age." Southern Cross, a newspaper of the Anglican Diocese of Sydney, 1997, June, 1.

³⁹ See Irene Mok, "Interview: Irene Mok (written response)," (2015, May). Sourced from her responses to Interview questions for this thesis.

⁴⁰ See L Hogarth, "Sydney's Loss is Hong Kong's gain," Sydney Anglicans, <http://sydneyanglicans.net/news/954a>.

Irene Mok became a recognized leader amongst Chinese evangelicals in Sydney⁴¹. She remained one of the most supremely gifted church planters, without parallel in the diocese. She managed to also finish her Master of Theology at Fuller Theological Seminary during her days with the department.⁴²

Funding CCM ministries

Last but not least, from 1991 to 1996 the position of Director of Parish Support & Development Division which included the DCCM was taken up by the Rev Silas Horton, replacing Les Vitnell as he became incumbent of Christ Church, Blacktown (1990-1993). Horton had over 30 years' experience as a parish clergyman and was a good friend of Bishop John Reid.⁴³ He would eventually champion the *equal importance* of NES funding with ES prospective initiatives and succeed at the highest levels within the Society and the Diocese.⁴⁴ He recognised the prophetic importance of seeding NES ministries (including sanctioning Irene Mok's unique position, created especially for her within the DCCM/diocese). Silas Horton needs to be recognised (albeit a reluctant member) as within the radical minority evangelical tradition in Sydney. He appears to have been converted to the cause later in his life because of the giftedness of the team and its contextualized NES ministry. He recognised that evangelism and social responsibility re-invigorated each other and were two sides of the one coin in

⁴¹ "Gameplan - Chinese and English-speakers must share resources to reach city," Sydney Anglicans, <http://sydneyanglicans.net/blogs/indepth/488a>, see also "Australia's oldest parish celebrates 200th birthday," Sydney Anglicans, <http://sydneyanglicans.net/mediareleases/454a>.

⁴² It needs to be noted, that despite planting 6 churches in Sydney Diocese, using the community development model she is allowed to lead a congregation in her own right, until such times a male leader replaces her. In each succeeding congregation planted, watered and grown, she would be replaced by a male figure as befits congregational leadership in the Sydney Diocese.

One of the key motivations for writing this thesis was the understanding that much of the difficult ground-breaking CCM work of the department would be forgotten, were it not written down. This was confirmed through the following ethnographic research from an interview with an (unnamed) Bishop, discussing the presence of the Chinese congregation at St. Clement's, Marrickville. Note, the researcher records the incumbent, despite referring to 'the female church-planter ... in the 80's and 90's' no name is recorded, or referred to in the research regarding the original church-planter. See Sophie Watson, "Performing religion: Migrants, the church and belonging in Marrickville, Sydney," *Culture and Religion* 10, no. 3 (2009): 329.

⁴³ Silas married his childhood sweetheart, who was to later die in childbirth on his first incumbency - Lord Howe Island. He was left a widower to raise his daughter. He was characterised as a 'no non-sense', devout Sydney evangelical, ever mindful that 'life had not been kind to Silas'. He was greatly respected, by the CCM team as he in turn became greatly absorbed into its work. He had a sharp mind, and an even sharper wit for those that knew him. (Recalled by the Co-Ordinator, who worked intensively with him over his five years heading up DCCM in HMS)

⁴⁴ Rev. Silas Horton, "Parish Support & Development Division," in *Annual Report* (Home Mission Society, 1996).

Christian ministry. He was fully cognizant and fearlessly championed the unique history and role of HMS in the history of the diocese and its parishes and its role in supporting new ministries.⁴⁵

In 1996, the closing year of his position as Director, he reported:

Before the re-structure [referring to Regionalization] AHMS administered grants in excess of \$1.4 million and almost half the grants supported ministry to Australians of NESB. AHMS provided \$723,000 towards these grants ... (Synod provided \$740,000).⁴⁶

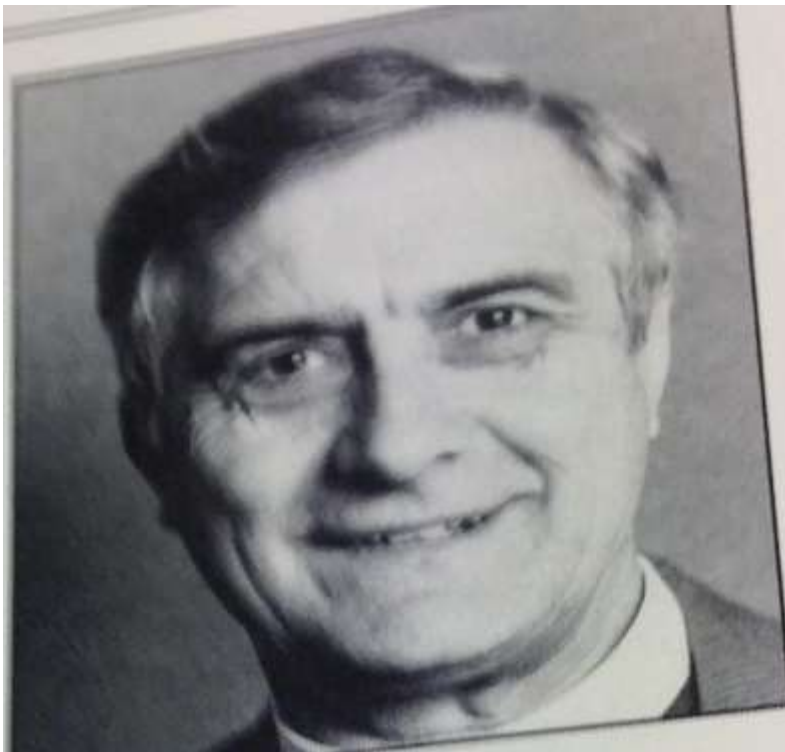


Photo: The Rev Silas Horton "HMS speaks out against Persecution." *Southern Cross*, the magazine of the Diocese of Sydney, 1994, September, 9.

⁴⁵ The following excerpt shows the measure of the man:

"We are concerned that yet again the Christian minorities are used as scapegoats, paying for the indulgences of the Rasfangani regime in Iran". Mr. Horton said that he feared the violence would impact Australian ethnic communities as Islamic fundamentalism spreads around the world. He called on the government to make the information public "[the deaths of 3 evangelicals in Iran, including the head of the Bible Society] that the people of Australia will not accept such systemic violent persecution of minorities and reject this prejudiced intolerance. "HMS speaks out against Persecution," *Southern Cross, the magazine of the Diocese of Sydney* 1994, September, 6. [brackets my own].

⁴⁶ "Parish Support & Development Division," 9.

B. Fletcher (2001) summarizes the 'success' of the work as follows:

Meanwhile, [in] the diocese of Sydney, whose work in this field was less troubled by differences of churchmanship ... Significant progress had ensued and by 1991, there were 12 Ethnic congregations.⁴⁷

The growth of the department and its support of various Cross-cultural ministries were not merely due to fewer 'differences of churchmanship'. Sydney is an overwhelmingly evangelical diocese compared to Melbourne Diocese. Yet, it had entrusted the important DCCM to the oversight of the Co-Ordinator and a Committee made up of those from the minority evangelical Anglican tradition.

As all financial grants were funnelled and had to pass through HMS's PS&D Division, Horton's role was critical, especially as the VFG Parish funding programme was wound-up and the new programme Vision 2001 took its place. The role of the new PS&D Division was the vision of the late Les Vitnell (Director of New Areas 1983-86, Director of Parish, Support & Development Division, 1987-90). He succeeded in obtaining co-operation between the Diocesan Anglican structures e.g. HMS Parish grants, Vision for Growth and Vision 2000 grants. HMS played the 'broker' role, both at the Diocesan institutional structure and at the grass-roots parish level. Three voices integral to the Sydney Anglican leadership mix, that of the Archbishop, the General Secretary of HMS, and that of the Chairman of the HMS Council needed to be heard. All grants had to be signed-off and therefore approved by the regional Bishop.

This was the internal Sydney Anglican funding model for the 1990s until the implementation of the Regionalization of the Diocese⁴⁸. The PS&D funding model demonstrated HMS leading the way in funding experimental parish CCM. It reveals one of the greatest paradigm shifts in:

⁴⁷ Fletcher, "Anglicanism and National Identity in Australia Since 1962," 336., For an incomplete listing of NES ministries see "Community Groups," in *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney* (Sydney Square: Diocesan Secretariat, 1994), 120. These included Aboriginal, Arabic, Chinese, Italian, Maltese, Maori, Mar Thoma (South India), Persian, Turkish, Vietnamese ministries.

⁴⁸ Regionalization was subsequently implemented through the support of the Sydney Synod and under the Archbishopric of Robinson's successor, Rt. Rev. Harry Goodhew (1996). This model featured the opposing paradigm. Instead of ministry funding being pooled into one entity through HMS with all of its concomitant links to parishes through the established Parish grants system. Regionalization ensured that Diocesan funding would be handed directly to the bishoprics, in theory and in practice, completely dismantling the hitherto centralized HMS/ PS & D process.

- a. recognising the need to fund ministries involved with the NES, whether ethno-specific (meaning a particular 'ethnic' group) as well as the now recognised ESL ministry;
- b. funding the newly-emerging CCM projects that would be set in train, kick-starting new Cross-Cultural Ministry in the Diocese.
- c. using research, including the newly established HMS Parish Profile Data Sheets which began using the 1986 Census data in order to form a composite snapshot of specific sociological indicators of parish life, such as levels of educational qualification, languages spoken at home, birthplaces of the OS born in regards to the non-English speaking.

An example of the funding of CCM ministries-Chart of HMS Grants for the year 1993

CROSS CULTURAL MINISTRIES GRANT		
ALL REGIONS		
PARISH	WORKER	GRANT
WEST RYDE	MINISTRY TO CHINESE	\$ 14,600
FAIRFIELD	ROCCO SCARCELLA – ITALIAN MINISTRY	\$ 34,000
BLACKTOWN	RAY GALEA – MALTESE MINISTRY	\$ 27,000
CAMPSIE	C.C.M. MINISTRY	\$ 22,500
HABERFIELD	RECTOR – ITALIAN MINISTRY	\$ 6,800
BEXLEY	E.S.L. CO-ORDINATOR	\$ 3,800
MARRICKVILLE	JOSEPH THIEM – CHINESE MINISTRY	\$ 14,500
ST. PHILIPS, YORK ST. SYDNEY	IRANIAN MINISTRY	\$ 6,000
REGENTS PARK	E.S.L. TEACHER	\$ 5,800
WOLLONGONG CATHEDRAL	SPANISH MINISTRY DORIS HERNANDEZ	\$ 20,000
		\$155,000

"Parish Grants PS & D Division (HMS).," In Financial Grants For Ministry in Parishes, St. Andrew's House, Sydney: Parish Support & Development Division HMS,, 1993, 6.

On analysis⁴⁹, the above grants represent mission to various NES communities. ESL ministry now started to branch out, funded in Regent's Park with ESL Teacher, Charmaine Sharp, and at Bexley, with Mrs Jennifer Johnson (the parish contact person). They replicated the working model from the Marrickville Area Deanery churches (documented in Case-Study No. 1 in the video resource *Today's Anglicans*). Ministry was prioritized through mission, even if this meant no prior established NES church. Sydney Anglicans had little or no Italian work before Luciano Ricci in the Inner West and his protégé Rocco Scarcella in the south-west began their church-planting. A similar scenario began with ministry to the Chinese in West Ryde and Marrickville and Campsie parishes. The ministry to the Maltese was initiated through Ray Galea (also a trained social-worker who had previously worked in Wollongong, with Care Force)⁵⁰. Reaching Turkish minorities through Erol Ozer⁵¹ also fitted this very difficult aspect of mission to unreached people-groups in Sydney. For some Sydney evangelicals pioneering the multicultural narrow road, meant upholding Reformation principles, including: "Of Speaking in the Congregation in such a Tongue as the people understandeth"⁵².

The newly inaugurated Vision 2001 grants (separate to the HMS grants) which replaced the VFG programme now in part also funded NES ministry (1993):

⁴⁹ I gratefully acknowledge access to the original document provided by Archdeacon Huard.

⁵⁰ For an account see "Ray Galea, Social Worker Wollongong Care Force," *PULSE* 1984, 22 October, 3.

⁵¹ Erol Ozer in the late seventies was brought to Sydney, by Bishop John Reid. In order to facilitate ministry to the Turkish community the Ozers raise funding from all over the world (including Germany), in order to build a retreat. Quoting from a Care magazine article: "Ozer's Farm a Turkish Delight," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1989, 16 May, 2. According to Mr. Ozer 'the retreat is a realization of a dream that began nine years ago' ... the farm will be a perfect sanctuary where people can go and pray for the Turkish community'. It was also a place of refuge for the women and children of Turkish background fleeing domestic violence.

⁵² Article XXIV. **Of speaking in the Congregation in such a tongue as the people understandeth**

It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have publick Prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people."Book of Common Prayer (BCP) Articles of Religion".

VISION 2001 MINISTRY GRANTS

PARISH	WORKER	GRANT
SADLEIR HINCHINBROOK	ASSISTANT AT HINCHINGROOK REV. BRUCE DINGWALL	\$36,000
QUAKERS HILL	ASSISTANT MINISTER CANON DAVID HEWETSON	\$ 30,000
PENRITH GLENMORE PARK	REV. PETER HAYWARD	\$ 40,000
WOLLONGONG	MISS SUE KEEVERS REGIONAL ESL WORKER	\$ 50,000
DRUMMOYNE	MISS KYLIE ADAMS PETERSHAM ESL WORKER	\$ 39,998
MENAI ALFORDS POINT	REV DAVID IRWIN	\$ 20,000
DULWICH HILL	REV. VINH PHAM VIETNAMESE MINISTRY	\$ 36,000
VAUCLUSE	REV. KEVIN WARES WOOLLAHRA TEAM MIN.	\$ 43,606
		\$295,604

The CCM grants totalled, if including both HMS CCM grants and Vision 2001 in:

"Parish Grants PS & D Division (HMS).," In Financial Grants For Ministry in Parishes, St. Andrew's House, Sydney: Parish Support & Development Division HMS,, 1993, 7.

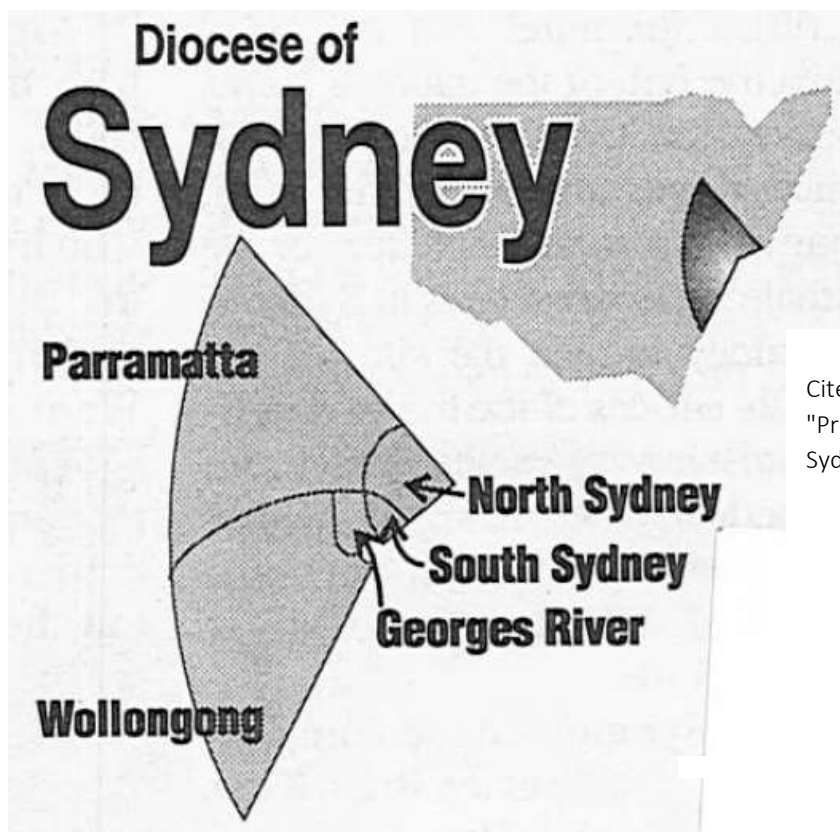
SUMMARY OF GRANTS

<i>GENERAL PARISH</i>	<i>\$ 169,300</i>
<i>GROWTH AREAS</i>	<i>\$ 298,600</i>
<i>SPECIAL</i>	<i>\$ 200,500</i>
<i>CROSS CULTURAL MINISTRY</i>	<i>\$ 155,000</i>
<i>ARCHBISHOP'S CURACIES</i>	<i>\$ 110,750</i>
<i>NORTHERN REGION CATECHISTS</i>	<i>\$ 18,000</i>
<i>VISION 2001 MINISTRY</i>	<i>\$ 295,600</i>
	<i><u>\$1,237,750</u></i>

GRANTS BY REGION

<i>PARRAMATTA</i>	<i>\$ 501,750</i>
<i>WOLLONGONG</i>	<i>\$ 369,100</i>
<i>SOUTHERN REGION</i>	<i>\$ 293,500</i>
<i>NORTHERN REGION</i>	<i>\$ 73,400</i>
	<i><u>\$1,237,750</u></i>

"Parish Grants PS & D Division (HMS).," In Financial Grants For Ministry in Parishes, St. Andrew's House, Sydney: Parish Support & Development Division HMS, 1993, 7.



Cited from: Mason, R, and Charles Sherlock.
 "Province of NSW, Part 1: The Diocese of
 Sydney." *Church Scene*, 1995, June 23, 7.

The map displays the Sydney Diocese within the state of NSW and the Sydney Bishoprics as they exist today. However, at the time of the CCM grants (1993), Georges River region had been historically part of the South Sydney (Cumberland) region under the leadership of Bishop John Reid (1972-93). The combined region featured inner western Sydney with high NESB populations especially along public transport routes, including the Marrickville, Petersham, Strathfield deaneries.

An analysis of 1993 CCM ministry shows:

Total of **HMS, CCM grants**: \$155,000

Additionally, the category of **Special Grants** included:

- Featuring Aboriginal ministry in the Macarthur/Campbelltown (Wollongong Region) \$5,000
- And an additional grant for the Rev Joseph Thiem, Marrickville \$14,500

\$19,500 (total for **Special grants, CCM**)

Vision 2001, CCM Grants:

- Wollongong Regional ESL Worker, Miss Sue Keevers \$50,000
- Petersham Deanery ESL Worker, Miss Kylie Adams \$39, 998
- Vietnamese Ministry, the Rev Vinh Pham Dulwich Hill \$36,000

Total \$125,998

Adding the 1993, **HMS, CCM grants** \$155, 000

1993, **Vision 2001** grants

(NES grants including ESL) \$125,998 and

Special grants: \$19,500

Total amount of Sydney CCM grants \$300,498 out of a total \$1,237,750, as a percentage of the total amount of grants 24.28%.

To conclude the diocesan CCM funding picture, the stipends of the respective Chaplains to the Turkish Community, Erol Ozer (1984-1995),⁵³ and the Maori Community, the Rev Jim Tahere (1987-1993)⁵⁴, as provided by HMS need to be added to the above final figure.⁵⁵ The video produced by Communications and DCCM's *Today's Anglicans* sold over 120 copies and was continually used through Sydney's bible-study groups. It re-enforced the 'do-able', actual working models of CCM.⁵⁶ One such model was the concept of the DCCM becoming 'a land-locked Ark of Faith', because of the visible amassing and resourcing of NESB ministries within the Diocese.

⁵³ For a full page article see "From Turkey with love," Erol Ozer, *Southern Cross* 1986, September, 12.

⁵⁴ For a full page article on the Maori Ministry, see "New Maori Chaplain," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1988, 19 February.

⁵⁵ The NES HMS Chaplain stipends were not included on the 1993, PS&D Schedule of Parish Grants.

⁵⁶ See 'Mersina's Ark of Faith', Evan Coombs, "Mersina's Ark of Faith," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1992, 16 September, 3.

For the year 1993, HMS provided the lion's-share of funding for CCM grants to parishes, with the provision of \$155, 000 up front for CCM grants as part of their own category. The CCM ESL workers, now attached to their respective parishes, drove the parish applications for grants. Indeed, the projected funding increase between 1993 and the amounts sought for 1994 was 33%.⁵⁷

The DCCM represented a visible conduit for all those interested, wondering and pondering ministry in Sydney's cross-cultural fields. HMS was understood not only as the central research centre of the Diocese, through the National Church Life Survey (NCLS) Team, but also as the diocesan partner from which funding was distributed to the respective regions.⁵⁸ Influence exerted on HMS Council from the representatives of the various committees prioritised certain ministries and downgraded others. If, however, the relevant Bishop was on side, the funding of the project was already 'half there', at least in theory.

However, the funding context engendered tension when funding an NESB ministry in its various forms would have to compete with employing mono-lingual ES Curates, or Youth workers, or meeting the needs of Special Growth Areas. The very presence of the DCCM so close to the nerve centre of the Diocese was an opportunity. With HMS housed in Sydney Anglican's Church House, named St. Andrew's House (literally beside Town Hall station in Sydney's CBD), allowed for a closer proximity to the central decision-making Bishops, especially in regards to the funding of new ministries. The proximity meant that the historical witness of HMS that the gospel was imparted through addressing the needs of society, human and spiritual, not one at the neglect of the other, would be felt constantly by those tempted to think otherwise.

⁵⁷ See "1993 Synod Summary: Income and Expenditure Ordinance 1993,," in *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney* (Sydney Square: Diocesan registry, 1994), 617. A whole chapter is devoted to this issue regarding the structure and funding of CCM work, Sydney Diocese see J. Houston, *Seeds Blowing in the Wind: Review of Multicultural Ministry and Mission, Diocese of Melbourne Anglican Church of Australia* (Melbourne: Rev. J. Houston, 1994), Review, 38-44.

⁵⁸ The National Church Life Survey (NCLS) had its vision in the friendship between Bishop Reid, Rev. Dean Drayton (Uniting Church, Board of Mission) and their newly appointed Research Officer, Peter Kaldor. It is such magnanimity that spurred on the co-operation, initially between the 2 denominations as the focus for their combined research. Once again, convincing HMS to fund such co-operative research was initiated and conducted by Bishop Reid using his influence as Chairman (HMS Council) and working with the head of the PS&D Division, Rev. Les Vitnell. This was to become the principal research unit of the diocese, through what later was to become the NCLS, Joint Church Census surveys. See dedication in P. Kaldor et al., *Winds of Change: The Experience of Church in a Changing Australia* (ANZEA Publishers, 1994).

Evolving Issues

The English-language prayer book remained an issue. John Woo recognised the prayer book 'as an asset', a useful instrument for ESL instruction. The Rev Rocco Scarcella, however, wrote regarding ministry within Sydney's Italian community:

Our research has shown that prayerbook language and prayers though magnificent, are difficult for NESB people to grasp. And I think the AAPB demands a high level of education, for both Anglo-Saxon and non-Anglo Saxon Anglicans. We're needing to look at the whole question of informal meetings and smaller groups to break down the barriers that are making them feel second class Anglicans.⁵⁹

The prayer book is actually a problem for the ES as well as the NES. Judith Goyen found 10% of the adult Australian population is functionally illiterate. Such persons are unable to fill out forms, read employment advertisements. For the adults born in NES countries, Goyen found 55.8% were functionally illiterate.⁶⁰ Another 20% of Australian adults are marginally illiterate, here assessed as being able to read short instructions. Single sentences are more readily understood, but not passages of continuous prose. The average reading age of Australian adults was equivalent to a reading age of 13, i.e. year 7 level. Goyen notes at this reading level one can easily read the editorials in the *Daily Mirror* but not the *Sydney Morning Herald*.⁶¹

Fiona Pfennigwerth, assessed the language of the Prayer Book using the guidelines prepared by the Plain English Movement (pioneered by Prof. Eagleson, University of Sydney, and former missionary to Nepal, Kath White of the Adult Literacy Office) in fields such as jargon and metaphor, and found that the Prayer Book requires a reading age of about 21, i.e. someone educated to tertiary level.⁶²

⁵⁹ Reita Mason, "Grappling with cultural relevance in Sydney," *Church Scene, national Anglican newspaper*, 1993, August 20, 2.

⁶⁰ See Judith D. Goyen, "Reading Ability of Australian Adults," *Current Affairs Bulletin* 1985, 23.

⁶¹ See *ibid.*, 22-24., cited in Ed Vaughn, "The Homogeneous Unit Principle and the Anglican Church," *The Reformed Theological Review* 48, no. 2, May-August (1989): 47.

⁶² Cited from Fiona Pfennigwerth, "A Good New Prayerbook," *Australian Church Record* 1986, October, 8., "To Wrap Up," *Australian Church Record* 1986, December, 5., also quoted in the section: A New Shape for Evangelical Ministry in R. Doyle et al., eds., *Signs & Wonders and Evangelicals: A Response to the Teaching of John Wimber* (Lancer Books, 1987), 123. Noting that:

What hope could there be for the NES? Penman had studied the problem closely. Religion, he observed, is actually a complicated cultural artefact and its acquisition is also complicated. He described this characteristic of religion in the following way using Smart's typology⁶³:

Much of the problem also arises because there are many different aspects, or what Smart calls 'dimensions' of religion.

He lists six:

- the ritual dimension - e.g. prayers, worship, offerings
- the mythological dimension - i.e. the 'story' aspect; telling what has been said and reporting on what 'is believed
- the doctrinal dimension - i.e. the theological attempt to give system, clarity and intellectual power to the belief or myth
- the ethical dimension - i.e. the codes of behaviour for the individual and the community of believers
- the social dimensions - i.e. the organisational institutional, aspect; and
- the experiential dimension - i.e. the individuals' personal experience of religion.

In real life, then, religion is not encountered as something monolithic.⁶⁴

Using Smart's example of religion as an 'organism' anticipates transition, given various multicultural contexts. It involves embracing both the sociological (the internal connectivity e.g. social capital, group solidarity and networking of people groups) and the anthropological (the legacy of the organization of culture, ethnicity, kinship). Now both disciplines are helpful in making sense of urban communities within the reality of cultural pluralism, such as Australia's urban cities. Penman commended the insights of both disciplines to give an understanding of what would be required for Australian Anglicanism to move beyond the safety of its own culture and into the contemporary. Further, argued Penman:

Theological educators must take responsibility here. Ministers must be trained to critically appreciate the function and communication of Christianity in our surrounding culture.

⁶³ See Ninian Smart, *The religious experience of mankind* (London: Collins/Fontana, 1969), 11, 31.

⁶⁴ D Penman, "Religions in Australia - can they cope with multiculturalism?," *Migration Monitor* 1, no. 3 (1986): 4.

No religion, no matter how supernatural or divine, can escape the fact that it is a human experience, and as such it is shaped by the same cultural forces and elements which shape all humans and the communities to which they belong.⁶⁵

The Archbishop's 'dimensions' of religion in the contemporary world was directed to encouraging the church to pursue a cross-cultural course. He believed church and community would benefit as fear of multiculturalism gradually evaporated. This 'culture-affirming approach' characterised Penman's response to the challenge of contextualizing mission through differing experiences of community and belonging. For those, such as Evangelicals, who hold mission as primary, it is the positive identification with the people-group one is attempting to reach (in both culture and language) that undergirds what C. Kraft has described as the 'culture affirming approach'.⁶⁶

The following excerpt from Houston profoundly expresses the hope, struggle and identification with 'the Other', not only in mission, but also in the social justice dimension for evangelicals:

I have personally learnt the fuller meaning of terms such as justice, equality and mutuality most profoundly through a lifelong subsequent identification with the yearnings of Aboriginal and disadvantaged ethnic minority groups, and through experiencing the pain of their defeat and their exclusions. I have known Christ more fully in the midst of this struggle and failure. For their hungering after righteousness (justice) necessarily includes personal, social and political recognition, the winning of true equality, and the freedom to share with us all the unique understanding of existence that such minorities bring with them.⁶⁷

Melbourne and Sydney combine

Links were made with evangelicals from Melbourne when the CCM Co-Ordinator was invited to attend the Evangelical Fellowship of the Anglican Communion (EFAC) Conference in Melbourne, in July 1990. The other representative was Bishop Goodhew from the Wollongong Region.⁶⁸ During the Conference links were made with evangelicals from around Australia, including the Senior Minister in Melbourne's

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Kraft, "My Pilgrimage in Mission," 162.

⁶⁷ (Houston 1994, p. 16)

⁶⁸ See correspondence from the Anglicare CCM Whitham Archive, W Gotley, 1990., On behalf of Standing Committee, Sydney Anglican diocese

St. Paul's, Fairfield/Alphington parish, the Rev Khalil Razmara. It was he who gave to the Archbishop's Commission on Multicultural Ministry in 1985 the title *A Garden of Many Colours*. He explained:

... a single flower garden really doesn't have a Spring. But Australia with its many nationalities, contains many variety of flowers, all shapes and sizes all colours ... far more attractive and interesting. This is how I see Australia.⁶⁹

Having completed a Bachelor of Literature from the University of Shiraz, Iran, 1962, Razmara completed his theological training at the United Theological College, Bangalore, because there was no such training institution in Iran. He was ordained by the Anglican Bishop of Iran (1961 to 1990), Bishop Hassan Dehqani-Tafti, who also had a strong love for Persian literature and also wrote poetry and a number of books, including his splendid autobiography⁷⁰.

Before ordination Razmara began working in a CMS hospital in Iran, where he met another CMS missionary nurse from Australia and subsequently returned to Melbourne to undertake ministry with both the English-speaking congregation (1984-89) as well as plant a Persian-speaking congregation in Melbourne. In discussions with the CCM Co-Ordinator and with the approval of both Wilson and Reid, Khalil and Janet Razmara began their vision to church plant in Sydney, initially based at St. Philip's York St.⁷¹ Razmara addressed over 300 people at the seventh Annual Cross-Cultural Ministries celebration (1995) at All Saints, Petersham, reminding all present that this was indeed the suffering church:

We grow in maturity when we forgive our brothers and sisters as Christ forgave us. The death of three ministers in the Middle East recently means we should pray more and complain less.⁷²

CMS in Iran had established "two big hospitals, three schools and three institutions for welfare work among the blind".⁷³ This was following the historic mission model of the "church, hospital, school",

⁶⁹ *A garden of many colours : the report of the Archbishop's Commission on Multicultural Ministry and Mission Anglican Diocese of Melbourne*, 164.

⁷⁰ Titled: *The Unfolding Design of My World: A Pilgrim in Exile*, H.B. Dehqani-Tafti and K. Cragg, *The Unfolding Design of My World: A Pilgrim in Exile* (Canterbury Press, 2000).

⁷¹ Initially noted in HMS "Annual Report Cross-Cultural Ministries," (Sydney Square Home Mission Society, 1989), 10. The Rev. Khalil Razmara, continued commuting for approximately 8 years (funded through HMS) in order for a Sydney-based CCM worker, subsequently Mr. Baghier, to take up the church-planting work in consultation with the Melbourne-based Rev. Razmara. Presently, the Persian ministry is overseen by Rev. Michael Safari, St John's Cathedral, Parramatta.

⁷² Evan Coombs, "Celebration amid the sacrifices," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1995, 15 May, 1.

which is well understood as a forerunner of what is now considered the Christian community development model as well as responding to the “felt-needs” of the community. One learned of the epic and heroic sacrifice of Christians, living in the contested civil space as politically and socially discriminated minorities in the Middle East.⁷⁴

Further, the experience of belonging to a suffering minority was not completely irrelevant to the experience of those of NESB in Australia:

When the Muslim or the Zoroastrian leaves his faith for another, they are cut off from their relatives and friends, and from society. They become the victim of persecuting forces and undergo discrimination at all levels of society. It is made as hard as possible for the person to survive. Therefore, we want to encourage our young people here to keep the quality of their inherited faith and we hope to learn from the Church here too, while also to enrich it in some

⁷³ After the rise of the Islamic revolution 1979, the following description summarizes the effect of the ministry model CMS was using in Iran:

The first post-Islamic Revolution martyrs were Anglicans. Islamists cut the throat of the Reverend Arastoo Sayyah, a Muslim convert, in his own office in Shiraz, southwest Iran, on February 19, 1979. In October of that same year, the Rt. Reverend Hassan Dehqani-Tafti, also a Muslim convert, and his British-born wife, Margaret, miraculously survived an assassination attempt in their own bedroom. Dehqani-Tafti, the first Persian Anglican bishop in Iran, was forced into exile for the last ten years of his episcopate after the attack. But in May of 1980, the Dehqani-Tafti's twenty-four-year-old son, Bahram, was shot to death on the street in Tehran. Bishop Dehqani-Tafti believed that the Islamic Revolution felt threatened because the Christians were building “a Persian church,” and “a strong and intelligent Christianity” complemented an authentic Persian culture more than Islam. Faith J. H. McDonnell, "Iran's Decades of Christian Persecution," Frontpage mag, <http://www.frontpagemag.com/fpm/83535/irans-decades-christian-persecution-faith-j-h-mcdonnell>.

"Most of our members are Muslim converts," Margaret Dehqani-Tafti told a British reporter. "They are trying to drive us out." "Unholy War Assault on Iran's Anglicans," *Time* 1980.

See also Richard Harries, "The Rt Rev Hassan Dehqani-Tafti (Obituary)," *The Guardian*, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/may/21/anglicanism.iran>., see also "100 years of Anglicanism in Iran," Anglican Communion News Service (ACNS), <http://www.anglicannews.org/features/2013/03/100-years-of-anglicanism-in-iran.aspx>.

⁷⁴ The archaeological find of the *Cyrus Cylinder*, from the time of Cyrus the Great reveals the object's inscription describing how Cyrus conquered Babylon in 539BC and captured the last Babylonian king. It also tells of how he then freed many people held captive by the Babylonians and arranged for them to return to their homelands. It does not mention the Jews brought to Babylon as slaves by Nebuchadnezzar, but their freedom was also part of that policy (noted in Old Testament, Book of Ezra, 1:1-4). This demonstrates a more generous tradition to ethnic minorities within ancient Persia. See "Cyrus cylinder, world's oldest human rights charter, returns to Iran on loan", *The Guardian*, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/sep/10/cyrus-cylinder-returns-iran>.

ways. It is a two-way thing: we can perhaps teach people here something about being a Christian minority.⁷⁵

Evidently without a nurturing community the converts would not survive. The understanding of community then is central to the solidarity of such persecuted minority groups. Just prior to Razmara's church-planting in Sydney, a blind lady had managed to find the headquarters of HMS, level 2 at church house. In speaking with Canon Whitham, she explained she was an Anglican convert through a CMS blind school in Iran, and she had managed to come to Australia as a refugee during the Iran/Iraq war with her 2 children. She lived in western Sydney and had managed to find the HMS head office in order to find a trusted form of help. She read the bible-reading from her English Braille New Testament at the 1995 Sydney HMS celebration. She told those present that her Persian Braille bibles, which included the Old and New Testaments, could not be brought with her from Iran because they were so weighty.⁷⁶ She became one of what R. Bakke would describe as a 'gate-keeper'⁷⁷ from her own community. So began the building of the Persian congregation in Sydney from the seeds originally planted in Iran by CMS and the Melbourne Anglican Diocese.

Razmara's prophetic comment regarding functioning as a religious minority was to become increasingly significant as Anglicanism became just one religion among many in Australia. It had lost its 'quasi-establishment', former colonial hegemonic status. To further illustrate the difficulty of ministry amongst such populations, D. W. Shenk succinctly declares:

Islam is an embarrassment to theologies of rapid church growth . . . *Islam's most rapid missionary expansion has been through the Islamization of Christianized societies.*⁷⁸

For what is indeed integral to the urban mission fields in the cities of the postmodern world, is indeed the following characteristic, as explained by Ralph D. Winter, from an edited volume completely devoted to analysing the impact of world mission in the 1990's:

⁷⁵ *A garden of many colours : the report of the Archbishop's Commission on Multicultural Ministry and Mission Anglican Diocese of Melbourne*, 164.

⁷⁶ The identity of the family has been deliberately withheld. It needs to be noted that Canon Whitham was so moved by the encounter he noted their names as an issue for prayer. His hand-written note was found whilst doing the research for this thesis from the Anglicare CCM archive.

⁷⁷ See the use of the term 'gate-keeper' in Bakke, *The urban Christian*.

⁷⁸ W.R Shenk, "The Muslim *Umma* and the Growth of the Church," in *Exploring Church Growth*, ed. W.R. Shenk (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 145.

The Challenge of the Cities.

The astonishing thing is that once the definition of Unreached peoples is clear, it is possible to anticipate that the global urbanization of humanity may very soon carry at least a few key individuals from every *unimax* people into a city somewhere in the world, where they will likely be much easier to reach. In the 1990's the gradual urbanization of much of the world will continue, . . . The continuing existence of nationalities and ethnic groups in the cities of new groups will require us to be much more perceptive about the different kinds of peoples we need to deal with in the growing cities of the world.⁷⁹

Hence for the DCCM new understandings of daily ministry and mission were required:

- The understanding that ministry and mission (*missio dei*) 'mission of God' is to be understood within the dynamics of everyday cultural exchange.
- The orientation towards poly-ethnic mission would not only be for overseas missionary candidates, but would also be required in Australian communities, urban and non-urban. Therefore, Australian Theological Colleges would need to prioritise orienting themselves within the NES world on the home front.
- Theological training in the home context would need to make the following paradigm shifts:
 - a. Australia was no longer a homogeneous, only English-speaking society.⁸⁰ This would need to be reflected in its church structures, as the *modus operandi* - not merely as tokenism.
 - b. Cross-cultural mission would need to be re-orientated within the depth and breadth of the church at home, if parishes were seeking to reflect their wider community incarnationally. Ministry training, e.g. lay, youth ministry, clerical, at all levels would need to model this cross-cultural change. The parish congregation in microcosm would need to reflect their wider community in composition, not retreat from it.

⁷⁹ R.D Winter, "Fifteen Changes for Tomorrow's Mission," in *Mission in the Nineteen 90's*, ed. G.H. Anderson, Phillips, J.M., Coote, R.T. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 48.

⁸⁰ Quoting M. Soulos " ... must come to terms with the fact that Australia was and always will be a multicultural society". Mason, "Grappling with cultural relevance in Sydney."

- c. The re-deployment of former missionary personnel back into cross-cultural ministries at home should be fostered.
- d. Ministry training might include the intentional learning of another language.⁸¹ That is, the training for overseas missions (language, culture world-view) might be duplicated for those appointed to work in Australia.
- e. The NESB factor in wider community life often spelt imperilled, struggling Anglican churches in largely NESB communities. Such churches could not afford in and of themselves to fund additional NESB missionary activity. Often, dwindling congregations could scarcely financially support their own minister. *Funding* for long-term mission in such urban priority areas⁸² would need to be found.

⁸¹ The NESB language learning component was initially suggested by "Report of the Standing Committee, Cross-Cultural Ministries," 293., despite the letter on behalf of the Committee sent to Moore Theological College, W Gotley, Diocesan Secretary, 1986, 28 May. There is a question mark as to whether such an initiative was in fact undertaken. Rev Khalil Razmara also suggests the NESB language-learning initiative. Cited in *A garden of many colours : the report of the Archbishop's Commission on Multicultural Ministry and Mission Anglican Diocese of Melbourne*, 165. For him, learning English meant learning to read from left to right, whereas the Persian language, Farsi, is written and read from right to left.

⁸² In the same year *A Garden of Many Colours* was commissioned by Penman, the Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas, produced the *Faith in the City: A Call for Action by Church and Nation* Report. The report, was described by Minister Norman Tebbit in Thatcher's government as 'Marxist'. Particularly in regards to challenging the role of the emerging political hegemony of the free market and 'trickle down' economics', see Adam Dinham, "Commentary: From Faith in the City to Faithful Cities: The 'Third Way', the Church of England and Urban Regeneration," *Urban Studies* 45, no. 10 (2008): 2166. The Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission intentionally identified "urban priority areas"- UPA's with the following 'indicators':

One of the indicators is ethnicity, and we must remark that the fact that ethnic origins can be used to indicate deprivation seems to us to be a deplorable comment on the society in which we live. The ethnic composition of the British cities and the UPA's is of crucial significance to our report.

"They are heavily concentrated in some conurbations, in the UPA's, in poorly paid jobs, bad housing and unemployment. They are people who carry a disproportionate share of the burden of adapting to the recent economic recession and industrial re-organisation in Britain. (par. 1.20, p.10)

Further,

... The indicators of deprivation used in defining UPA's are:

1. Unemployment
2. Old people living alone
3. Single-parent families

f. Mission at home would essentially need to cross cultures of not only socio-economic class, but also ethnicity, language and differing religions. Thus entering into the world of 'the Other' is now an essential prerequisite for Christian ministry in modern Australia.

The most difficult and most elusive paradigm-shift had been made and understood for the future of ministry in the Sydney Diocese. It must now in essence be multi-cultural. Whitham, Reid, Vitnell, and Horton lived to see the prioritization of ministries to both the English-speaking and non-English speaking. This was made possible because of the central place accorded to the Department of CCM. Its Director was protected under the umbrella of the PS&D division now working on a re-definition of mission. It was no longer politically impossible to devote significant resource to the NES. The department of Cross-Cultural Ministry was recognised publicly as one of the arms of ministry facilitating church growth through the contextualized vision of the gospel in down-town Sydney and its sprawling suburbs. A 'can-do' movement of Cross-cultural ministry emerged. It was predominantly focused on resourcing the laity of the diocese, and this allowed the growth to occur. With the DCCM supporting the movement of church growth, the Church did grow through ministry to those most obviously in need, the NES.

4. Ethnicity: proportion in households with New Commonwealth or Pakistan-born head

5. Overcrowding of homes

6. Homes lacking basic amenities. (par. 1.21, p.10)

Addressing racism,

... This alone is not enough. There needs to be a clear lead from the centre. We believe that organisational changes must be made at national level to facilitate progress with these and other issues. We believe that the Church must make a clear response not only to racial discrimination and disadvantage, but also to the alienation, hurt and rejection experienced by many black people in relation to the Church of England. (par 5.58, p.96)

New structures,

... (c) The establishment of a wide-ranging Standing Commission on Black Anglican Concerns which should be established for an initial period (perhaps five years) with a review towards the end of this term leading to a decision on the need for an extension of its life. (par 5.62, p.98)

Canon Bryce Clement Wilson, General Secretary HMS (1990-96)

Not all was going well with other divisions of HMS. The new General Secretary, appointed on 16 February 1990, Canon Bryce Wilson was charting a new and different course. He was the leader of Australia's largest Anglican Welfare Agency, with an operating budget of \$23 million, and a staff of over 1,000, offering more than 100 services. Combining projects involving HMS and local churches were high on his agenda, as was ominously, 'maintaining the Society's shift away from centralised and institutionalised care'.⁸³

Bryce Wilson, as the Director of the Welfare Division of HMS (1982-87), had been instrumental in completing the amalgamation of the Church of England Homes into HMS.⁸⁴ The historic Anglican residential institutions, orphanages, children's homes that were formerly under the organisation of the Church of England Homes, subsequent to amalgamation in 1984, now came under the oversight of HMS.

Many in HMS preferred the approach of the Rev John Livingstone. He was Director of Welfare Services (1987-1993), which meant he oversaw the Welfare Division of Care Force and continued in the position formerly held by Bryce Wilson. Livingstone had been shaped in his thinking by Vinay Samuel, an Indian practical theologian and missiologist with the Lausanne movement. In early 1985 Livingstone and his wife Jan, the Diocesan President of the Mothers' Union, Sydney, travelled to India to see and participate in the work.⁸⁵ Linda Livingstone, one of the five children, also visited Bangalore in 1987. Altogether, 17 St. Stephen's, Normanhurst, parishioners visited Bangalore to learn as well as to lend their skills.⁸⁶

Witnessing Samuel's approach helped Livingstone put his work into a "theological context", highlighting the purposes of the Christian community development model. Samuel in his contextualization of ministry had responded "to the poorest of the poor, in his city of Bangalore, India

⁸³ "Bryce Wilson-new General Secretary," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1989, 22 August, 2.

⁸⁴ See "Amalgamation Church of England Homes with AHMS," *PULSE* 1984, November, 2.

⁸⁵ Linda Livingstone, [was later to work in Care Force as a Parish Community Worker, Eaton, "Bridging the Gap between Church and Community," 3. Linda was formerly a student of Mary Lane, Department of Social Work, Sydney University see Lane, "Community development and a postmodernism of resistance."

⁸⁶ Ibid, (1987, p.1)

... He had gradually set up a school, medical centre, a vocational training centre, a feeding programme for children, a handicraft industry, and at the heart of these, a church".⁸⁷ Livingstone enthusiastically embraced the Christian community development model: "Vinay made it clear that you don't just help people because they are there, you do it because it's part of God's call to all Christians to respond to that ministry. Christianity can't be divorced from life in the world - Vinay's work emphasized how important that is."

The understanding and operational authenticity of the community development model was once again brought to Sydney. This was in fact taking the 'whole gospel to the whole world'. It went beyond the homogeneous unit principle that could skilfully excise social responsibility on a homogeneous, mono-cultural unit level, within a multi-cultural local community. Later Livingstone was sent by the Society to the ground-breaking Lausanne II Conference in Manila, 1989. He left the work of the Society in 1993 for incumbency of Bowral in the Southern Highlands of NSW.

The Inheritance

The Sydney Anglican institutions for children were historic ministries that had been created through considerable vision and sacrifice. Their purpose, as the slogans in *PULSE*, the Newsletter of the Church of England Homes, described it, was 'to disturb the comfortable and comfort the disturbed',⁸⁸ and 'Good Samaritans to those in need'.⁸⁹ One such example was the Charlton Boys' home, Ashfield, consolidated by Archdeacon Robert Fillingham, General Secretary of HMS (1949-64, 1975-82). He was also instrumental in the setting up of the Chesalon⁹⁰ Nursing Homes, Carramar homes (for unwed mothers) and the HMS Opportunity Shops.⁹¹ His commitment and leadership of the Society remains unparalleled to this day.⁹²

⁸⁷ "Care Force's New Director," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1987, 18 February 1.

⁸⁸ *PULSE* 1973 September, 4.

⁸⁹ "Good Samaritans to those in need," *PULSE* 1974, December, 1.

⁹⁰ Chesalon means "a place of security and hope", (from the Old Testament), cited from webpage Anglicare Diocese of Sydney "Anglicare Chesalon Woonona," https://www.agedcareguide.com.au/facility_details.asp?facilityid=13244.

⁹¹ "Fillingham ", *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1997, May-June, 2.

⁹² According to the late Diana Stein (head of the Auxiliaries, HMS, (1976-1996) It was under Archdeacon Fillingham's leadership that instituted the following HMS tradition. HMS head office would go to prayer at

Now under Wilson, the new General Secretary, major rationalization of resources was taking place. This was more than an attempt at cost-cutting. It was a deliberate plan to reduce the 'residential care' model for youth, in youth centres, youth refuges, and facilities for young people in crisis attached to residential care. Now given the pending closures, counsellors as well as the faithful and dedicated staff who helped manage the facilities round-the clock would have to seek new employment elsewhere.

The historically unprecedented number of closures under Wilson included:

- Charlton, Robinson House, Wright House, Millewa Complex, Brunswick Parade, Ashfield (1990),⁹³
- Buckland House, North St. Marys, (1994)⁹⁴
- Trigg Children's Home, Granville, (1994)⁹⁵

precisely 10.00am each day, for half an hour to pray for the work (ers) of the Society. The phones were manned on a rotating basis by the Secretarial staff from the central switch. This tradition enabled a sincere bond of sharing and unity of purpose for all those who participated. It did prove 'the family that prays together, stays together'. It also demonstrated, a leap in faith for all staff at the central nerve-centre to devote 30 minutes out of their often hectic day to prayer.

⁹³ Charlton Youth Ministry was the centre-piece of Youth ministry for the Sydney Anglican diocese, with its architecturally designed round houses for residents, , *PULSE*1976, June, 4., "Archbishop Dedicates \$200,000 Charlton Homes Extensions," *Southern Cross, The Magazine of the Church of England Diocese of Sydney*1969, August, 13. The multi-hectare site described :

... [it] included "... two dormitory units, Robinson House, Wright House each unit has 6 bedrooms, shared by 4 boys, kitchen/laundry block, Recreational Hall, ... also be used ... as a Christian youth community centre for Charlton Boys and other young people in the Ashfield area.(Gym) the nearby swimming pool, 55 feet long". "New Life At Charlton," *Southern Cross*1969, September, 13.

... provided long-term accommodation for boys as an alternative to custodial settings ... Alternative arrangements for placements for the remaining Robinson House residents were arranged prior to closure". "Robinson House closes," *CARE incorporating PULSE*1990, March 21, 8.

It was noted in Director of Welfare Division's, Care Force Annual report (1991),

During the year, the old Ashfield site, [included Robinson House, Millewa House, the offices of the Charlton Youth Care Team ...] which held so many memories for so many people, was sold. A new building was erected at Telopea for our Adoptions and Child and Family Services Teams. It also houses the Care Force Directors. John Livingstone, "Annual Report, Welfare Services Division," (Home Mission Society, 1991), 4.

⁹⁴ For more information see "Buckland Group Home," The Find & Connect support service is for people who lived in orphanages and children's institutions, <http://www.findandconnect.gov.au/ref/nsw/objects/ND0000730.htm>.

⁹⁵ For more information see "Trigg Children's Home," Find and Connect,

The Find & Connect support service is for people who lived in orphanages and children's institutions, <http://www.findandconnect.gov.au/ref/nsw/biogs/NE00070b.htm>.

- Timaru group home for Children, Campbelltown, (1994)⁹⁶
- Marella Aboriginal Group home, St. Clair (1990's)⁹⁷,

Refuge for Women and Children in Sydney

Meanwhile, Bishop John Reid was working to safeguard women and children in need. In Resolution 8/89, Reid brought to the 1989 Synod recommendations from the Social Issues Committee's research paper on Domestic Violence requesting the establishment of a Women's Refuge. The resolution reads that Synod:

- (a) notes with high concern the high incidence of domestic violence in the community and within Christian households;
- (b) requests the Anglican Home Mission Society, through its welfare division, to investigate establishing a women's refuge as a matter of priority in their planning for 1990, and to report to the 1990 Synod on action which might be taken;
- (c) calls upon the NSW Government to restore services, through the Department of Family and Community Services, to children suffering domestic abuse;
- (d) asks the Standing Committee to consider providing such finance as is required to establish the refuge ... and ongoing personnel expenses through a special projects grant in the 1991 budget;

⁹⁶ For more information see "Timaru Group Home for Children," Find and Connect,

The Find & Connect support service is for people who lived in orphanages and children's institutions, <http://www.findandconnect.gov.au/ref/nsw/biogs/NE01228b.htm#tab5>.

⁹⁷ For more information see "Marella Aboriginal Temporary Care (1979 - 1990s)," Find & Connect Web Resource Project for the Commonwealth of Australia, <http://www.findandconnect.gov.au/ref/nsw/biogs/NE00063b.htm>. For a history of the Marella Aboriginal Mission see Z Wilkinson and A Loxley, *Marella: The Hidden Mission* (Emu Plains, N.S.W Penrith Regional Gallery & The Lewers Bequest, 2009), Curated Exhibition.

This is fulfilling current Governmental guidelines regarding the working life of such institutions, with information now designated in the public domain. For a full history of institutions, see Stephanie Miller, "Detailed Timeline: Church of England Homes from Start to Present," ed. Jenny Small (Anglicare, NSW, 2014, 24 June). Hence the <http://www.findandconnect.gov.au/> web-site. Only the Robinson House closure was noted in HMS publicity material at the time. Op cit, (1990, March 21, p. 8).

(e) in view of the financial constraints upon the Anglican Home Mission Society, requests the Archbishop to give consideration to making a special appeal to church members and the wider community for the donation of a property, or the money for the Society to purchase a property, and for funds to staff such a refuge and enable an extension of related counselling services.⁹⁸

The Resolution was steadfastly researched over 2 years through HMS Council⁹⁹, with a number of members solidly backing the creation of such a structure, including Livingstone, who wrote the main report. The 'clients' would be:

Par.12 (a) Women under threat of violence at home

(b) Homeless women and families.¹⁰⁰

The report noted, Par. 14,

(c) The fact that the refuge would be run by women for women.

(d) The fact that all workers and management should have a knowledge of and commitment to multi-cultural goals and non-discrimination processes.¹⁰¹

The approval to seek 'government assistance' for part of the funding through the Supported Accommodation Assistance Programme and the Women' Emergency Services complemented the initiative.¹⁰² The report concludes, however, that responsibility be put back onto Synod to provide \$200,000 p.a. "for ongoing support of this important service".¹⁰³ This was sufficient to sink the

⁹⁸ *Year Book of the Diocese of Sydney*,, (Sydney Square: Diocesan Registry, 1990), 225.

⁹⁹ The HMS Council/ Social Issues Committee(s) research into the consequences of domestic violence and the need for a Woman's Refuge 1989-90 was also later supported by the research of Helen Last and Kate Gilmore, *Public face, private pain : the Anglican report about violence against women and the abuse of power within the church community*, ed. Women Church and Domestic Violence Project (Carlton, Vic.: CASA House Centre Against Sexual Assault Anglican Church of Australia, Diocese of Melbourne, 1994).

¹⁰⁰ *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 405.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, (1991, p. 405)

¹⁰² *Ibid*, (p.406)

initiative, which was thus skilfully circumvented before it could even get off the ground. The matter of the Refuge was correctly brought to HMS initially, as part of its historic role in being the obvious Sydney Anglican agency regarding responsibility for social/welfare. The report states: "However, at the present time Care Force is in no position to apply any funds at all to this project."¹⁰⁴

Some of the staunchest supporters for the establishment of such a refuge included Bishop John Reid¹⁰⁵, his wife Alison who had been a Counsellor with the Anglican Counselling Service and Mr Keith Mason QC who had been a continuing member of HMS Council at least since 1978, that is, over 10 years.¹⁰⁶ Those of influence even on the front-lines witnessing disintegration of broken families and battered women could not get the resolution passed – an indication that those in the minority radical evangelical were facing strong opposition from the conservatives.

Another attempt was made regarding housing concerns. Resolution 19/90, Housing for People with Low Incomes e.g. homeless youth, brought by Archdeacon Huard, requested:¹⁰⁷

(g) ... HMS Council to set up a committee to investigate *a realistic response* by our denomination to current housing needs and give consideration to proposals for housing homeless youth in the Wollongong area and to report back to Synod in 1991.¹⁰⁸(My italics)

The following year the progress of Resolution 19/90 concluded: 'A Report is awaited.'¹⁰⁹

The historic tradition of HMS, of providing a residential care model to youth and families 'in distress' was evidently being phased out. By contrast the Aged Care Division and the 'Chesalon' Nursing Homes

¹⁰⁴ General Secretary Wilson's concluding Report for and on behalf of HMS Council, *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, (1991), See paragraph 11, p.405

¹⁰⁵ He had brought the original resolution to Synod, see J.R. Reid, "Resolution 8/89 Establishment of Women's Refuge: Domestic Violence," in *Yearbook of the Anglican Diocese of Sydney* (Sydney Square: Diocesan Registry, 1990), 225.

¹⁰⁶ First listed *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, (Sydney Square: Diocesan Registry, 1978), 31. He is successively listed as a member of HMS Council, till 1993 see *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, 32.

¹⁰⁷ Huard, "Resolution 19/90 Housing for People with Low Incomes," 292.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, p.292

¹⁰⁹ "Sydney Synod Matters: 7.10 Resolution 19/90 Housing for People with Low Incomes,," in *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney* (Sydney Square: Diocesan Secretariat, 1992), 314.

were highly prized and all residential facilities were retained and even expanded.¹¹⁰ Yet those who were part of what is described as the radical evangelical tradition, who were in the minority, considered that a Refuge for Women and children and low cost housing for the homeless could be become reality and was worth fighting for even when the political will was lacking among the majority.¹¹¹

The historic tradition of HMS, i.e. funding clergy and church ministries whilst attending to minorities, including providing sanctuary to women and children fleeing desperate situations (as the former Church of England Homes had historically achieved), would be relegated to the past.

The following depiction of Canon Bryce Wilson invites contestation: 'Wilson ... had a goal that HMS would be *more* proactive and *less* reactive to social problems and emerging service opportunities.'¹¹²(Italics mine)

The CCM Co-Ordinator underwent a number of 'Performance Reviews' under HMS, whilst working under Bryce Wilson during his six-year term as General Secretary and additionally as Associate General Secretary with an additional 3 years (1987-90), working with him in head office at St. Andrew's House. As well as attending meetings as one of the Divisional Directors of the Society in 1987. However, in terms of assessing Canon Wilson as 'being proactive' towards 'emerging service opportunities' to the wider community, the CCM Director found the opposite to be true.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ For a description of the Anglicare Aged Care Chesalon Division see webpage "Anglicare, Chesalon Residential Care," Anglicare, <https://www.anglicare.org.au/directory-category/residential-care.>, for a video commemorating the Division's 70 year history see Anglicare Sydney, "Chesalon-70 years of service,," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xFdWtZ7C3xk#action=share>.

¹¹¹ A particular episode, recalled by the Co-Ordinator DCCM is worth noting. She happened to run into the General Secretary right after the HMS Council meeting that had just decided the fate of the Woman's Refuge. The Rev Bryce Wilson appeared so pleased, he could not contain himself as he said to the Co-Ordinator;

I scuttled their plan for the Refuge, to think that [name purposely omitted] ... sat on Council all these years ... we are getting out of the Refuge business, there's a Royal Commission coming ...

The CCM Co-Ordinator was horrified at the outcome of the decision. She had previously begun her work with HMS, employed as a Youth worker (1985) working with the Youth Care Counselling Team at Robinson House, Ashfield.

¹¹² Cited from 2015 "Our History, Anglicare ". webpage , see Heading: Growth and Consolidation 1958-2005

¹¹³ Canon B. Wilson characterised by the CCM Co-Ordinator as a constricted, "maintenance man", not a visionary.

New Approaches

Christian ministry towards those designated as second generation¹¹⁴ NESB youth, was actively targeted as a mission-field through the Chaplain to the University of NSW, Phillip Jensen (1978 -2003). He showed his entrepreneurship with his vision of ministry towards 3 differing second generation 'ethnic' student groups. This model amongst students using NESB ethnicity was not replicated on any other University campus at the time. This avenue of ministry was *not* aligned to HMS activities or funding. The ideology presented is essentially one of church-planting within the milieu of University students. However, it raises important issues when ministering amongst NESB youth.

New NESB converts (Greek background) were encouraged to attend what began as a targeted small bible-study in the English language. It met at the Chaplaincy of U.N.S.W. The work eventually grew as congregations in their own right. The church planting began with a bible-study with biblical texts, a few modern hymns with no Prayer book, or robes in sight. So the church planting began in what became the Greek Bible Fellowship. The preacher was the Rev John Woodhouse who kindly gave his time whilst lecturing at Moore College, until Mr Archie Poulos and later Mr Zac Veron, when finishing Moore College, could eventually take charge.¹¹⁵ Jensen had a keen eye for any 'gate-keepers'¹¹⁶ i.e. NESB youth of Greek background who could be trained up to lead what would initially become a bible-study.

One of the problems of this form of church-planting, beginning with a bible-study was that all men with senior responsibilities involved *did not* have fluency in Modern Greek language in order to cope with parental dissension generated as a result of the conversions. In fact, they managed to stay well clear of such family strife. Often the Greek Baptist pastor, the Rev Michael Glinatsis and his wife

¹¹⁴ Definition: Second generation includes those with one or both parents born in that country J Jupp, "Ethnic and Cultural Diversity in Australia,

TABLE 1 BIRTHPLACES AND SECOND GENERATION(a) OF PEOPLE WITH MAIN ENGLISH-SPEAKING(b) AND NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING ORIGINS, 1991," Australian Bureau Statistics (ABS), <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/0/49F609C83CF34D69CA2569DE0025C182?Open.>, see section Table 1, Birthplaces and second generation(a) of people with main English-speaking(b) and non-English speaking origins, 1991.

¹¹⁵ A Poulos and Z Veron, "Greek Bible Fellowship," *Southern Cross* 1986, September 13.

¹¹⁶ Eddie Gibbs, *I believe in church growth*, 3 ed. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1990).

Marina¹¹⁷, shouldered much of the burden, they were often called upon to speak in Greek (the heart language) to the parents of the students. In previous decades, they had themselves church-planted in the modern Greek language, first at the Ashfield Baptist Hall, then in their own church, at Earlwood Baptist. The constant thread running through the gathering student group was the unrelenting persecution of the new converts by their families and ostracism of their friends once the news of their conversion was made apparent to their community, whether Muslim or Greek Orthodox. It appears that “ethnic attracts other ethnics”.¹¹⁸ The University of NSW, in the Sydney suburb of Kensington was located amongst one of the largest Greek communities in Sydney.¹¹⁹ So for many of the GBF attenders, conversion unsettled the cultural and religious expectations of the extended families involved, now that their children had apparently ‘lost their religion’.¹²⁰ Suspicion of conversion that was tantamount to losing ‘one’s religion’ only reinforced among the converts the human need for ‘belonging’ and for positive reinforcement of ‘identity through community.’ Familial and communal ostracism had deleterious effects on young converts.¹²¹ This may be seen, in retrospect, to have been a profound

¹¹⁷ Now located at Earlwood Baptist Church.

¹¹⁸, The CCM Co-Ordinator observed:

Youth workers have told me that Second Generation Australian born do not mix culturally with those of ES backgrounds i.e. the established youth culture in mainstream churches. However, we have seen NESB youth leaders attracting NESB youth and setting up groups that will facilitate such growth and evangelism. Is it the Homogeneous Unit principle in action again? Yes, in part except we have observed “ethnic attracts other ethnics”. Comfort, solidarity and worship is offered to offspring of migration. This identity is shared across the board. Identity is the key whether the youth of NNESB will be attracted to their own ethno-specific (one ethno-specific structure, e.g. Croatian) youth fellowship or a more international youth fellowship, St. Matthias Ministries, University of NSW. In Soulos, "Cross-Cultural Ministry: Sydney Anglican Diocese Australia Reflections and Observations," 4.

¹¹⁹ The ancestry question revealed Greek ancestry at 8.2%. "2011 Census QuickStats: Kingsford," Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2011/quickstat/POA2032?opendocument&navpos=220.

¹²⁰ For example, when the convert to ‘born-again’ Christianity would discuss the decision they had made with their family, the reply back, would go something like: “We christened you, you tell us *now* you’ve become a Christian, well what were you before?” Often families who had never heard of Protestant evangelical religion thought their children had joined a new cult. In responding to the parents of the students, for a brief time a version of an adult Sunday School began at GBF in Modern Greek, by the CCM Co-Ordinator, just so that parents could be informed, regarding what this new GBF congregation believed. For many families with students who became ‘converted’, understanding the Scriptural basis of belief as primary versus tradition ‘was a bridge too far’ to cross.

¹²¹ According to the CCM Coordinator, Bishop Reid and his wife, Alison set up an evening especially for the members of GBF in this period, to speak with trained Counsellors at the Anglican Counselling Centre, Bland St,

disadvantage in the church-planting exercise following the homogeneous unit principle, i.e. students. For many domestic students needed and wanted and sought the approval of their often extremely hard-working parents in order to demonstrate that their children were *not* lost or 'assimilated' into some new colonizing trickery. Many (the second-generation) students¹²² still wanted to be considered ethnically-Greek. Many converts of Greek background valued inter-generational culture through their extended families and of course, their elders and they sought to bring their NES ethnic community into the congregation.

Houston, commenting on contemporary sociological literature on Australian migration, summarizes:

... the great bulk of post-war immigrants came to Australia for economic reasons and joined the industrial and unskilled workforce. For 25 years this prospect was actively promoted overseas by the Department of Immigration and there was no lack of takers. Only in recent years has the focus shifted towards importing skills, although even today refugees may gain entry without possessing skills. But during the years when the total migrant intake was much higher than in recent years, unskilled workers arrived in far larger numbers than have skilled workers more recently. The result is that, as studies of occupational distribution of migrants and their social mobility show, a high proportion of NESB migrants are still locked in low-status work, have retired or become unemployed, perhaps through retrenchment after decades of unskilled labour.¹²³

It is evident that the community development agenda with its mechanism for undergirding authentic Christian community would have been a better model. The failure to negotiate a better model was a symptom of the growing resistance of the conservatives to the temporary success achieved by the radical evangelical minority in cross-cultural ministry.

Ashfield, they came to recognise the ongoing grief of the converts. It was also a way of introducing a source of continuing help, with a Christian basis.

¹²² Second generation, describes the children of the NESB migrant (defined as first generation). The concept is helpful because it reveals the enduring links and structures behind acculturation even to the second generation NESB Australian born. Again, to some extent disproving the 'assimilation' thesis, described through University student ministry.

¹²³ Houston, *Seeds Blowing in the Wind: Review of Multicultural Ministry and Mission, Diocese of Melbourne Anglican Church of Australia*, 12.

Chapter 7

The beginning of the end (1993-1996)

Australia's multicultural policies were reaching their zenith in the early 90s, with reforms that would manage diversity whilst attempting to maintain social cohesion. At the same time the DCCM funded attempts to address underlying obstacles to ministry and mission amongst peoples of NESB in Sydney. This set in train a marked responsiveness from the parishes to their surrounding NES populations. A test for the Sydney Anglican Diocese came in 1993 in terms of the election of a new Archbishop, always an emotional process and usually resulting in a new direction for Sydney Anglicans.

A necessary comparison needs to be made between the application of secular multicultural policies and the programme of the Sydney DCCM. The secular policies set a benchmark for the management of diversity that reciprocally aided and challenged Sydney Anglicanism. In the secular world the presence of 'cultural sensitization' programmes as a form of Anti-racism training was used for the training of public sector staff, responding to the needs of 'ethnically' disparate populations.

The DCCM had centred its work on the need for expanding the horizon of "mission" for the Sydney Anglican Diocese, which set in train a much needed paradigm-shift that such NESB ministries needed to be considered as an equal partner in mission (ESB/NESB), rather than an optional 'exotic' extra. The episcopal champion of CCM, Bishop John Reid, was a candidate in the 1993 election for Sydney's new Archbishop. His legacy would be not only his passion for people of NESB to be brought into the centre of concern for the diocese. He would also champion experimental ministries, led by clergy and laity that often took place in what were urban, inner city parishes. The understanding that these ministries were in effect "missions" not likely to grow into mega-churches did not diminish the task. Rather it emboldened the level of commitment of the committed men and women who chose to work in these unglamorous fields.

The Keating Government and reforms

The Keating Labor Government enacted some of the most far-reaching reforms in Australia's history. It is necessary to summarize the enduring secular reforms of this period, in order to contrast the contested 'ethnic' themes within Sydney Anglicanism in the same period and in particular the contest that became the 1993 election of the Archbishop of Sydney.

The just over four years of the Keating government (December 1991- March 1996) enacted what would be three streams of social policy concerns:

1. The strengthening of social policies implementing multiculturalism strategies; including the 'Racial Hatred Act' passed (1995) amending the 'Racial Discrimination Act' (RDA 1975), in adding Sections 18 passed as an amendment in 1996. These respective laws are considered to be the legal underpinning for Australia's policies of Multiculturalism.¹
2. Recognition of Australia's Indigenous;
3. The re-definition of Australia geo-strategically and economically with Asia, whilst progressing Australia's national identity as a republic.

These policies would become the hallmark of one of the most progressive eras in Australia's social history and the implementation of multicultural policies and programmes argued in this thesis would reach its zenith. Indeed, by the early 1990s the description of Australia as a "multicultural nation" had become commonplace in public discourse.² The developments included the expansion of multicultural programs, strong efforts to place multiculturalism centre-stage within a more national narrative where cultural diversity and inclusion were re-defined as part of Australian national identity. This was by way of strengthening relationships between ethnic communities, the Commonwealth, and state Labor governments.³

¹ It is significant that three landmark government reports were made during the Keating Labor government period examining issues relating to Indigenous and other NESB minorities. Significant areas of systemic disadvantage were identified. Attorney-General, Michael Lavarch (1994) amended the RDA at this time. The influential Reports included: the National Inquiry into Racist Violence (1991), the Australian Law Reform Commission Report into Multiculturalism and the Law (1992), and the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (1987–1991). The ratification of section 4A by the Keating Government of the UN International Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination was in effect aimed to criminalize 'race-hate speech' hence the addition of Section 18. See Andrew Jakubowicz, "A Bigot's Frenzy: how race, class and gender still matter in the Australian politics of Section 18C.," <https://andrewjakubowicz.com/2016/11/11/a-bigots-frenzy-how-race-class-and-gender-still-matter-in-the-australian-politics-of-section-18c/>.

² Ien Ang and John Stratton, "Multiculturalism in crisis: The new politics of race and national identity in Australia," *TOPIA: Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies*, no. 2 (1998): 22.

³ The period is summarized as progressive in G Tavan, "John Howard's Multicultural Paradox," in *On the Right Path? Reform and Reaction in Australia* (Frei Universitat, Berlin 2006, September 26-27), 5. I do not agree with Burnett, "Issues in immigrant settlement in Australia" 5. Citing the period 1988-1993 as 'Post-Multiculturalism?' Originally cited from A Jamrozik, C Boland, and R Urquhart, *Social change and cultural*

One of the instruments used to implement multicultural policy at the state level for NSW was the Ethnic Affairs Commission (EAC). It operated under the *Ethnic Affairs Commission Act 1979*, later re-branded the *Community Relations Commission, for a multicultural NSW*.⁴ In 1993, after the introduction of the *Charter of Principles for a Culturally Diverse Society*, public service agencies were required to submit Statements of Intent and Charter Implementation.⁵ These were plans with regard to performance accountability and efficacy of programme delivery to people of NESB. Social policy was under-girded by Access and Equity policies, which included 'sensitization' of mainstream service providers to their NES clients echoing federal government policy.⁶

transformation in Australia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 113. The 'de-construction' of multiculturalism as considered in this chapter, (hence the term interpreted as 'Post-Multiculturalism' i.e. 'its fall from grace') suitably applies more in the ensuing analysis of the policies of the Howard Liberal Government who defeated the Keating Labor Government in 1996. An important note in this thesis chronicles the parallel 'de-construction' of Multicultural policies under the conservative Howard Government (1996-2007) coupled with the closure of DCCM in the Sydney Diocese, 2000. The process of 'de-construction' of multicultural policies in this thesis is supported by the direction of the Howard Coalition even before it comes into Government, campaigning against Multiculturalism e.g. to close the peak advisory body, BIMPR along with OMA. The latter department had the responsibility of advising both the Prime Minister and the Minister of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs but it appears not for long:

The Liberal/National coalition announced it would close down the Office of Multicultural Affairs (OMA) as part of its 1996 election policy, and at the end of June 1996 the new government carried out its promise. Its residual functions were transferred back to the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs - but without any resources. According to the last head of OMA, Bill Cope, the new Treasurer, Peter Costello, instructed the new Minister, Phillip Ruddock, that multiculturalism was to be "zeroed" - all funds withdrawn. This occurred in the August 1996 Budget - ten years after the Budget that had led to OMA's creation. Andrew Jakubowicz, "Cleaning up the mess? 1987 - A new agency in the Prime Minister's Department to advise on multicultural policies," *Making Multicultural Australia: A Research Library*, <http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/library/media/Timeline-Commentary/id/117.An-office-for-multicultural-affairs.>, see also "'Don't mention it...': what government wants to hear and why about multicultural Australia," *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies* 6, no. 2 (2014): 3.

⁴ Cited from General Purpose Standing Committee No 1 Report, note 76, p.56, in A Klinken Whelan, "25 years of EAPS: Review of EAPS operation in New South Wales " (Sydney: Community Relations Commission NSW, 2009, March), 24.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁶ Office of Multicultural Affairs Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, "Access and Equity: Evaluation Summary," http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/multoff_8.pdf. states:

The Office of Multicultural Affairs within the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet is responsible for developing, implementing, reviewing and reporting on the performance of the Commonwealth Government's Access and Equity Strategy.

‘Cultural sensitization’ the hidden value of Australia’s Access and Equity Policies

One of the great successes of Australian multicultural policy was the examination and assessment of structural inequalities at federal and state levels with regards to the NES, a form of catch-up that was well overdue, given the NES component of Sydney’s population. At the 1991 census, Sydney had become the major focus of immigrant settlement in Australia. The 1991 Census showed that Sydney had 28.5 per cent of the nation's overseas-born, compared with 23.8 per cent in Melbourne. In Fairfield LGA 54.5 per cent of residents were overseas-born from NES countries - the largest such concentration in the nation. There had also been some growth of the NESB population in some of the more affluent suburbs of Sydney (e.g. on the North Shore). This was partly due to the fact that many of the people of Asian origin settling in Sydney in the 1980s arrived with substantial financial assets and skills and hence settled in high-income areas. This was especially true of the Hong Kong-born and Malaysia-born groups.⁷ The management of this level of diversity was not without its challenges.

The Office of Multicultural Affairs was created in 1987 under the Hawke Labor government, as a first, and as an advisor directly to the Office of Prime minister and Cabinet:

... after sustained lobbying from the ethnic communities [it] was moved to the Prime Minister’s Department, and made a Multicultural Affairs agency. This was significant on two grounds - it gave multicultural issues the same status as women’s affairs and Aboriginal issues, and indicated that the Office would not just be about “ethnics” and their interests, but about the multicultural interests of the whole of Australian society.⁸

The Office of Multicultural Affairs would continue in its peak advisory role through the Prime ministership of Keating, continuing the multicultural agenda at the federal level and influencing policies at the state level of government. One example was through the Ethnic Affairs Policy/Priorities Statements (EAPS).⁹ The original policy at the state level was enacted to “improve access to services

⁷ See Hugo, "Understanding Where Immigrants Live," 5, 6.

⁸ Jakubowicz, "Cleaning up the mess? 1987 - A new agency in the Prime Minister’s Department to advise on multicultural policies".

⁹ Passed in NSW State Law, *Ethnic Affairs Commission Amendment Act* 1996. The reporting mechanism for public service departments engaged in service delivery to those of NESB. Through the mechanism of the Ethnic Affairs Policy/ Priorities, Statements (EAPS). {Klinken Whelan, 2009, March #1828@23

and to rescue men and women of Non-English speaking backgrounds from the margins of society".¹⁰ This became a form of mandatory management for public sector agencies implementing multicultural policy priorities for maintaining and managing a vastly multicultural work force. Instrumental in transformation was 'Cultural diversity training',¹¹ which is ongoing.¹² It became part of the public sector, adult education to address adult attitudes with respect to racism. Promoting attitudinal change and training programmes regarding cultural diversity for adults became de rigueur for the implementation of multicultural policies through Access and Equity (A&E) Policies.¹³ The focus on A&E

¹⁰ Address by Premier Wran, 1983', September 5, quoted in Klinken Whelan, "25 years of EAPS: Review of EAPS operation in New South Wales " 14.

¹¹ The central aspect of ongoing training, e.g. cultural 'sensitization' programmes, for this thesis is considered to be part of the creation of hitherto unrecognised 'social capital' Bourdieu, "Forms of Capital," 51. Cultural 'sensitization' programmes were essentially needed as an integral training basis for 'mission' in the parishes when responding to cultural difference, cross-cultural ministry (including the ES, and to those of NESB and vice versa). 'Both sides' would need to 'participate' in order to build community social cohesion. This thesis considers anti-racism training necessary to forge community cohesion amid such intense cultural pluralism. In other words, besides anti-racism education/programmes in schools, adults also needed education, spear-headed in the public sector with regards to continual implementation of 'rights and responsibilities' (National Agenda 1989) to aid the functioning of multicultural policies. The same was evidenced through the 'sensitization', mission programmes deployed through the entire life and personnel of the DCCM, (1987-2000). (Source: former CCM Co-Ordinator, M. Soulos)

¹² See Klinken Whelan, "25 years of EAPS: Review of EAPS operation in New South Wales " 56. For an evaluation of the efficacy of Access and Equity strategies see also J Jupp and A McRobbie, eds., *Access and Equity Evaluation Research* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1992).

¹³ Despite the importance of these government initiatives at the state level, the national *State of the Nation* Report, summarizes:

... immigrants of non-English speaking background are carrying an increasingly inequitable burden of unemployment in the 1990s compared with the 1970s. This is particularly the case for women, young people and refugees. "State of the Nation, 1995: A report on people of non-English speaking backgrounds, Chapter 7: Employment," ed. A Multicultural Research Library (Canberra: Race Discrimination Commissioner Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 1995), 1.

Matheson, further concludes:

More recent data confirm that these patterns of under-representation of people of non-English speaking background on statutory and non-statutory bodies established by various Commonwealth public sector instrumentalities continue, despite the existence of official government access and equity policy since 1989. Ibid., 23. For Matheson's summary see ibid., 23-26.

Robyn Iredale and Graeme Hugo, "Australia's Population and the Global Links," *International Migration Review* 29, no. 3 (1995): 833. analyze the impact of J. Jupp's research in his Review of Settlement programmes:

Australia's Settlement Service Provision: An Overview," provided a summing up of the current situation, listing the failures and successes of settlement policy and programs. The former included inadequate English language provision, unemployment, and lack of adequate attention to refugees, small groups,

is based on a specific aspect of social justice, namely is concerned to ask, if a Public Service government agency exists, then what if any, are the barriers to its use.¹⁴ A 1992 report concluded:

The provision of appropriate cross-cultural, training is a problematic issue. Departments which have significant dealings with the general public recognise its importance. There is a need for more research into what constitutes a culturally sensitive service.¹⁵

The Bureau of Immigration Research (BIR) was established in 1989 under the Hawke Labor government later re-branded under the Keating Labor Government as the Bureau of Immigration and Research in 1993. In 1994 the federal Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research (BIMPR)¹⁶ was established. It became the peak body responsible for immigration and multicultural interdisciplinary research with an explicit aim to undertake 'objective and professional analysis of immigration issues', including a new brief - population research - at long last all such research literally under one inter-disciplinary research institution.¹⁷ Its brief was that it was to be able to provide better responses by government to ongoing settlement issues.¹⁸ This peak advisory body would be available to address concerns such as the population/immigration debates kicked to the left and right as the political football by various interest groups. The establishment in 1994 of the National Multicultural Advisory Council continued the multicultural agenda of the Hawke government.¹⁹ Its purpose was to advise on multicultural issues and to review the ongoing implementation of the 1989 National Agenda

women and the elderly. The latter mainly referred to the policies and structures that have been put in place for access and equity, to combat racism, and to educate the whole society. Jupp's conclusion was that: "Relative success should not blind policymakers to certain remaining problems.

¹⁴ Office of Multicultural Affairs Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, "Access and Equity: Evaluation Summary," 2.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁶ See account in J. Jupp and M. Kabala, eds., *The Politics of Australian Immigration* (Melbourne: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1993), 13.

¹⁷ "Bureau of Immigration and Research, Chapter 7 Research - Bureau of Immigration Research," Hansard, http://www.aph.gov.au/parliamentary_business/committees/house_of_representatives_committees?url=mig/multiculturalism/report/chapter7.htm#chapter7f12. See par. 7.8-7.10.

¹⁸ The scope of the research provided by BIMPR, in its brief history (1994-96) was significant, see "Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research, BIMPR Projects and Publications," http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/bimpr_1.pdf

¹⁹ Prime Minister Keating formerly, held the post of Treasurer, throughout the period of the Hawke Labor government (1983-91)

for Multiculturalism,²⁰ the landmark social policy document that included the agenda for defining Australia's unique brand of multiculturalism.

Within the Anglican Church, one of the key elements, characterising the DCCM was the pioneering 'cultural sensitization' work at the level of the parishes, with the brave permission given by the clergy to begin such work with their congregations. This was done in a sensitive manner, featuring what is known as 'immersion training'²¹ where scenarios were actually discussed within a congregational small-group workshop and acted out, featuring, for example, a forced migration and or refugee scenario initially trialled by the CCM Co-Ordinator, given her interest in Cross-cultural psychology.²² This training was led initially by the Co-Ordinator and then subsequently by the other members of the Team who wrote and created their particular brand of training whether for ESL, or teacher-style for Clergy and laity. The department of CCM, having recognised the need for cross-cultural training across the Sydney Anglican Diocese drew on the expertise of returned overseas missionaries, such as former CMS missionary (Tanzania) Nancy Lewis, and former Interserve missionary (Pakistan), Mike Wilson, who in 1994 became the full-time CCM Trainer in the department. This extended provision, hitherto had been provided in Anglican training institutions, for the cross-cultural training of missionary candidates, going into overseas missionary work. This kind of CCM training however, needed to be brought into the mainstream training for the churches at home. This provision would have also

²⁰ See "Multicultural Australia: the next steps," ed. National Multicultural Advisory Council (NMAC) (Canberra,: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1995), v. For a detailed review of the development of social policies of the period see James Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration*

2nd ed. (Melbourne Cambridge University Press, 2007), 91. See also Elsa Koletz, "Multiculturalism: a review of Australian policy statements and recent debates in Australia and overseas," Parliament of Australia, Department of Parliamentary Services, <http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22library%2Fprspub%2F272429%22>.

²¹ The following is a description of Immersion training:

One example ... is the experiential method. The idea is to have people learn something of what it's like to be a member of another culture. This can be done in various ways. One is to immerse the individual in the other culture as a way of having him learn about it; ... an alternative is to have the individual participate in encounters and sensitivity training groups in controlled settings for a few days or even for a few hours. D. Landis and R.W. Brislin, *Handbook of Intercultural Training: Issues in Training Methodology* (Elsevier Science, 1983/2013), 199.

²² In particular the work of Triandis et al., *The analysis of subjective culture*. Triandis and Berry, *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology*., Albert and Triandis, "Intercultural education for multicultural societies: Critical issues."

enabled candidates with the requisite abilities to function more sensitively in the culturally pluralistic society Sydney diocese had become in the 1990s.

This paradigm-shift, however, throughout Sydney Anglican structures generally had not been made.²³ Rather it was the passion of the few.²⁴ That this much needed paradigm-shift, from ES 'ethno-centric' to become 'poly-ethnic' ministry, still needed to be made was not lost on the founding Co-Ordinator, nor eventually on the remainder of the DCCM. Cross-cultural ministry was deemed an optional extra, if at all for Sydney Anglican mainstream parishes, as they struggled with obtaining and even paying for other lay-stipendiary personnel e.g. youth workers. Urban demographic change had engendered fear, resentment and non-engagement with those of NESB, evident in many of Sydney's Anglican parishes²⁵. This was a psychological battle in understanding the scope of mission. CCM training was necessary from the outset for both laity and clergy, and was directed to getting them to at last recognise the home ground as a genuine "mission field", with cross-cultural 'praxis' now informing evangelical theology. For the Sydney Diocese, the historic tradition and reach of HMS was already on the city's front-lines in engagement responding to human need. Now its gospel advance was spear-headed by the 'can-do' attitude of the DCCM.

Indigenous Affairs, re-defining Australian identity

Critical to the construction of multicultural Australia in the public imagination was the campaign for Indigenous land rights. The legal recognition of Indigenous land rights defined relations between Aborigines and the incursive population, conclusively through what became the over 10-year High Court of Australia legal battle brought on by Eddie Koiki Mabo (1936–1992). The land rights cases of *Mabo vs Queensland (No. 1)*, then *Mabo vs Queensland (No.2)*, recognised Native title for the

²³ It needs to be noted that the 99 recommendations from the volume commissioned by Dr Penman For the complete listing of recommendations see, *A garden of many colours : the report of the Archbishop's Commission on Multicultural Ministry and Mission Anglican Diocese of Melbourne*, 140-49. was attempting to do just that, by bringing the acknowledgement of the NESB agenda into the mainstream structures of the Anglican church, with Melbourne of course, leading the way.

²⁴ One of the CCM Co-Ordinator's observations of the period was the relative lack of trained overseas missionaries, deployed back on the Sydney home-front, especially women. This became apparent after the CCM Co-Ordinator accepted an invitation from Mr. Peter Gorham to address the CMS Returned Missionaries Association in 1988. Cited in Minimal Report of CCM Co-Ordinator Soulos, "Half-Yearly Report-Documents R."

²⁵ Archdeacon Huard's thesis confirms the entrenched ES ethnocentrism in some of the attitudes of the clergy, particularly in his study of the Anglican Churches of the Petersham deanery, Sydney Diocese. Huard, "The Phoenix of Petersham," 82.

Indigenous for the first time in Australia's history. The first Mabo case found against the State of Queensland on the grounds that its legislation was contrary to the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* (one of the last laws written under the Whitlam government), which in effect overrode Queensland State Law.²⁶ The final outcome *Mabo vs Queensland (No.2)* was pronounced only months after the death of Eddie Mabo. The 1992 decision of the High Court effectively rejected the doctrine of 'terra nullius'²⁷ (that there was no prior ownership of the land before the arrival of the British) and ruled in favour of the Indigenous.²⁸ The Keating Government in response to the judgment enacted the Native Title Act, (1993) (NTA) that recognised in law the 'continuing connection' of the Indigenous to their land and waters.²⁹ The NTA established the National Native Title Tribunal to make native title determinations in the first instance, appealable to Australia's Federal Court and thereafter the High Court.³⁰ This established the process and safeguards for pending and future claims. The effect of the Indigenous struggle for recognition of prior ownership of their land, it is here argued, belonged with the struggle that accompanied the effect of NESB migration to Australia. Ethnic minorities were struggling to be heard (within and without the church) as structural inequalities needed to be addressed.³¹

Prime Minister Keating's 'Redfern Speech' (10 December 1992) is considered to be one of the most memorable speeches in Australian history, launching for Australia the UN Year of the Indigenous Peoples (1993). His landmark speech publicly acknowledged the historical actions towards the Indigenous by 'the conquerors', re-defining a post-colonial narrative and national identity³²: 'We

²⁶ See par. 2 of Decision "Mabo v Queensland (No. 1) ", in *166 CLR 186*, ed. High Court of Australia (1989).

²⁷ See under heading: 1992: Native Title - 'Mabo' decision, "A Timeline History of Multicultural Australia," <http://forum.migrationhelp.com.au/showthread.php?t=569>.

²⁸ "Mabo v Queensland (No 2) ("Mabo case") ", in *HCA 23; (1992) 175 CLR 1* ed. High Court of Australia (1992).

²⁹ See under heading: 1993: Native Title Act, "A Timeline History of Multicultural Australia".

³⁰ See "Timeline," NSW Government, Education and Communities <http://www.racismnoway.com.au/about-racism/timeline/index-1900s.html>.

³¹ It is noteworthy that the Reconciliation movement begins momentum with the churches, Tom Mayne, "Reconciliation gains momentum," *Southern Cross, newspaper of the Sydney Diocese* 1997, 1, 3.

³² Miley, *The suicidal church : can the Anglican Church be saved?*, 87.

committed the murders. We took the children from their mothers. We practised discrimination and exclusion. It was our ignorance and our prejudice.'³³

Keating also began a re-definition of Australia's identity with the future of Australia being geo-economically tied to Asia. He defined a changed and challenging Australian identity which was more 'cosmopolitan, multiracial and multicultural', and that Australians should make a point of presenting themselves 'as we are' in our Asian region, not 'with the ghost of Empire about us. Not as a vicar of Europe, or as a US deputy'.³⁴ In re-defining the identity of Australia within the Asia-Pacific region, Keating argued that Australia had been effectively left to 'defend itself' with the fall of Singapore, 1942, by the British Empire, as it was now 'every man for himself'. He considered the battle for Australia was effectively left to the Australian 'diggers' with the invaluable help of the Indigenous 'fuzzy-wuzzy angels' helping to stop the Japanese advance towards Australia in the battle of Kokoda, in the jungles of New Guinea immediately to Australia's north.³⁵ This was contrary to the defining, failed WWI, ANZAC Gallipoli campaign, and the ensuing constructed identity of 'nation-building' for Australia still tied to its British apron strings.

For Prime Minister Keating, engaging more fully with Asia would signify a definitive break from the conservative Menzies period which 'sank a generation of Australians in Anglophilia and stupor'.³⁶ He spoke of the presence within the Australian psyche of the upholding of a certain myth, or even 'a lie': 'The myth of the monoculture. The lie that we can retreat to it.'³⁷ He contested the assumed myth of white hegemony and white homogeneity, which was alive and well as part of the ruling, discourse of

³³ Paul (Prime Minister) Keating "'Opportunity and care, dignity and hope', also known as 'the Redfern Speech'," in *(Audio)*, ed. National Archives of Australia (1992, December 10).

³⁴ P Keating, "'Asia-Australia Institute Address'," in *Advancing Australia: The Speeches of Paul Keating, Prime Minister*, ed. N Ryan (Cremorne Point, NSW: Big Picture Publications, 1992, April 7), 190.

³⁵ For P. Keating's discussion of the period see televised episode Kerry O'Brien and Ben Hawke, "Keating: The Interviews,

Series 1- Episode 4," ABC Youtube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yt3ttTViO3I>., see also Prime Minister Paul Keating, "Parliamentary Debates, ," ed. House of Representatives (Hansard: Commonwealth of Australia, 1992, 27 February).

³⁶ Keating, "'Asia-Australia Institute Address'," 188-89.

³⁷ P.J Keating, "For the New Australia" (The University of New South Wales, Kensington, 1996, 11 November), 6.

the white 'imagined community'³⁸. This in effect was coupled with the constructed 'national imaginary' of whiteness: the legacy of 'the White Australia Policy'.³⁹

Here Keating was unable to unshackle himself from the continuing backlash of those impelling the discourse of 'White Australia'. He bemoaned "the death throes of which we are apparently still experiencing"⁴⁰.

The Australian sub-conscious 'ruling narrative' of keeping Australia 'white' was reinforced by its corollary – the instinct for exclusion. For many Australians it was irrevocably tattooed in the collective imagination of those who identified as 'white' and held the self-substantiating myth of an Australian homogeneous society. Despite the Whitlam government (1972-75) having 'officially abolished' the policy, legacy of 'white' privilege and of presumed historic entitlement remained. Indeed, in more recent (2015) interviews Keating continues his passionate direction for Australia:

He we are ... this massive place ... now aligned to the fastest growing part of the world [Asia] ...
Our biggest issue, the biggest issue facing Australia today, is a psychological one.

Do we want to be in it? Do we really want to be in it? ...

And we have to be in it! ⁴¹

Keating also brought in the Race Hatred Act (1995)⁴², further strengthening the Racial Discrimination Act. But even Keating had to submit to harsh monocultural realities: his government introduced

³⁸ Concept first coined by Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*

³⁹ For a more detailed discussion of these themes see *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society* Ghassan Hage, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society*. (Annandale: Pluto Press, 1998).

⁴⁰ Keating, "For the New Australia," 3.

⁴¹ O'Brien and Hawke, "Keating: The Interviews,

Series 1- Episode 4", for other references see PJ Keating, "A Prospect of Europe," *Annual Robert Schuman Lecture, Sydney* 9 (1997): 9., P Keating, *Australia, Asia and the New Regionalism* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1996), Lecture.,

⁴² These were amendments further strengthening the Racial Discrimination Act in the form of additions see Sections:18 B, C, D, E and F, in "Racial Hatred Act," in *No. 101, 1995 - SECT 3* (1995)., Tim Soutphommasane, Australia's Race Discrimination Commissioner,, "A Brave Piece of Legislation': The Racial Discrimination Act, 40 Years On," <http://www.abc.net.au/religion/articles/2015/02/23/4185177.htm>.

mandatory detention for asylum seekers, including that of children. The *Migration Amendment Act 1992*, with bi-partisan support, came into effect in September 1994 once again with bi-partisan support, and made the 'unlawful non-citizens' liable for their debts whilst in detention.⁴³ It also did not help that Keating was perceived as 'the Brawler Statesman': his government was to pay a heavy price for his perceived arrogance as Prime Minister and electoral dissatisfaction with his re-definition of what constituted 'the big picture' policies amid pandering to the "Ethnic lobby" and its multicultural industry,⁴⁴ and for igniting what became known as the 'republic debate' in Australian politics. Keating's range of new commitments was too much for traditional Anglicans. B. Fletcher notes: 'as polls in January 1998 revealed, Anglicans supported the constitutional monarchy more strongly than did other denominations in the community.'⁴⁵ Keating's advocacy of a republic threatened the support he might have won for a more multicultural Australia, which was not in the best interests of the Anglican church's future. Concerning Australian Anglicanism, C. Miley expressed the opinion that:

The church cannot hope to attract people of diverse backgrounds while it is so dominantly composed of one ethnic grouping, which may still have unreconstructed colonialist ideas lurking not very far below the surface'.⁴⁶

No prophet is accepted in his own country⁴⁷

The secular multicultural policies and re-definition of a 'multi-cultural' identity had outrun and outflanked the predominantly 'Anglo-Australian'⁴⁸ loyal heirs of the Sydney Anglican Diocese. Yet a

⁴³ See exposition and application of this law in: Joint Standing Committee on Migration, *Immigration detention in Australia: a new beginning: criteria for release from detention*, op. cit., pp. 112–118. Note: In practice, recovery of these debts was usually not pursued, with less than 2.5 per cent recovered between 2004–05 and 2008 before the policy was abolished by the Rudd Government. Cited from: Janet Phillips and Harriet Spinks, "Why was mandatory detention introduced?," Hansard, http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/BN/2012-2013/Detention#_ftnref30.

⁴⁴ Jim Chalmers, "Brawler statesman: Paul Keating and prime ministerial leadership in Australia" (ANU, 2013), 6.

⁴⁵ See B. H Fletcher, "Anglicanism and the shaping of Australian Society," in *Anglicanism in Australia: A History*, ed. Bruce Kaye, et al. (Carlton South, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2002), 313., cited from Southern Cross, , *Southern Cross* 1997 December-1998 January 1.

⁴⁶ Miley, *The suicidal church : can the Anglican Church be saved?*, 87.

⁴⁷ (Luke 4:24) NIV

greater multicultural/social justice vision for the Sydney diocese had emerged and would be tested in the crucible of the voting synod for the election of a new Archbishop.

Donald Robinson's term of Archbishop had come to an end. The time had come for the election of a new Sydney Archbishop. In 1993 Bishop John Reid became the Interregnum/Administrator before the new election. The run for Archbishop of Phillip Jensen (chaplain University of NSW, rector of St. Matthias, Paddington) was "seen as a power-play of very significant proportions, [as] leader of a newly convened Reformed Evangelical Protestant Association (REPA)".⁴⁹ A more unlikely Anglican candidate had never emerged from Sydney's clerical ranks, hoping to make it from University Chaplain to Archbishop in one go. He had spent his many years in the Centennial Park parish preaching at their 'meetings' (his preferred term for Anglican worship services) with his 'anti-establishment' views, echoing former Principal D. B. Knox's distrust of the hierarchy (particularly bishops).⁵⁰ The national Anglican newspaper, *Church Scene* (19 March, 1993) quoted Jensen from his own audio taped sermon as follows:

Don't wait for the bishop to send you a curate. The bishop will only send you a nong. Won't send you a good man, he doesn't want to build your work up, he wants to spread the manure far and abroad, not gather it in any place that will cause a smell in the diocese.⁵¹

St. Matthias, Centennial Park, supplied 20-30% of the ordinands to Moore College,⁵² and they were infected with Jensen's anti-establishment views. He was known for his caustic condemnation of social welfare activity as no part of the gospel, yet in the campaign to have him elected, he put a positive construction on the role of HMS:

⁴⁸ The term is used following the conceptual framework from, J. Jupp *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration*

3. describes the term 'Anglo-Australian' as:

The bare majority who are of third or earlier generations ... overwhelmingly derived from the British Isles and speaks only English.

⁴⁹ "A polarized Sydney prepares to elect an archbishop," *Church Scene, a national Anglican newspaper* 1993, March 19, 2.

⁵⁰ See Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, word and world*, 188.

⁵¹ "A polarized Sydney prepares to elect an archbishop," 2.

⁵² Ibid, (1993, p.2)

Mr Jensen ... has been appreciative of the role of social welfare in the diocese, with the understanding that the Home Mission Society brings expertise to bear in pastoral situations which ordinary parish clergy cannot hope to have.⁵³

Yet during the Campus/Sunday ministry at St. Matthias, Centennial Park and in the church-planting initiative of the Greek Bible Fellowship, the CCM Co-Ordinator as a regular member for over 5 years in both congregations was instructed that there would be *no* HMS material on view, or distributed in these congregations, ensuring that there would be no prayer from the congregations for those on the HMS front-lines.⁵⁴

The St. Matthias ministry was geographically located in the Southern region under the oversight of Bishop Reid. His relationship with Jensen was strained at best, as the latter was addicted to 'stretching-the-rules'.⁵⁵ Reid, prior to the 1993 election, was the only Bishop at the time who responded with a public editorial addressing the machinations of REPA.⁵⁶ The timing of the emergence of REPA was not coincidental, given that the election for Archbishop was fast approaching. Jensen's supporters argued that Sydney's Reformed Protestant Evangelical heritage was 'particularly under threat' at that time. Bishop Reid was known to sympathise with minorities and causes unpopular with the conservatives, including the ordination of women, ministry amongst homosexuals, greater involvement of the church in current affairs, and ministry to NES. Any ministry tempered *with* the inclusion of a social justice agenda was apparently unsound.

⁵³ R. Mason and G Davis, "Sydney's other runners " *Church Scene, a national Anglican newspaper* 1993, March 19, 18.

⁵⁴ The CCM Co-Ordinator despite being a regular attender in the Greek Bible Fellowship (GBF), her role within HMS was never acknowledged publicly or even prayed for by this congregation over this time-frame, despite aiding ministry amongst 2nd generation Greek students as well as one of the few fluent Modern Greek speakers in the congregation who could converse with the Greek-speaking parents who would often collect the students of an evening from 'church' in the Chaplaincy hut (UNSW).

⁵⁵ The Rev Phillip D. Jensen stayed as Chaplain to the University of NSW (1978-2003), whilst under the authority of Bishop Reid and did not move from his position until his prestigious appointment as Dean of St. Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney subsequently to his brother Peter F. Jensen becoming Archbishop (2003-14). *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, (Sydney Square: Diocesan Registry, 2013/2014), 208.

⁵⁶ J. R Reid, "Bishop Writes: Partnership: A better way," *Southern Cross: the magazine of the Diocese of Sydney* 1992, September, 8-9.

All the while the diocese in the 1990s was in the grip of the 'church growth'⁵⁷ movement aspiring to grow churches,⁵⁸ ideally mega-churches. Another candidate in the race for Archbishop was the relatively under-stated and under-estimated Bishop Richard Henry 'Harry' Goodhew, Bishop of Wollongong (1982-1993). It was written of him under the heading:

Mr Nice Guy: 'too soft'?

Dr Stuart Piggin would prefer to see the emphasis taken off Phillip Jensen. Dr Piggin, master of Robert Menzies College, sees Bishop Goodhew as a candidate ... In the years he has been Bishop of Wollongong he has shown he is more effective than the hard-nosed evangelical".⁵⁹

Goodhew oversaw the Committee that brought to Sydney's Darling Harbour Convention Centre the Rev Bill Hybels from 'mega-church' Willow Creek Community Church, South Barrington, Illinois, USA.⁶⁰ Bishop Goodhew and the devotees of the Sydney Church growth movement believed much could be learned from this phenomenon. Goodhew was clearly loved by his parishioners in the Illawarra, as a caring pastor who preferred to work gently building consensus rather than assert his authority.

⁵⁷ It is indeed interesting that Bishop John Reid, (Chairman) and Canon John Chapman (Secretary), the Committee included: Miss M. Correy (Parish Community Worker, Manly), Mrs. M. Gabbott, the Reverends Phillip Jensen, E. Vaughn, L. Stoddart, L. Vitnell, the Right Rev D. Foord that produced the following synod report, "Resolution 11/88 Committee re: Church Growth Report,," in *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney* (Sydney Square: Diocesan Secretariat, 1991). A point of clarification reveals that the Committee resolve to make an important distinction between 'Church growth' and 'Gospel growth' theology see par. 19, page 376 of the report.

⁵⁸ The church growth movement was led by McGavran; McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth* ; McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth ; Effective Evangelism* (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing 1988); *The Bridges of God* (New York: Friendship Press, 1955)., for a historical overview of the movement see Glasser, "Church Growth at Fuller.". The definition of a 'mega church' is: usually Protestant, where 2,000 or more people assemble for church services, see Hartford Institute for Religion Research, "Megachurch Definition," Hartford Seminary, <http://hrr.hartsem.edu/megachurch/definition.html>. It was also an aspirational Sydney Diocesan response to the exponential growth of the Pentecostal churches in Sydney, see Kaldor, *Who goes where? : who doesn't care?*.

⁵⁹ Mason and Davis, "Sydney's other runners " 18.

⁶⁰ "Sharpen your swords, says Hybels," *Southern Cross* 1992, May, 15-16., the Sydney Willow Creek Conference, was held at the prestigious Darling Harbour, 11-13 November, 1992 for all of Sydney Anglican Clergy and lay ministers. It was at this same Conference, in question time open from the floor to the Rev Hybels the CCM Co-Ordinator asked him: If he has one of the largest churches in the world, "why weren't there any people of colour, in his ministry team that he had brought with him to Australia for the Conference?"

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"'Building a church for the unchurched'." Southern Cross, 1992, July, 28.

In contrast, Reid's response to REPA says much about his approach to ministry:

Another REPA paper is on church growth. I wonder whether the author of this paper recognises that a pre-occupation with church growth can be ungodly? Perhaps the difficulty arises that most of the REPA pastors and founders come from middle-class parishes. I happen to have the privilege of serving with clergy and laity where church growth is slow. Two active student congregations are in the Southern region, but they are specialist congregations and not typical. I am full of admiration for the way laity and clergy in my region tackle the tough assignment of witness and service.⁶¹

The election primarily faced off with Jensen, one of the most successful 'entrepreneurs' of student ministries including their 8 congregations,⁶² versus Bishop Reid. The Bishop was in fact following the

⁶¹ Reid, "Bishop Writes: Partnership: A better way," 9.

⁶² See Church Scene, *Church Scene, a national Anglican newspaper* 1994, July 15, 20.

late Dr Penman's example in that he was recognised as a "well-informed missionary statesman".⁶³ Reid already held international leadership positions, including International Chairman from 1992 of the Evangelical Fellowship of the Anglican Communion (EFAC); Deputy Chairman since 1981 of the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization (LCWE), Chairman of its Theology Working Group, and International Chairman of the missionary organization Interserve, formerly the Bible & Medical Missionary Fellowship.⁶⁴

Reid was both Chairman of the HMS Council and Chairman of the Social Issues Committee for over 10 years. It was written of him, "he has enormous international status surpassing that of any Sydney Bishop in living memory. He has played the Lieutenant's role to the two Archbishops [Loane and Robinson] someone said at the time 'he played Timothy to Archbishop Loane's Paul'. He knows the system in Sydney better than any of the possible candidates".⁶⁵

In his 1993 address to the Sydney Synod prior to the vote deciding the next Archbishop, Reid gave an invaluable diagnosis of diocesan pathology. His future now riding on this election, it was effectively his last stand. The following excerpts from his speech give a window into the vision he had for the diocese, for the DCCM in particular, and for the role of NES ministries. He began by making the historical role of the Sydney Church of England Mission to the Chinese, headed by the Rev Soo Hoo Ten (1848-1934),⁶⁶ front and centre as a lesson on mission.⁶⁷ It was a lesson in reproach, at what would be interpreted as 'missing the wood for the trees', in terms of mission opportunities. The Chinese, though one of Australia's historically despised 'ethnic' minorities, were a significant presence at the heart of inner-city Sydney. The following long excerpt addressed criticism of the supposed 'splurging' on the funding of NES ministries, particularly through HMS:

⁶³ Lawrence Bartlett, "One wise man," *ibid.* 1993, June 25, 8.

⁶⁴ "International Role for Sydney Bishop," *Southern Cross: the magazine of the Diocese of Sydney* 1992, April, 22-23.

⁶⁵ "Sydney's See election nominations close March 8, 1993," *Church Scene, a national Anglican newspaper* 1993, February 26, 1.

⁶⁶ Forthcoming published paper on the work of the Rev Soo Hoo Ten, by same author of this thesis

⁶⁷ The Sydney Mission coincides with Australia's first national law inaugurated in the newly federated national parliament-the *Immigration Restriction Act, 1901*, colloquially known as the White Australia Policy for the next seventy years. The aim was to severely curtail 'the yellow hordes' as they were known from entering Australia. For more information regarding the historical effect of the law on the Chinese see Shirley Fitzgerald, *Red Tape Gold Scissors: The Story of Sydney's Chinese*, vol. Second Edition (Sydney: Halstead Press, 2008).

The Chinese Mission in the Diocese of Sydney suffered from 2 difficulties:

(a) The financial resources were inadequate. Only 60% of the money required was provided each year.

(b) The leadership was complicated by tensions between CMS and ABM. There was a frequent succession of Superintendents - 7 of them between 1905 and 1922 ...

It was said that *local parishes were able to minister to the Chinese living within their borders* and the Chinese Anglican Mission in Wexford Street closed. However, we should note that on the opposite street corner in Wexford Street was the Chinese Presbyterian Church. *This church did not have a Chinese catechist licensed to an Anglo-Saxon superintendent, but a Chinese minister.* They suffered the same vicissitudes through the lack of migration. When Wexford Street [St. Luke's, Church of England, Chinese church] was demolished in a slum clearance programme, the Presbyterians relocated finally in Crown Street. They have an unbroken history, and today are one of the largest and most vigorous Presbyterian churches in Australia. *The Anglicans did not take risks and did not allow the Chinese ministry to take root in the Sydney soil.* ⁶⁸[Italics my own]

... 20 years ago we had no significant multicultural ministry in the Diocese. Today we have a sizeable multicultural ministry with the formation of local congregations - Aboriginal ministry with Pastor Bill Bird, Maori ministry with the Reverend Jim Tahere, Italian ministry with the Reverend Luciano Ricci and the Reverend Rocco Scarcella, Maltese ministry with the Reverend Ray Galea, Vietnamese ministry with the Reverend Quang Vinh Pham, Chinese ministry with the Reverend Albert Leung, the Reverend Ernest Chau and the Reverend Joseph Thiem, Turkish ministry with the Reverend Erol Ozer, Arabic ministry with Mr. Abdallah Bahri, the South Indian ministry with the Reverend Dr Abraham Kuruvilla and the Iranian ministry with the Reverend Khalil Razmara. There are 19 ethnic groups in the congregation at Campsie.⁶⁹

Further, using statistics from the National Church Life Survey (NCLS) comparing 1986 and 1991 data, he explained the growth of NESB in the diocese and the accompanying necessary 'multicultural' paradigm-shift:

⁶⁸ John R Reid, "Presidential Address: given by the Administrator of the Diocese at the Request of the President," in *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney* (Sydney Square: Diocesan Secretariat, 1994), 257.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 257-58.

This ministry represents a very impressive development and is enriched by small ethnic groups like Spanish Bible Fellowships which meet under the care of our clergy. In addition, there is the imaginative ministry of many parishes in teaching English to migrant groups. *In 1986, 4% of those who attended our Sydney Anglican churches had been born in a non-English speaking country. By 1991 this had increased to 7%. This means that in the last 5 years, there is a significant trend, with 60% of the 7% having come into our congregations in the last 5 years.* [Italics my own]⁷⁰

The statistic is significant, from 4% to 7% NES growth. The period 1987 to 1991, when the first NCLS survey was conducted, spans 4 years and corresponds with the inception and work of the DCCM under the eagle eye of Bishop Reid. Cross-cultural ministry was his passion. For those on the NESB 'ethnic' margins of Sydney who were historically ignored, the vision was to bring them into an authentic Christian caring community of believers. The message of love, hope and forgiveness would not merely be for those from the influential middle and upper classes and for those who were literate (i.e. could read and understand the Anglican Prayerbook in English). Reid continued his election synod address:

It is noteworthy from the National Church Life Survey that they [NESB church members] indicated a very high sense of belonging and being valued in our churches. You should note that these statistics do not include the congregations where they, at this stage, could not have completed a survey form in English. Parishes, HMS, MADCOM, the Inner City Committee and the Synod have spent a significant amount of money on ethnic ministry and it has borne fruit.

All this is a matter of great encouragement. Yet, multiculturalism has within itself the biggest challenge to the faith of our Diocese.⁷¹

The Rev Lawrence Bartlett wrote of Reid: 'He would stand valiantly for ministry amongst the powerless. He was their voice. Although ministry to ethnic minorities was unpredictable and uneconomic, he pursued their cause.'⁷²

⁷⁰ Ibid, (1994, p. 258), this was also noted in P Kaldor, Bellamy, J, Powell, R, Correy, M, Castle, K, *Winds of Change: the experience of church in a changing Australia* (Homebush West, NSW: Anzea 1994). The dedication to this tome acknowledges:

John Reid, a man with a heart for effective mission in this country and beyond, who has been an important mentor to the NCLS and its staff.

⁷¹ Reid, "Presidential Address: given by the Administrator of the Diocese at the Request of the President," 258.



Alison and Bishop John Reid, *Southern Cross: the magazine of the Diocese of Sydney*, 1992, September, 8.

In allowing 'many flowers to bloom', the diocese had enabled a creature of inordinate discontent to grow (REPA and its choice of candidate), de-stabilizing and ultimately taking down both Jensen and Reid. Too much mud had been flung, some of it wittingly, and had stuck. It is often said that Australia suffers from relentlessly 'cutting down its tall poppies'. Both Jensen (the protégé of the late the Rev Canon John Chapman, who was emeritus vice-president of ACL) and Bishop Reid did not obtain the majority of votes to go onto the next stage of the process, in effect cancelling him and Jensen out - preventing either from standing.⁷³ So ended this most bitter and polarized of political contests.

⁷² Bartlett, "One wise man," 9.

⁷³ For a more comprehensive and intriguing analysis of the political machinations of the Sydney election see McGillion, *The chosen ones : the politics of salvation in the Anglican Church*, 36-70.



*Bishop John Reid of South Sydney confirms members at St John's Anglican Church, Campsie.*⁷⁴ (Permission granted from publisher for use of photograph, taken by Jones, Quentin. "Bishop John Reid of South Sydney confirms members of his parish at St John's Anglican Church, Campsie." front-page *Sydney Morning Herald*, Sydney: Fairfax, 1993, 12 July

In 1982 Reid had been outvoted for the position of Archbishop of Sydney by Donald Robinson.

Then in 1990, though Penman's friend ('My dear John'),⁷⁵ Reid later lost out once again in the election race for Archbishop in the Diocese of Melbourne after Penman's untimely death, 1989.⁷⁶ After a year's vacancy, the Melbourne Archbishop's position was filled by the Rev Dr Keith Rayner⁷⁷ former Archbishop of Adelaide (1975-1990). The evangelical forces in the Melbourne Diocese, like those in

⁷⁴ John Woo is on the back row (left), Bishop John Reid back row, (right). The Sydney Anglican confirmees from Campsie parish are at the forefront.

⁷⁵ This particular form of greeting from Archbishop Penman, signaled a close friendship with Bishop Reid. See personal correspondence, Archbishop Penman, writing to Reid in his capacity as Chairman, General Synod International Affairs Commission, 26 August 1988, (Whitham Archive, CCM file, Anglicare).

⁷⁶ For a brief account see I. Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches* (Allen & Unwin, 1993), 214.

Sydney had now lost a second leader after Penman's cross-cultural heart. Even though the Sydney candidate (Reid) that had lost to Rayner, had a proven record of cross-cultural ministry at home and a leading player on the world mission stage through the Lausanne movement for World Evangelization.

During the October 1994 Melbourne Synod, a remarkably unrestrained Jim Houston declared: 'Almost none of the 90-odd recommendations in *A Garden of Many Colours* report, the 1985 definitive resource on Multicultural Ministry in Melbourne, have been implemented.'⁷⁸ The comparison was there being made between their current Archbishop, Keith Rayner, who had been in the job 4 years,⁷⁹ with the brief incumbency (5 years) of Penman. The same newspaper article cited from the 1994 Melbourne Synod stated "an amendment seeking increased funding from the 1995 [CCM] budget was disallowed". This was despite Houston's completed Review of Multicultural Ministry and Mission for the Melbourne Diocese at the behest of Archbishop Rayner, entitled *Seeds Blowing in the Wind*. On a part-time diocesan stipend, Houston toiled on, continuing as Director, CCM Melbourne Diocese, taking his calling extremely seriously, yet working in a full-time capacity and privately, self-funding the printing of the 1994 Review in book form.⁸⁰ The Melbourne department was now far away from the initial structure which Penman had created, under-resourced and under-funded. Sydney's DCCM in contrast had 5 full-time positions (Director, Co-Ordinator, Evangelist to the Chinese, Diocesan ESL Advisor, CCM Trainer) who were part of the Sydney DCCM, and who were supported apart from the CCM grants distributed through HMS.⁸¹ Houston's role as Director of the newly-named Cross-cultural Ministries (formerly Multicultural Ministry under Penman) was 're-structured' and placed under the oversight of the Director of a new department, Diocesan Services, set in the newly re-furbished St. Paul's Cathedral buildings⁸² and headed by Archdeacon Howard Dillon.⁸³ The Archdeacon came to the

⁷⁸ "Multicultural Ministry Essential," *See, the monthly newspaper of the Anglican Dioceses of Melbourne and Bendigo* 1994, November, 5.

⁷⁹ Archbishop Keith Rayner was Archbishop of Melbourne and also Primate of Australia (1990-1999)

⁸⁰ Interview conducted in Sydney for this thesis. See James Houston, "Interview with Rev. Jim Houston," (2015, June 12).

⁸¹ The comparison between Sydney's CCM budget and Melbourne's tokenistic funding of their CCM work is demonstrated an entire chapter on the matter, see Houston, *Seeds Blowing in the Wind: Review of Multicultural Ministry and Mission, Diocese of Melbourne Anglican Church of Australia*.

⁸² Archdeacon Dillon facilitated refurbishment costs approved by the Diocesan Council at \$600,000 'whilst the remainder of costs would be met by the Cathedral chapter'. H. Dillon organises the various agencies in the new Division, (previously in 5 different locations to be all in one place, the Cathedral buildings. "Major upgrade for Cathedral buildings," *See, the journal of the Anglican Church in the Dioceses of Melbourne and Bendigo* 1994, November, 1.

position having been previously Director of the Mission of St. James and St. John (1987-1993).⁸⁴ He did not appear to be overly bothered by the truncated state of multicultural mission, church-planting, and NES evangelism in the diocese of Melbourne in spite of Houston's damning 1994 tome, chronicling 'window-dressing' and inaction. Archdeacon Dillon attended Houston's 1993 Consultation at Glen Iris (that formed part of the Review), which included the Sydney CCM Co-Ordinator's address to the Melbourne Diocese titled: "Can the Garden of Many Colours Bloom?", signalling the ever present consequences of retrenchment and the tragic comparison between support for traditional parishes and the paucity of support for cross-cultural ministries.⁸⁵

Sydney's Southern Region was the major beneficiary of the new NESB church-planting ministries.⁸⁶ Reid took great strides in Sydney and oversaw the 'creative work' of what became the nationally unrivalled Sydney Anglican DCCM.⁸⁷ The Bishop believed that this was the area the denomination would need to commit resources. Despite Melbourne's department created 3 years earlier under Penman (1984), Jim Houston in the Review, noted that little if anything had been achieved. His

⁸³ Archdeacon Howard Dillon was head of Diocesan Services, (1993-96), is credited with 'stream-lining' the management structure of the Diocese from 5 divisions reducing it to two. i.e. Administrative and Diocesan services, the latter being under his oversight. "Vision will be missed," *The Melbourne Anglican* 1996, February, 5. The following article clarifies Archdeacon Dillon's role in the mergers with reduced personnel on single and half-stipend positions, such as:

Community care ... ministry with children and families, evangelism and church growth, education and multicultural ministry were re-structured under one division", Diocesan services. "Diocese to re-shape," *See, the journal of the Anglican Church in the Dioceses of Melbourne and Bendigo* 1993, August, 1; *ibid*.

⁸⁴ "Mission of St. James and St. John," *See, the journal of the Anglican Church in the Dioceses of Melbourne and Bendigo* 1993, March 9.

⁸⁵ It is worth noting the Rev Khalil Razmara's (minister to Melbourne's Iranian congregation) comments regarding NES church planting in Melbourne Diocese. He said "he would like to see the diocese support ethnic churches as they support ordinary congregations. We would like to be the same as them". "Consultation at Glen Iris," *Church Scene, a national Anglican newspaper* 1993, August 13, 2.

⁸⁶ See HMS, CCM funded initiatives in previous chapter.

⁸⁷ The Co-Ordinator CCM took part in the Review of Multicultural Ministry, Melbourne (at Archbishop Rayner's request). The description of the Sydney CCM ministry made over 1 full page in the national Anglican newspaper, *Church Scene* directly after the Melbourne Consultation. The first article describing the scope of the CCM work, see Mersina Soulos, "Discovering one's neighbours," *Church Scene, a national Anglican newspaper* 1993, August 13, 5-6. The second article described Sydney Anglican youth ministry to youth of NESB, see Reita Mason, "The shadow ministry-cross-cultural youth," *Church Scene, a national Anglican paper* 1994, April 22, 2.

disappointment in 1994 was no doubt compounded by the demise of Reid the previous year in the Sydney election synod.⁸⁸

Bishop John Reid was the example *par excellence* of the Sydney radical minority evangelical tradition, the evangelical 'father of Cross-Cultural Ministries' in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney, at least in the modern era. He trod in the footsteps of Sydney's clerical few who bravely reconciled their evangelicalism with their social welfare/responsibility, most famously F. B. 'Bertie' Boyce (1844–1931), and his protégé R.B.S. 'Bob' Hammond (1870-1946). The latter 'great ones' of Sydney, however, unlike John Reid, did not attain the office of bishop.⁸⁹

Confusion: the church and the provision of welfare

In March 1993, shortly before the election of a new Archbishop, the National Anglican Caring Organisations Network (NACON) in Adelaide (under the auspices of the Social Responsibilities Commission of General Synod, Anglican Church of Australia) highlighted the ongoing problem between church, theology and social welfare. Bishop Michael Challen, Executive Director of the Brotherhood of St. Laurence (1991-99) Anglican Diocese of Melbourne, in an address titled *NACON and the Church*, highlighted the current tensions:

The church is confused about its relationship with people, the community and community services. Once the church provided the services. Now it is the government, and the easy way is for the church to withdraw and be "spiritual", leading to a fundamental theological problem. We need to ask the question - what is God's attitude to the world? We need to have the same attitude as Jesus who affirmed people and existence.

⁸⁸ For the official tally and publicly named supporters of the Candidates for the 1993 election for Sydney Archbishop, see "Archbishop of Sydney Appointment Synod Summary," in *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney* (Sydney Square: Diocesan Registry, 1994), 264-9; *ibid*.

⁸⁹ Reid makes references to them in his Interregnum speech shortly before the 1993, Sydney Archbishop election. Bringing in the social responsibility agenda he notes:

There have been great individuals who stirred the life of the Diocese, like R.B.S. Hammond and F.B. Boyce. The Synod hall was packed to the doors when it was known that Hammond was to speak, for there was none to equal him. Boyce and Hammond packed Martin Place in their day on a temperance platform. I think I can say that in every generation of this Diocese there has been widespread support by ordinary Anglican Christians for a practical, sacrificial and godly involvement in the great justice issues of their day. John R Reid, "Presidential Address: given by the Administrator of the Diocese at the Request of the President," *ibid*. (Diocesan Secretariat), 254.

The situation is reinforced by facts - agencies are now separately incorporated and many have become divorced from the Dioceses and parishes which gave them birth.⁹⁰

Bishop Challen's article highlighted the local parish's disengagement from the welfare needs of the poor. Aspects of social welfare need to be overseen by professional agencies, hence the professionalization of welfare. However, the hiving off of *all* ministry to professional agencies, does not address the alienation within society and the need for 'connectedness' or in sociological terms 'solidarity', a need for 'belonging' in a restorative community such as the local church. In other words, the Christian community development paradigm contemporaneously appears to be lost from the agenda of the parish churches. Its absence is especially observable in Sydney's most conservative monocultural Anglican churches.



Cited from:

Eaton, Cathy, Liz Henigan, and Peter Lawrence. "Parish Community Work-Equipping Churches for the 90's." *CARE incorporating PULSE*, 1989, 21 November, 3.

When considering cultures highly 'resistant' to Sydney's conservative form of evangelical Christianity, the Rev David Claydon, Federal Secretary of CMS, spoke in 1995 of a 3-fold strategy of CMS to reach peoples of the Middle East. He outlined incarnational, as well as community development strategies for ministry in the Middle East, only too aware that the same was now required in multicultural Australia:

⁹⁰ Myfanwy Bosanquet, "Organisation and training for 'welfare' and parish work " (paper presented at the 8th National NACON Conference, St. Mark's College, Adelaide, 1993, February 18-19), 11.

- i. Providing personnel for organisations like Middle East Media who are using videos and printed media to reach to Muslims.
- ii. Placing people in institutions like hospitals, schools and churches.
- iii. Sending experienced missionaries to live amongst local people in a Christian way and to open up their lives to others so that they can see how the Lord Jesus has made a difference to them.

He further adds:

These strategies need much prayer support if the gospel is going to make headway in countries which are strongly prejudiced against Christian faith.⁹¹

These CMS strategies were an acknowledgement of a Christian minority working within a hostile majority culture, evidentially using the community development paradigm. This does *not have* to be the 'slippery slope of the social gospel', rather an authenticating mission activity, further engendering a propensity towards greater 'receptivity' and 'openness' within a 'prejudiced' society.

Dilemma: 'The chicken or the egg'

Though the HMS tradition within the Sydney Diocese since 1856, (i.e. for over 150 years) carefully trod the tight-rope of evangelism and social action/programmes, the relationship between evangelism and 'social action' remains problematic. Missiologists such as D. Bosch state that this is "one of the thorniest areas in theology and practice of mission today".⁹² Yet a cursory glance at the history of Christian missions reveals that they built the first hospitals, schools, orphanages⁹³ in what would be considered today a Christian community development tradition. The remarkably influential American evangelist Billy Graham explains: "evangelism and the salvation of souls is the vital [primary] mission

⁹¹ D Watkins, "A spiritual smorgasbord," *Church Scene, a national Anglican newspaper* 1995, January 27, 8.

⁹² David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1991), 401.

⁹³ For an Australian historical, religious overview see Shurlee Swain, "Welfare Work and Charitable Organisations," in *The Encyclopedia of Religion in Australia*, ed. J Jupp (Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

of the church".⁹⁴ The evangelical, R. Sider in analysing the chasm between the constructed, opposing camps of evangelism and 'social action', early in the twentieth century,⁹⁵ makes the case that:

The time has come for all biblical Christians to refuse to use the sentence: "The primary mission of the church is ... " I do not care if you complete the sentence with evangelism or social action. Either way it is unbiblical and misleading. Evangelism, social action, fellowship, teaching, worship are all fundamental parts of the mission of the church. They must not be confused with each other although they are inextricably interrelated.⁹⁶

In terms of the relationship between parish-based social programmes, evangelism, and the role of the church, John Howard Yoder states: 'The very existence of the church is her primary task. The primary social structure through which the Gospel works to change other structures is that of the Christian community.'⁹⁷

By 1993, the Department of Cross-Cultural Ministries had 25 "direct ministries" ministering to NES language groups, "including Turkish, French/Arabic, Greek, Persian, Italian, Korean, Maltese ... Mandarin, Cantonese, Hokkien, Maori, Spanish-speaking, Vietnamese and Tamil communities".⁹⁸ In these fledgling congregations the new converts needed to be nurtured within their church communities, whilst encouraged to have an outward focus for mission. How could such converts be nurtured apart from through their similar cultural/language groupings? Could the converts be accommodated through the English mainstream worship services? The answers to those questions would depend on their need for ministry in their respective 'heart languages' and on their English language proficiency. More important than either was the well-known cultural reality that the converts preferred to meet in their 'ethnic' group. This was true for the first generation migrant and even for second generation youth. In the development of HMS Cross-cultural grants, funding second

⁹⁴ Quoted from his original address to the Lausanne Congress (1974), quoted in R. J Sider, "Evangelism, Savation and Social Justice," *International Review of Mission* 64, no. 255 (1975): 251.

⁹⁵ For an extensive analysis of this period in the US see George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American culture, the shaping of Twentieth-century Evangelicalism 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1980).

⁹⁶ Quoting Michael Cassidy, "The Third Way", *International Review of Mission*, LXIII (1974), p.17, in Sider, "Evangelism, Savation and Social Justice," 265.

⁹⁷ Cited from J. H Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), 153-7. In R.J. Sider, *Good News and Good Works: A Theology for the Whole Gospel* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Publishing Group, 1999), 37.

⁹⁸ Soulos, "Discovering one's neighbours," 5.

generation NES ministry in Sydney during the nineties, was fittingly entitled in a newspaper account: "The shadow ministry - cross-cultural youth".⁹⁹

The sleeping snake one dare not disturb

On the sinister shadow of racism looming around the world, American evangelist Billy Graham confessed in 1993:

Racial and Ethnic hostility is the foremost social problem facing our world today. From the systematic horror of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia to the random violence ravaging our cities, our world seems caught up in a tidal wave of ethnic and racial tension ... Racism in the world and in the church is one of the greatest barriers to world evangelization ... Tragically too often in the past evangelical Christians have turned a blind eye to racism or have been willing to stand aside while others take the lead in racial reconciliation. (I admit I share in that blame.)¹⁰⁰

The acknowledgement of the scourge of racism would also be echoed in a speech by President Clinton during his visit to the picturesque Sydney Botanic Gardens in 1996:

[Racism] ... is the single great challenge that is keeping us from making the 21st century the era of greatest possibility in human history. And I cannot think of a better place in the entire world, a more shining example of how people can come together as one nation and one community than Sydney, Australia.¹⁰¹

If the largely evangelical Sydney Anglican denomination had been the historical beneficiary of the populations under what was effectively a 'White Australia Policy' since the colony's inception, it now could never go back to 'business as usual' because 'the business' itself had changed if one considers

⁹⁹ See Mason, "The shadow ministry-cross-cultural youth." The importance of this ministry to NESB youth cannot be under-estimated, especially given the later emergence of 'radicalised' youth in Sydney, clergy from the Bankstown deanery were already alerting the CCM Co-Ordinator to the emergence of NESB youth issues within their areas. What needs to be noted is that some inner city parishes in the 1990's, as cited in Mason's article were attempting to develop ministry to NESB youth with NESB leaders, finding once again that: 'ethnic attracts other ethnics' and there was a great need for 'belonging' and the search for identity by NESB youth. These were parish led initiatives, working with NESB youth leaders and were funded through HMS, Cross-cultural grants.

¹⁰⁰ Billy Graham, "Racism and the Evangelical Church," *Christianity Today* 1993, October 4, 27.

¹⁰¹ See "Remarks in Sydney, Australia November 21 1996," 2141. For reference to President Clinton's address praising Sydney as 'the model multicultural city' see Anne Summers, "Bush can expect a hot welcome," *Sydney Morning Herald* 2003, 15 September.

that 'demography is destiny'. Yet here was the rub, the area of anti-racism training, cross-cultural sensitization, addressing the church's problems regarding the various levels of exclusion of NESB migrants would occupy the DCCM's work, centrally as part of its agenda: private acts of compassion were not going to solve the problem. The parallel shifts were being made on a grander scale in the secular world through the evolution of Access and Equity policies that attempted to address the social inequality of access to services, particularly for those of Indigenous and NESB, endorsed and implemented by the Hawke/Keating governments. For the DCCM these strategies would be intentionally worked through the department: ESL teaching, Ethnic Workers' Forum and the funding of new NESB ministries, the ministry of CCM Trainer and Evangelist to the Chinese, for the transformation of attitudinally-based racism. If racism was the sleeping snake, then attitudes in the pews needed changing, especially if engagement became the church's goal in response to changing communities. Sydney could no longer retreat from 'the brave new world' as now more than ever the 'ethnic' mission had come home to the church's door step. The DCCM by virtue of its very existence continued to challenge prevailing attitudes and practice within and without the diocese, despite having to endure the irreplaceable loss and support of John Reid, its episcopal champion.

Chapter 8

Evangelism versus Social Welfare Responsibility: Exposing the problematic identity of Sydney Anglican evangelicals in the decade of the 1990s

The decade of the 1990s proved to be a time of rapid social change. For Sydney Anglicans it was a time of great experimentation, in both parish and deanery-wide ministries. Bishop John Reid's legacy was felt particularly in the more creative ministries in what were increasingly becoming urban multicultural areas. Sydney Diocese was to be the beneficiary of enduring experimental ministries from this period. The emergence in 1992 of the Reformed Evangelical Protestant Association (REPA) was an alternative attempt to re-define Sydney Anglicanism along more conservative lines, and rapidly mustered its forces for a 'take-over' of the Sydney Diocese.

Two former lecturers from Moore Theological College, and representing both sides of the alternative visions for the future of the diocese, returned to parish ministry. They could not have trodden more different paths. The Rev Dr John Woodhouse returned to the parish of St. Ives (1991-2002) on Sydney's leafy North Shore.¹ The characteristics of this parish included largely ESB church attenders, largely from ESB backgrounds, and consisted of one of the highest levels of professional/tertiary qualifications in the Diocese. St Ives was a stable, white collar suburb, and the parish when compared to the other Sydney regions was 'well-endowed with church property, clergy and other Christian workers. [Church] attendance rates relatively high.'²

Representing the more socially radical vision was Dr Bill Lawton. He was extravagantly compassionate and profoundly reflective, and the study of his experience and thought will be used in this chapter to bring a stronger theological perspective on the welfare ministries at the heart of this thesis. Lawton was Rector of inner-city St. John's, Darlinghurst from 1989-to 1999). He simultaneously served as chaplain of the Sydney Church of England Girls' Grammar School (SCEGGS). Theologian/Historian Lawton had been on the staff of Moore College for 32 years as Head of Church History and Dean of Students. In 1986 he gave the spell-binding 1986 Moore College lectures on the challenges to

¹ He later became Principal, Moore Theological College (2002-2013), as well as one of the REPA clergy 'colonels'.

² Uniting Church Board of Mission NSW, "Mission on our door step: the many different contexts for mission."

Christianity in secular Australia.³ At St John's, Darlinghurst, he followed the Rev John A. McKnight (1986-89), under whose ministry former Israeli nuclear technician, Mordechai Vanunu, had converted to Christianity and subsequently revealed to the world Israel's nuclear capability.⁴

This thesis recognises the Lawtons (Bill and Margaret) as those from the radical minority evangelical tradition. He formerly had been a protégé of D.B. Knox, Principal at Moore Theological College, 1959-1985,⁵ and had been lecturing in the College since his early twenties. Although enrolled at the College his personal conversion experience happened subsequently whilst a student at the same College. He later received his doctorate, examining fin de siècle Sydney evangelicalism in his thesis turned book: *The better time to be: the Kingdom of God and social reform: Anglicanism and the Diocese of Sydney, 1885 to 1914*.⁶ His experimental ministry in Darlinghurst was in the very heart of Sydney, the history of which he had previously brought to life in his thesis. Only a kilometre or so away in the adjoining parish was the St. Matthias Student ministries of Phillip Jensen, doyen of conservative evangelicals. Both parishes were under the oversight of Bishop Reid (1972-93).

For the Lawtons, their six children and congregation, St John's became the testing ground for his well-researched experiment. Previously fascinated by 'the God is Dead' movement which hoped to address secularism, Bill was now transfixed by the development of Liberation Theology, which addressed social disadvantage. He had already in teaching religious history chosen to use such paradigms as the liberation movements which spoke to his concern for the gospel and social justice.⁷ Despite teaching history at Sydney's prestigious Theological College, he believed much was to be learned from contemporary Sydney. The study of missions in the urban context was not then readily understood or

³ His lectures were subsequently turned into a book, *Being Christian, Being Australian: Contemporary Christianity Down Under*, Moore Theological College Lecture Series, *Being Christian, being Australian : contemporary Christianity down under* Moore College lectures ; 1986 (Lancer, 1988). See particularly Chapter 2: 'Mixing it with the Weird Mob', for the effect of large-scale immigration and the forming of the contemporary nation of Australia.

⁴ See Duncan Campbell, "The Guardian profile: Mordechai Vanunu " The Guardian (online), <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/apr/16/israel>.

⁵ In the Rev Dr Lawton's Interview, acknowledges D.B. Knox, as a father-figure to him and records that he owes him a great debt of gratitude in teaching and inspiring his love of the study of theology. W.J Lawton, interview by Mersina Tonys-Soulos, 2015, May 22, Audio Interview with pre-set questions. (Part 4)

⁶ W. J Lawton, *The better time to be : utopian attitudes to society among Sydney Anglicans, 1885 to 1914* (Kensington, N.S.W: New South Wales University Press, 1990).

⁷ From Rev. Dr Lawton's taped audio Interview for this thesis, Part 1.

applied to the everyday life of Sydney parishes, which, too often, either by design or ignorance generally followed an English speaking, homogeneous unit model created by and for middle-classes. His paradigm-shift acknowledged a new level of challenge to middle-class Christianity posed by post-modernism, secularization, and immigration policies resulting in culturally-pluralistic communities. He favoured the study of 'urban missiology' and the deliberate creation of more open and inclusive congregations.⁸

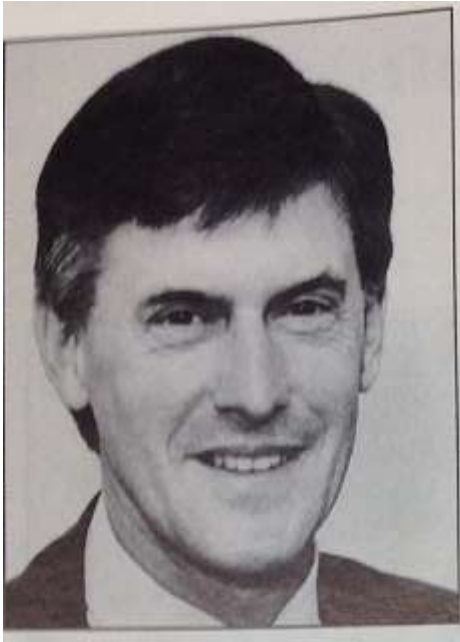
J.R.R. Tolkien's 'may it be a light to you in dark places, when all other lights go out'⁹ could be taken as applicable to the challenge Lawton faced. The immediate context – inner East Sydney - was recognised by the Lawtons as painfully raw. They observed it prayerfully and, while determined not to judge prematurely, they could not but frame their understanding of the immediate present without asking: "How did it come to this?"

Paradoxically, this needy area was now relatively gentrified, with the well-to-do living 'cheek by jowl' with the urban poor, sex-workers, the homeless, and those devoted to lives of organised crime. St. John's Darlinghurst began to address ministry to those recognised in Bill's words as "street-people". The ministry of "Rough Edges" began life as a coffee-shop, drop-in centre. It included sex-workers, "street people", including the mentally ill. From "Rough Edges" began a Thursday night service with street people. Here they wrote their own prayers and sang their especially written songs for their

⁸ For example, as presented through the former US journal *Urban Mission*. This was a formative journal (1983-1999), edited initially by Prof Roger Greenway, then Prof Harvie Conn based at Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The journal chronicled creative case-studies of urban ministry, set in the US but also with case-studies from around the world. The genius of the journal was its 'teaching by doing' content, as often the case-studies were written-up by practitioners themselves. (Academics sometimes submitted case-studies of experimental urban ministries). The deliberate focus from the practitioner's account, strengthened the writer's voice. As some greatly inspired and extremely difficult ministry was described in its pages. "The story of Precious," *Urban Mission* (1991, September): 35-49. The fundamental aim of the journal's content was in examining how experimental evangelical ministries were begun, in differing urban contexts along with their successes and failures. All who read the journal could learn from those who dared i.e. the practitioners at the grass-roots, with their successes and failures. As once again, the respective context of ministry informed theology and praxis. What would currently be termed the study of Practical Theology. For more information about the journal, and a moving tribute to the late Prof. Harvie M. Conn. See Gornik, "The Legacy of Harvie M. Conn," 213-14. For an article on Sydney Anglican CCM also published in *Urban Mission*, see Mersina Soulos, "Sydney, Cross-Cultural Ministry and the Anglicans," *Urban Mission* 11, no. 4 (1994, June): 32-36. In a similar short-lived Australian publication, see Alan Nichols, "'Not so much a programme, but a way of life' " *Australian Ministry, Quarterly Journal for Clergy and Church Leaders* 3, no. 3 (1991, August)., for NESB ministries see Gwen Coventry, "Evangelism in ethnic communities: 'See how great a flame aspires. . .'," *ibid.*; Mersina Soulos, "Evangelism in ethnic communities: Models of Cross-Cultural Ministry," *ibid.* For the problems of clergy ministering in difficult cross-cultural fields see Nichols interview with Bishop Reid, John R Reid, interview by Alan Nichols, 1989, February.

⁹ Cited from Tolkien, J.R.R., 'The Fellowship of the Ring'

worship service. Fifty or so volunteers began training from the congregation whom Bill described as “genius staff”.¹⁰ Undergirded by their fragility and giftedness, they were willing to serve, and began pouring themselves out into the local community like healing salve.



Sourced from: Stone, Kathy. "Dying to go to Church, ministering to people with AIDS," Southern Cross: the magazine of the Diocese of Sydney, 1993, September, 18

‘Bill’ as he preferred to be called, was one of Sydney’s “best and brightest” Moore College men, hand-picked by D.B. Knox as his protégé, from his early twenties. His was an enduring love of theology and a love of the aesthetic, who saw himself primarily as an evangelical, whilst crossing over classical evangelical boundaries (e.g. the evangelism versus social responsibility divide). He was also a former Bush Church Aid Society Missioner (1967-9).¹¹ Whilst head of Church History, lecturing at Moore College, Bill courageously debated the case for the Ordination of Women during Synod. The Rev Dr Peter Jensen (Phillip’s brother) was on the opposing side to the Women’s Ordination debate, (later to become Principal of Moore College, and eventually Archbishop of Sydney, 2001- 2013). Bill described the debate as a “traumatic time” knowing he would be taking the minority position in the Sydney Synod. Yet he gloried in the ensuing vitriol, accepting that he now had to choose a different career to being a teaching Academic within the confines of Moore College.¹²

¹⁰ Described in the Interview with the Rev Dr Bill Lawton for this thesis Part 2.

¹¹ From the Interview with Rev. Dr Lawton, *ibid*.

¹² During the 1990s, male evangelicals were often mercilessly pilloried in standing their ground *for* women’s ordination, including Australian Religious Historian Assoc. Prof Stuart Piggin, "Word Rather than Peace: The fight

Inner Sydney, Cross-cultural ministry

Lawton gives us a literary snapshot of the parish, in his own inimitable style:

Margaret and I work in the parish of East Sydney - better known to you by its tawdry and accidental centre, Kings Cross. The Cross is about 200 metres of tired sex parlours, punctuated by quick food outlets, money changers and banks. The smell hits you first - stale food, stale sex and the gagging pungency of underground drains and surface vomit. The grey-green faces of girls, struggling with their last heroin fix, their eyes hooded and their bodies in slow motion slump, tell you that this is a place of despair and death. And some are so young and once so pretty ... Here is reckoned to be the third wealthiest part of Sydney. At the south, the parish is bordered by Oxford Street, with its annual [Gay and Lesbian] Mardi Gras,¹³ its myriad cafes and bars and St. Vincent's Hospital. St. John's stands on top of the hill, stately, powerful Revival Gothic. Its splendid spire, still visible from one harbour vantage, was once a marker for sailing ships.¹⁴ ... This is where God's people live as evangelists to the streets, who are, according to social theologian William Pannell, 'converted by the city itself, by the squalor and misery of the poor'.¹⁵

Lawton describes thus his philosophy of ministry in an inner city parish:

Mark Van Houten of Chicago's Northside has challenging insights into urban ministry. He writes: 'Christians are able to evangelize most biblically and effectively as they incarnate Christ ... that is when their presentation of God is not anchored in the ontological, but in the functional

over the Ordination of Women in Australian Anglicanism, 1992."; "The Diocese of Sydney: This Terrible Conflict," in *Preachers, Prophets and Heretics: Anglican Women's Ministry*, ed. Elaine Lindsay and Janet Scarfe (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2012)., and in the US the horrific case of Prof Harvie M. Conn (former missionary to Korea for over a decade), Director of the Urban Missions Programme, Westminster Seminary, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) was brought before the New Jersey Presbytery of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church with ecclesiastical charges regarding Conn's endorsement of the preaching role of women and for their serving in leadership positions within his denomination. An ecclesiastical process that would take 3 years and "nine lengthy sessions", before he died (1933-99). See account in Gornik, "The Legacy of Harvie M. Conn," 215.

¹³ Sydney's annual Gay Pride Parade

¹⁴ W. J Lawton, "The Touch of Love, the Breath of Renewal, the Face of God in the City," in *Occasional Paper No. 12* (Milton, Queensland: St. Francis Theological College, 1996), 1.

¹⁵ Ibid, (1996, p. 2)

attributes of God' ... what we keep discovering in East Sydney is that God has to be interpreted, incarnated, in the human context.¹⁶

During the nineties this parish became one of the epicentres addressing the AIDS epidemic in Sydney. Hospices in the parish were attached to major hospitals, such as nearby St. Vincent's. The stigma attached to those afflicted was rife as whole communities and estranged families struggled to come to terms with what many mainstream Christians believed was the "gay plague". According to Bill:

One thing has not changed: the inner city is still a dumping ground for these modern day untouchables and the human run-off from Sydney's safe middle-class suburbs is growing every year. In many cases the funeral service is the church's only contact with the consequences of AIDS.¹⁷

In describing ministry experience facing this most difficult of issues, his ministry experience reveals:

This is the reverse of all our expectations. We learn to see the beauty of Christ in the face of the poor and the outcast. This is nowhere more surprisingly met than among those who live and die with HIV/AIDS ... You wonder, have they ever faced the tragedy of their own alienation to touch and be touched, longed to live in a community of restored relationships.¹⁸ ... We are travelling with people into the centre of divine love, seeking the embrace of God's forgiveness and restoration.¹⁹

The parish-based Counselling Centre was central to the identity of the church as well as strengthening the congregation as a means of entering into the wider community life. The Parish Council in 1994 appointed Margaret Lawton as full-time Parish Counsellor. She and Bishop Reid's wife, Alison, had both formerly worked and trained under the Rev Michael Corbett-Jones, Director of Sydney's Anglican Counselling Centre. The service was gratis for those who could not afford it. Margaret wrote: 'For me

¹⁶ Lawton, "The Touch of Love, the Breath of Renewal, the Face of God in the City," 2.

¹⁷ "Dying to go to Church, ministering to people with AIDS,," *Southern Cross: the magazine of the Diocese of Sydney* 1993, September, 17.

¹⁸ "The Touch of Love, the Breath of Renewal, the Face of God in the City," 8.

¹⁹ Ibid., 5.

it is a justice issue. Counselling is available to those who want it and not just those who can afford it.’²⁰ The Counselling ministry also drew in Clinical Psychologist and Anglican Priest, the Rev Dr Geoffrey Glascock, who in 1995 hosted the second national AIDS consultation through the parish.

At last the example of what is termed ‘a community development approach’ started ‘to find its sea legs’ and drew not only those needing help, but also those who subsequently wanted to remain in the congregation, finding there a sanctuary in an ocean of drowning people. Bill Lawton reported:

Counselling was our beginning and it has transformed our parish, bringing people in touch with their deep, psychic needs and giving us a vision that intersects with people’s culture and experience.²¹

The counselling programme then helped to set in place a “Life after Prison” (LAP) ministry as well as a Legal Referral Service. The Life after Prison group expanded its role to become a 12 step recovery programme. The programme leader and assistant priest, Tom Henderson-Brooks, stayed with Bill throughout his 10-year incumbency. Tom would go to Long Bay Correctional Centre (a major Sydney Prison Complex) each week to run a reconciliation programme. This was recognised as a first in the Sydney prison system. The progress of the experimental programme was monitored by prison professionals. Victims of crime met perpetrators and each explored their responses. The progress made Lawton described as “nothing short of miraculous”.²² Another development of the LAP ministry was a support programme for released prisoners to lower their chance of re-offending. HMS supported this programme with a grant for a curate, but the congregation ended up raising the majority of funds for all the other activities, including a \$250,000 restoration of their buildings.²³ This indeed was a form of cross-cultural ministry with the generations of “unchurched”, multicultural in essence, albeit English speaking, the parish having one of the highest percentages answering “No religion” on the census in the Diocese, with Bill estimating 3% of the regular congregation declared

²⁰ Ibid., 12.

²¹ Ibid., 13.

²² Ibid, (1996, p. 12)

²³ HMS funding (\$17,000) for East Sydney parish, listed under section, General Parish Grants, Parish Support & Development Schedule, 1993, p.1. According to Bill, “Nothing else was funded by the Diocese - we didn't fit the model we were told. So we raised the money ourselves”. Information is from the Interview with the Rev Dr Bill Lawton for this thesis.

themselves to be Atheist.²⁴ Lawton was later to criticize the lack of training in Counselling for Clergy²⁵ and that the homogeneous unit principle would undermine community cohesion between the church and wider community. He claimed:

It is a challenge to the current fascination with church growth and regional growth programmes. The homogeneous unit principle may grow a large church, but unless it is linked to sound, theologically based, focused pastoral care it abandons the margins and contributes to the further break-down of community.²⁶

The short-comings of the homogeneous unit principle were well demonstrated through St. John's Darlinghurst. It represented an excellent example of ministry to the inner city margins as well as attracting Sydney's contemporary literati and social thinkers.²⁷ This contemporary church growth example, (the congregation grew to about 300 from an Easter service of 5 people)²⁸ was indeed the complete reversal of the power and might of the 'homogeneous unit principle' because of its inclusive agenda.

Ronald Sider, theologian and social activist, rightly argues that the homogeneous unit principle, by failing to insist on the link between evangelism and social justice, makes unacceptable compromises in favour of church growth:

It will also mean rejecting church-growth leader Donald McGavran's suggestion that we should adjust the proportion of social concern and evangelism "so that the maximum finding occurs." Jesus is the norm, not some calculation of how to maximize short-term church growth. It may be that in the short-run more white racists would, in some circumstances, flock to the church if we failed to say and show that racism is sin ... Furthermore, short-term success that produces superficial Christian disciples will lead to long-term disaster. Faithfulness to biblical teaching and

²⁴ Lawton. Part 2

²⁵ See Lawton, "The Touch of Love, the Breath of Renewal, the Face of God in the City," 7-11.

²⁶ Ibid., 10-11.

²⁷ These included novelists e.g. Helen Garner, and journalists from the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the *Financial Review*, Australian Broadcasting Commission. Cited from the Rev Dr Lawton's Interview, for this thesis 22/05/15. (Part 2)

²⁸ See Interview, Lawton.

the example of God incarnate, not some calculation of short term growth, should determine our balance of evangelism and social concern.²⁹

In June, 1994, at the suggestion of David Claydon, Federal Secretary, CMS (1988-2002)³⁰, Bill Lawton and the Rev John McIntyre, Rector St. Saviour's, Redfern (1990- 2006)³¹ attended a Chicago, U.S. conference titled: 'Prophetic Voices of the people of God in the city, The Birth of a Vision' conducted by the Seminary Consortium for Urban Pastoral Education.

The conference brought us face to face with the realities of American society. Each speaker addressed the horrendous impact of racism. The preachers almost all of them Afro-American spoke of the appalling destruction of their society, through guns and violence in the streets. They pleaded for tolerance and the breaking-down of old prejudices ... We were dismayed to see the abandonment of the inner urban areas by the mainline churches. Yet we saw a continuing presence through these community churches and wondered with what we were being confronted with might not yet be a picture of Sydney in twenty years' time.³²

This "church in society" form of ministry is what B. N. Kaye³³ argues the Church of England has followed from its early history. Kaye is supported in the study of contemporary missiology, for example, focussing on addressing 'felt needs' via the process of what Paul Hiebert labelled 'Critical contextualization'.³⁴ Hiebert's conclusion is cogent:

Finally, a global perspective requires a recognition of both felt and real needs. Colonial missions focused on the ultimate need for salvation; anticolonial missions looked to the felt needs of food, liberation, justice and self-esteem. Today we realize that we must bring a 'whole' gospel - one not divided between Greek dualism of eternal salvation and human needs. We may need to

²⁹ Sider, *Evangelism and Social Action: Uniting the Church to Heal a Lost and Broken World*, 172-3.

³⁰ He later became International Director of Lausanne, (2002-)

³¹ He subsequently became Anglican Bishop, Gippsland Victoria, (2006-2014)

³² "Urban Ministry-writing the Vision," *Church Scene, a national Anglican newspaper* 1994, June 3, 5.

³³ Bruce N Kaye, *A church without walls: being Anglican in Australia* (North Blackburn: Dove, 1995), 10-35.

³⁴ For his landmark research paper opposing a mono-cultural approach to mission, see Hiebert, "Critical contextualization."

start with felt needs, but we must move to the ultimate human needs of salvation, reconciliation, justice and peace, both here and in eternity.³⁵

Bill Lawton's Darlinghurst ministry illustrated the adage "mission is the mother of theology",³⁶ a key principle in Sydney's radical minority evangelical tradition, characterised by a strong focus on evangelistic/social justice engagement. Roman Catholic van der Watt identified 'justice and peace Evangelicals'³⁷ ministering the gospel as they saw it, whilst seeking greater engagement with their local community, as they recognised it. This was not merely the historic charity "hand-out" model, but rather an attempt to address the inherent causes of the disadvantage, through bringing in the wounded to an oasis of Christian community. This ministry, according to Lawton, sought to re-introduce the historic tradition of the English evangelist, John Wesley (1703-1791), by using his concept of "social holiness" translated into the post-modern world as "social wholeness".³⁸ For Lawton, this was grappling with the very nature of inequality as well as calling for a life-changing response to the gospel in his congregation. Social Psychologists speak of the closed social behaviour of minorities³⁹ which naturally exclude 'the Other' in terms of status, class, and hierarchy. But Lawton

³⁵ Hiebert, *The Missiological Implications of Epistemological Shifts: Affirming Truth in a Modern/Postmodern World*, 109.

³⁶ See Mark Laing, "Book Review: The Forgotten Ways: Reactivating the Missional Church. By Alan Hirsch," *Mission Studies: Journal of the International Association for Mission Studies* 29, no. 1 (2012): 99.

³⁷ See Gideon van der Watt, "'... BUT THE POOR OPTED FOR THE EVANGELICALS!' – EVANGELICALS, POVERTY AND PROSPERITY," *Acta Theologica*, no. Suppl 16 (2012): 37.

³⁸ The Rev Dr Bill Lawton described the concept in his interview, as incorporated into his ministry. In the words of the Rev John Wesley:

The Gospel of Christ knows of no religion, but social: no holiness but social holiness ... This commandment have we from Christ, that he who loves God, love his brother also; and that we manifest love by doing good to all men. J. Wesley, *The Works of the Reverend John Wesley, A. M.*, vol. 7 (J. Emory and B. Waugh, for the Methodist Episcopal Church, J. Collard, printer, 1831/2008), 593.

The concept is contemporaneously interpreted as:

The Wesleyan vision strives for the restoration of nation, church and individuals. This is not a vision of restoring a previously existing unjust and unfulfilling situation, it is of a new creation with personal and social wholeness [restored]. See L.B. Williams, *via media philosophy: Holiness Unto Truth; Intersections between Wesleyan and Roman Catholic Voices* (Cambridge Scholars Publisher, 2009), 149.

³⁹ The pioneering work conducted through Social Psychology, in the study and designation of what were coined 'In-groups', 'Out-groups' that include socio-economic and religious arenas, see the formative theorists Tajfel, *The social psychology of minorities*; Tajfel, *Differentiation between social groups*. ; Tajfel, "The social identity theory

sought a congregation which was a different sort of minority. His ministry would attempt by way of its intentional community engagement to consciously seek and implement inclusion as well as where possible address disadvantage. This involved experimenting with the liturgy in order to become more inclusive, despite being criticized for having 'sold out the gospel'.⁴⁰ From his own lived experience, grappling with the issues of contextualizing the gospel for his parish and beyond, he describes the decade-long journey with his characteristic disarming honesty:

Once upon a time I read the Bible through the medium of middle class culture and on the basis of power. I now find myself in a place where there seems to be no power, and where the people appear to have nothing. But Christ is present in the lives of these people!

I've learnt something in the last six years that has transformed my life. I've learnt that I live with people who'll forgive anything I do except lie to them ... If the church is to survive as more than

of intergroup behaviour."; Tajfel, "Individuals and groups in social psychology*." For mainstream Sydney evangelicals, the "radical minority evangelical tradition" would be deemed the 'Out-group'. What Social Psychologists defined: as those that threaten the cohesion of 'the In-group'. Who *define* boundaries, customs, cultural life and behaviour, whilst attenuating a positive identity for the 'In group'. That forms a reciprocating self-protective structural formation, internalized psychologically, aiding conformity. The 'in-group' define their identity (both individual/collective) through 'who they are not' in the concept recognized as 'the Other'. 'The Other' (has been constructed also through the Phenomenology tradition in Philosophy, which forms part of Post-modernist thought). See the writing of Derrida Hart, "Jacques Derrida: Introduction," 162. I'm indebted to Bill Lawton for the reference to the Phenomenological tradition in Philosophy. For a helpful post-modern overview see Lausanne Issue Group No. 16 and Philip Principal Writer: Johnson, "Lausanne Occasional Paper 45,

Religious and Non-Religious Spirituality in a Post Modern World," in *A New Vision, a New Heart, a Renewed Call*, ed. D. Claydon (Pasadena, Calif.: Acorn Press, 2005), 187. .

⁴⁰ See Interview, (Part 6), where the structure of the Prayerbook was used. However, was adjusted to embrace broader cross-cultural language e.g. Women's inclusive movement and prayers from other traditions.

It is interesting that such controversial 'experimental' ministry was also undertaken in the Port Melbourne parish, Diocese of Melbourne with the vicar, the Rev Con Apokis and his wife Sally. Open to a ministry team from Department of Evangelism and Church Growth, headed by Rev Bryden Black, also an evangelical. Black, described such experimentation as "front-line urban mission in the late 20th century" in Sue Fordham, "'Port' lifts ministry game," See, *Church of England in Australia, Diocese of Melbourne* 1993, July. The newspaper article concludes that the Port Melbourne church grows from single to double digits in the face of such experimentation. (In the case of the parish of East Sydney, grows to triple numbers, during the Lawton's ministry and their team, as noted in the Rev Dr Lawton's interview for this thesis). An additional article was written by the Vicar (Port Melbourne), the Rev. Con Apokis's letter titled: "Crossing 't's, dotting 'i's," *ibid.* 1993, August, 8 needed to publicly justify their controversial *modus operandi*, e.g. lack of robes, simplified order of service, removal of pews. However, the strategies did not go without criticism, with a response from a representative of the Anglo-Catholic tradition, with his letter-to-the-Editor titled: 'How Anglican is Anglican?' The author T. Noble, omits noting any joy at the prospect of an increased congregation by virtue of the evangelistic 'mission' employed.

a rump of the past, then the Church ... must break down our barriers and cross over to people outside the Church in a spirit of openness and acceptance.⁴¹

Lawton's perspective on Moore College principal, Broughton Knox, is especially valuable. Few can have loved Knox more than Lawton, and few would have disagreed with him more. D. B. Knox is an iconic, king-maker figure of Sydney evangelicalism, President of the ACL in the 1960s and 70s, with many disciples in the Diocese, and, as previously observed, dubbed 'the father of contemporary Sydney Anglicanism'.⁴² The previously discussed Knox/Robinson ecclesiology⁴³ defining the church as, first and foremost, the local gathering, according to Lawton was later adapted by both Jensen brothers, Peter and Phillip.⁴⁴ According to Lawton, would also be recognised as more Plymouth Brethren theology than Anglican.⁴⁵ It became to many within the Anglican Communion a deliberate and self-enforced separatism, a psychologically isolating stance. The Rev Michael Raiter, former head of the department of Mission at Moore College, on examination of this ecclesiology, claimed at the national Australian Anglican Missiology Conference in 1999 that D. B. Knox contributed to Sydney's 'world mission

⁴¹ Roland Ashby, "Surviving Kings Cross," *The Melbourne Anglican* 1995, December, 7.

⁴² See Marcia Cameron's book *An Enigmatic Life, David Broughton Knox, Father of Sydney Anglicanism*. (Brunswick East, Vic.: Acorn Press, 2006).

⁴³ For a fuller explanation see D.W.B Robinson, "The Church of God: its Form and Unity," (Punchbowl,: Jordan Books:, 1965), 9, 22., a condensed version is along these lines:

The church is the local gathering of Christ's people. These are manifestations of the one church in Christ. Knox warned against reversing the order and thinking of Christ's universal Church as being made up of the total membership of local churches. The church is, first of all, the local gathering. Brian Edgar, "Book Review: An Enigmatic Life: D B Knox' by Cameron," <http://brian-edgar.com/theology/theological-education/an-enigmatic-life-david-broughton-knox-%E2%80%93-a-review-of-marcia-cameron%E2%80%99s-book/>.

The weakness in this concept as the lack of identification with a world church, certainly at a distance from the understanding of the world-wide grouping of Anglican churches recognised as the Anglican Communion.

⁴⁴ Douglas Golding, "Some implications of the continuing pressure for theological monoculturalism in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney," School of History, Philosophy, Religion and Classics, University of Queensland (2009?), 1. from his unpublished work, describes 'Jensenism' preceded the rise of the Jensen brothers, through the influence of the Principals of Moore College and prominent lecturers in the last 50 years. See also, "Endangered species? 'Mainstream' Anglicans in the Diocese of Sydney," <https://douglasgolding.wordpress.com/2010/02/26/endangered-species-%E2%80%93-mainstream%E2%80%99-anglicans-in-the-diocese-of-sydney/>.

⁴⁵ The unique Sydney Anglican direction in theology is confirmed through the understanding of what Bill coined 'the little flock' see Lawton, *The better time to be : utopian attitudes to society among Sydney Anglicans, 1885 to 1914*. See also Muriel Porter, *The new Puritans : the rise of fundamentalism in the Anglican Church* (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press 2006)., Edgar, "Book Review: An Enigmatic Life: D B Knox' by Cameron".

myopia'.⁴⁶ Knox, according to Lawton, was an enigmatic man⁴⁷ who was far more than this doctrine alone, but Lawton respectfully disagreed with Knox on his understanding that once "converted" everything else would align itself in the Christian life.⁴⁸ Both men held a deep, long-lasting friendship, one of father and son, respectfully disagreeing, but esteeming each other both privately and publicly.⁴⁹ For Bill, it was the honest recognition that this conceptual construction "was a narrowing of the gospel, with a doctrine of church [subsequently] boiled down to merely 'pure' evangelism". Bill characterised the Sydney evangelical dilemma thus: 'They do not see that evangelism and social connection are both reflexes of the drama of Jesus's teaching. A very deep division has ensued.'⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Michael Raiter, "THE CHURCH HAS NO MISSION? The tension between Ecclesiology and Missiology in Sydney Anglicanism," in *Anglican Missiology Consultation, GOSPEL, CULTURE AND CHURCH* (Chevalier Centre, Kensington, NSW: General Synod, Anglican Church, Australia, 1999, 21 May), 3.

⁴⁷ This view is also supported by the biography Cameron, *An Enigmatic Life, David Broughton Knox, Father of Sydney Anglicanism*.

⁴⁸ R. Sider (1993, p. 35) describes this ideology as a "naïve assumption". He cites some of the most racist places in South Africa, Northern Ireland, and the US have been precisely those areas with the highest percentage of born-again Christians.

⁴⁹ Sourced from the interview with Rev Bill Lawton for this thesis. (Part 6, 10:00-14:00).

A further note, evangelicals and their ferocious public lambasting of each other, is a well-known phenomenon:

... they shoot their own allies ... and even each other, on the suspicion that they are really wolves dressed in the finest merino. The casualties on the battlefield of Australian evangelicalism have often been shot by their own troops. Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, word and world*, 225.

The gloves come off publicly in the most merciless show of male public denigration e.g. Synod.

An exception to the contrarian behaviour was D.B. Knox's respectful treatment of Bill. Lesser men would characterise Bill, as "having lost the gospel", or 'gone liberal', an outcast set on the road of no return for any self-respecting evangelical. Forever defined and stigmatized with the inevitable evangelical ostracism as 'the Other'. Bill was greatly esteemed by Canon Allan Whitham and recognised him as a beacon of encouragement for the Anglican supporters of HMS, later mentoring the Parish Community Workers, Care Force even amidst the circulating rumours of HMS, "not doing gospel work". He featured on the video *Today's Anglicans*, in the introduction and epilogue of the video, Tonys-Soulos and Cole, "Today's Anglicans: New Faces and Places." Bill, another tall (over 2 metres tall) willowy poppy, unafraid of the direction of the Spirit-led wind, stood head and shoulders above the lesser 'Sydney-ites'. He describes his replacements in the East Sydney parish subsequently, certainly toeing the Sydney Anglican line. In his Interview, Lawton lamented that the days of creative experimental ministry such as his, were over. Bill graciously recognised that the decade of the 90's was a unique period in Sydney Anglican history, characterised by daring attempts funding creative ministry. Whereas he now characterised parish ministry, in the simple terms of "survival". (Part 6)

⁵⁰ From Bill's Interview, 22/05/15, (Part 6)

Lawton later wrote of “what is the heart of my conviction, that ‘faith and justice’ are intimate partners”.⁵¹ He spoke of his own motivation thus:

But notice the drive: those who work in this mission of God need to harness their skills and commit themselves to the process of change. They will become aspirants and affirmers of a new humanity - prophets who challenge all that enslaves mind and body.

People like this will drive the church with their passions and commitments, but they will always do it from the edge. They will have learnt the meaning of crucifixion. They are the sign of the Church’s eternal regeneration. They help shape the symbols of loving and recreating, working and dying. They are the human face of Christ, the companion in the abyss of despair.⁵²

St. John’s, Darlinghurst ably led was crossing the barriers of social class, race, religion, colour and mental illness in and through its community outreach ministries. It bridged the ‘socio-political’ divide because its ministry sought to address physical as well as spiritual need. The church’s congregation attempted an honest and even experimental engagement amid its community. In it ‘theology informed praxis’ and the reciprocal effect, ‘praxis informed theology’⁵³ through the experiment of contextualization. The often brutal meeting point between church and the wider community is where the evidence of theory is tested. This process in effect gave the church and its congregation its mission, its compassion and the affirmation of its identity, tested through the crucible of belief and its practical outworking. Its life was found not merely through its liturgical symbols but through its praxis as lived within the context. It offered a more focussed Christological⁵⁴ and scriptural⁵⁵ response to the

⁵¹ W. J. Lawton, "Happy Christmas 2015 – Joy in your life discoveries," <http://www.keysensitivity.com/happy-christmas-2015/>.

⁵² Lawton, "The Touch of Love, the Breath of Renewal, the Face of God in the City," 9.

⁵³ The cyclical pattern of praxis/theology reciprocity is succinctly explained in Harrower, "What is Contextualisation?" 13.

⁵⁴ R. Sider *Evangelism and Social Action: Uniting the Church to Heal a Lost and Broken World*, 144. defines Christology as: the biblical teaching on the person and work of Christ. He concludes that this summons us to vigorous social concern.

⁵⁵ In his attempt to address Anglicanism within Australia’s contemporary and pluralistic/multicultural context, the Rev Lawton re-iterates the clarion call back to a consideration of what he calls, “it is Christology rather ecclesiology that must be their [Australian Anglicanism’s] mainstay”, especially in the role of the church and its interpreting social justice within the Australian context. Brackets my own. See his remarkable chapter, titled ‘Australian Anglican Theology’ Lawton, "Australian Anglican Theology " 179. In one of the few compilations,

most acute human need. Here the local church, Christ's flag bearer, whilst being immersed in Sydney's ugly 'dark side', was unafraid. Much was at stake in the decade-long ministry of the Lawtons and their 'genius ministry team'. Radical Christian social critic, Jim Wallis, who toured Australia with Lawton in 1995, told the story of a black street preacher, whose church was sprayed with bullets on the inside during a gang-war.

The moral? 'If you don't take the Church to the streets, the streets will come to the Church.'⁵⁶

The ongoing theological dilemma clearly divided Sydney evangelicals, and had enormous consequences for the role of HMS. Some parishes, strict devotees of Knox's original concept of 'private acts of compassion', would neither financially support the work of those on the front-lines of HMS nor pray for them. It was feared that the impure 'Social Gospellers' would 'lose the gospel'. HMS in the decade of the 1990s was supposedly diminished in its 'gospel' task and apparently therefore not worth supporting financially. In personal communication (1989) to the CCM Co-Ordinator, (whilst writing her Masters Thesis) Lawton declared: 'If we are, as I believe, a denomination with a history of lost opportunities we need to challenge our own denomination to take cross-cultural evangelism more seriously than at present.'⁵⁷

The New Archbishop and 'the Sydney REPA colonels' - Sydney at war with itself

In the 1993 Archbishop's election the acclaimed leaders of both the evangelical conservatives (Phillip Jensen) and the radical Anglicans (Bishop Reid) were both eliminated, and the compromise candidate, Bishop Richard Henry 'Harry' Goodhew, was elected. In his former life he had trained as an accountant⁵⁸ and had been Bishop of the Illawarra region since 1982. The candidate in the background had now come to the fore. The majority of the Diocese now breathed a collective sigh of relief, hoping for a time of healing. However, the pressure from REPA 'Sydney boys' towards the new Archbishop would prove to be relentless, particularly over their demands for Lay presidency or Lay administration (the laity presiding over the Eucharist and not ordained clergy only) and their opposition to the removal by Goodhew of David Gilmour as Rector of the parish of Pymble. Bill Lawton, who had

Anglicanism in Australia: A History from various authors, examining contemporary issues for Australian Anglicanism.

⁵⁶ Gordon Preece, "Politics Needs Soul," *The Melbourne Anglican* 1995, October.

⁵⁷ W. J Lawton, 1989, 29 August.

⁵⁸ "Respected evangelical takes Sydney's top job," *See, the monthly newspaper of the Dioceses of Melbourne and Bendigo* 1993, May, 3.

favoured the election of John Reid as Archbishop, reminded the REPA grouping that the new Archbishop needed to be respected and that 'there were no winners' in the Gilmour affair.⁵⁹ Lawton would forever be stigmatized from within, for challenging the dominant theology of the Sydney Anglican diocese. For 'turning to the dark side' as a high profile 'insider'.

The Australian national Anglican newspaper, *Church Scene*, reported that Archbishop Goodhew still had to deal with REPA as they 'attempt to muscle-in on Synod dominance.'⁶⁰

Blood in the water attracts sharks, and I suspect some REPA men are not past using this mess to maul Archbishop Goodhew, if they can and have him diminished for their own purposes.⁶¹

Goodhew himself writes of what would be characteristic of the behaviour of these 'Sydney colonels' during this period:

One of the most tragic aspects of the recent evangelical experience in England is that a few of its disaffected members seem to think that abusing other evangelicals somehow amounts to defending the gospel (CEN, 15/03/96).

There have been occasions when I would have regarded this as an apt comment on our own Australian situation, or even my own diocese.⁶²

Sydney Anglican identity fragmenting from within

The Goodhew episcopate, (1993-2001), was torn by the attack dog behaviour of the REPA faction. That "lion of evangelical orthodoxy", J.I Packer, had written that:

... the siege mentality that comes of being and feeling threatened can produce an unhealthy passion for uniformity amongst those who are seen as defenders of truth's beleaguered citadel

⁵⁹ For a detailed account of the Gilmore predicament see "'No winners in Pymble'," *Church Scene, a national Anglican newspaper* 1995, 27 January, 2.

⁶⁰ "Tensions high in Sydney as Pymble case nears denouement," *Church Scene, a national Anglican newspaper* 1994, October 14, 1.

⁶¹ G Davis, "Major confidence vote in Archbishop emerges in Pymble controversy," *ibid.* 1994, October 21.

⁶² H Goodhew, "Evangelical Anglicans Today, Opening Address to EFAC (Evangelical Fellowship of the Anglican Communion) Conference," *ibid.* 1996, July 5, 10.

and a ruthless readiness to brand as traitors any who are thought to have stepped out of line ... for that very reason a danger best destroyed.⁶³

As is characteristic of fundamentalist movements, the role of women in ministry was contentious. Archbishop Goodhew appointed the first ever Archdeacon for Women's ministry, Dianne Dialecti (Di) Nicolios, of Greek background. In February 2002, in the episcopate of Goodhew's successor, she moved to Melbourne, to take up the position of vicar of St. John's Diamond Creek.⁶⁴ The debate over Women's ordination, in Goodhew's time, however, further galvanized and abetted the REPA cause. Muriel Porter, journalist and historian, seized on the fundamentalist approach to defining the role of women, within such a context and ideology:

To demonstrate their "zeal to root out error and doctrinal impurity", hard-line Sydney clergy refuse to allow women to play any significant part in the main Sunday services (sorry, meetings). Women, the Sydney argument goes, were created by God "equal but different", that is, they are equal to men in God's eyes, but are required to play different roles in the Church and the family. In both these institutions, the Bible says, men alone can exercise leadership ("headship"), they claim. It is on this basis that Sydney has so vociferously and strategically led the opposition to women in the priesthood and as bishops in this country.⁶⁵

C. Miley, in her work titled *The suicidal church: can the Anglican Church be saved?*, commenting on the contemporary Australian Anglican church, went so far as identifying the problem as 'a phallocentric theology'.⁶⁶ The emphasis on male 'headship' overrode a more inclusive theology cognisant of male and female 'giftedness'. The historic irony is that overseas missionary work, so integral in understanding what traditionally has been Sydney Anglican evangelicalism, was done in the main by women.⁶⁷

⁶³ Packer, "The Evangelical Anglican Identity Problem: an Analysis," 10-11.

⁶⁴ Kelly Burke, "Anglican women's leader gives up on Sydney," *Sydney Morning Herald* 2002, 27 May, 1., see also McGillion, *The chosen ones : the politics of salvation in the Anglican Church* 135.

⁶⁵ For more information regarding the Women's Ordination debate, see M. Porter, (2006), Piggin, "Word Rather than Peace: The fight over the Ordination of Women in Australian Anglicanism, 1992."

⁶⁶ This is described in more detail, see Miley, *The suicidal church : can the Anglican Church be saved?*, 88.

⁶⁷ See A O'Brien, "'A Church full of Men': Masculinism and the Church in Australian History," *Australian Historical Studies* 25 (1993); "Anglicanism and Gender Issues."

From the Social Sciences (in particular, Sociology) the concept 'Hegemonic masculinity' defined male identity while cutting a swathe across class, culture and gender considerations, ignoring them in the process. The proposers of the concept put it into the following framework:

What emerged from this matrix in the mid-1980s was an analogue, in gender terms, of power structure research in political sociology—focusing the spotlight on a dominant group. Hegemonic masculinity was understood as the pattern of practice (i.e., things done, not just a set of role expectations or an identity) that allowed men's dominance over women to continue. Hegemonic masculinity was distinguished from other masculinities, especially subordinated masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity was not assumed to be normal in the statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it. But it was certainly normative. It embodied the currently most honoured way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men.⁶⁸

Bruce Kaye describes gender warring within Australian Anglicanism as devaluing 'the way in which we understand the role of human persons'.⁶⁹ The concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' assumed ongoing importance in Sydney Anglicanism, especially in its application to training for Christian ministry, given the embedded construct of 'gender hierarchies' within church relations. It was this constraint that set the agenda and tone of ministry for this mainstream Sydney denomination. It unfortunately had the added constraints of strangling ministry, male as well as female, clerical as well as lay. All of the in-fighting continued, whilst 37% of Sunday Anglican attenders were men.⁷⁰

The REPA 'in-group' defined themselves clearly by who they were *not*, comparing themselves to 'the Other' in the diocese. The 'Other', when they were not represented as women, were those on the Evangelism *and* Social Action/responsibility side of the classic evangelical debate. They endorsed the

⁶⁸ Robert W Connell and James W Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic masculinity rethinking the concept," *Gender & society* 19, no. 6 (2005): 832.

⁶⁹ Kaye, *A church without walls: being Anglican in Australia*, 210.

⁷⁰ Cited from NCLS research in Kaldor, *Winds of Change: the experience of church in a changing Australia.*, quoted in R. H. Goodhew, "Presidential Address, 1994 " in *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney* (St. Andrew's House: Sydney Diocesan Registry, 1995), 293.

view of missiologist, Roger S. Greenway,⁷¹ on the gospel potential of social action on behalf of the poor:

Poor people all across the world are clustered in cities. In many ways the evangelization of the city means carrying the Gospel to the poor. This should not discourage anyone, for almost all great movements to Christ have had their base among the poorer classes. Jesus described his own urban ministry in these words, "*The blind receive sight and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear, and the dead are raised up, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them*". (Matt.11:5) Throughout history, God has given to the poor and the humble an openness to the Gospel that is seldom found among the upper classes. It follows from this that that churches which fail to preach the Gospel to the poor are missing a great opportunity in the city. "Are the poor hearing the Gospel?"⁷²

An often overlooked concept within the practice of Sydney Anglicanism is its sui generis commitment to social action. This was recognized as a sign of weakness in the hyper-charged culture of the REPA male grouping. It appeared that this group was on a mission to take over the diocese and to develop a bullet-proof Sydney Anglican identity whilst masking any semblance of male vulnerability. Labelled by McGillion 'the young turks',⁷³ they would shape the gospel according to their own image: predominantly white, alpha-male, middle-aged, and monolingual. These were REPA men who had been trained by Knox and Robinson (given their respective decades long leadership within Moore Theological College) who had problems with the role of women in 'ordained' ministry, and with robes and Prayer book services, and they didn't appear to have a great deal of faith in what the Rev Forsyth described as 'hapless bishops'.⁷⁴ The REPA group, now disgruntled in the aftermath of 1993, many still reeling from the fact that they didn't succeed in electing their candidate Phillip Jensen as Archbishop, were now 'ready to unleash the hounds'. They would subsequently behave in a manner later likened

⁷¹ For a brief autobiography see Roger S. Greenway, "My pilgrimage in mission," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 30, no. 3 (2006): 144-47.

⁷² "Urban Evangelism," in *Let the earth hear His voice : official reference volume, papers and responses*,

International Congress on World Evangelization (1st : 1974 : Lausanne, Switzerland) ed. J. D. Douglas (Minneapolis: World Wide Publications, 1975), 913.

⁷³ McGillion, *The chosen ones : the politics of salvation in the Anglican Church* 17.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

to “an Australian Labor Conference brawl”.⁷⁵ Their real leader, more revered even than Phillip Jensen, was Canon John Chapman (1930-2012), emeritus vice-president of the Anglican Church League (ACL),⁷⁶ Director, Department of Evangelism (1969-93), Diocesan Missioner, (1993-95). He retired not long after the 1993 Archbishop election. He was known in Sydney Diocese “for giving as good as he got”, not one to ever be tongue-tied or mince words, a fierce warrior for the ‘pure’ gospel, calling for individualistic/ personal conversion as he understood it. During the 13-year life of the DCCM (1987-2000), he chose *not* to publicly associate himself (if he could help it) either with the DCCM or HMS.⁷⁷

Do not let the wound fester

The differences (more to the point «διαφωνία» from the Greek meaning disagreement) in theology and praxis between the ‘pure’ evangelism camp and the evangelism *and* social responsibility/parish-based social welfare programme camp are fundamental to the struggle which is the main subject of this thesis. Now that the intensity of the struggle has been canvassed, the deep roots of each combatant in the struggle need to be examined. The single event which predetermined a fight with the Sydney conservatives was the first Lausanne Congress, Switzerland (1974). Here the thought leaders of the radical minority Sydney evangelical tradition received the reinforcement of theological thinking and influential evangelical world leaders they needed to take the fight to the conservatives.

John Reid was the leading representative of the Australian contingent. He had a close association with Sydney’s first Australian-born Archbishop and first Australian-born Primate of the Australian Church of England, Marcus Loane (1966-82),⁷⁸ who recognised, that the 2 streams, evangelism and social welfare/action programmes, belonged together:⁷⁹

⁷⁵ This remark quoted verbatim, was made by Bishop John Reid’s son, David in his Eulogy, at the Bishop’s Funeral, 14/01/16. “Funeral Programme, Bishop John Reid,” (Sydney: St. Andrew’s Cathedral).

⁷⁶ The ACL created 1909 to uphold the evangelical character of Sydney Diocese against Anglo-Catholic and liberal Anglicanism, *The chosen ones : the politics of salvation in the Anglican Church* 23. For Canon J. Chapman’s long-standing association with the ACL see , *Church Scene, a national Anglican newspaper* 1994, October 14, 10-11.

⁷⁷ The observation made by the founding CCM Co-Ordinator.

⁷⁸ For a condensed biography of Loane see John R. Reid, *Marcus L. Loane: a biography* (Brunswick East, Vic.: Acorn Press, 2004)., more extensive see Allan M Blanch, *From strength to strength : a life of Marcus Loane* (North Melbourne: Victoria Australian Scholarly, 2015), Biography, 268-9.

⁷⁹ A. Blanch in his extensive biography of Loane reveals his endearing place of HMS in the life of the Diocese, and as part of his theological principles, (2015, p. 272)

The multifaceted interest of Archbishop Marcus Loane in the betterment of living conditions and welfare of all in need should be clearly recognised, lest it be thought that his focus lay on evangelism, missionary work, parish ministry, diocesan administration and little else.⁸⁰

By contrast, for Loane's brother-in-law, D. B. Knox, changing secular structures was largely ignored or unimportant. In a brief biography of Broughton Knox, Marcus Loane wrote that 'Broughton's mind was very subtle; he had a tendency to crystallize his thinking in short dogmatic statements which oversimplified the situation.'⁸¹ Knox's crowning achievement was to help found in 1989, and be the first Principal of, the George Whitefield Theological College, South Africa. Modelled on Moore College, it was located only kilometres away from where the heart-rending TRC hearings were heard in Cape Town.⁸² The CESA denomination (Church of England in South Africa) changed its name in 2013 to the Reformed Evangelical Anglican Church of South Africa (REACH, SA), in an attempt to distance itself from its historic association with previous Apartheid regimes.⁸³

'Hiding a light under a bushel': The Sydney Anglican role in the creation of the Lausanne Movement

The differences between Reid and Chapman (as exhibited in the decade of the 90s through Phillip Jensen and REPA) arose much earlier. It is typical of the history of Sydney diocese that a landmine laid in one decade should explode in another! In 1974 Chapman and Knox⁸⁴ both attended the Lausanne Conference. Chapman publicly voted *against* and was vocally critical about the concept of "socio-political" responsibility being incorporated into the founding document of the Lausanne Covenant

⁸⁰ Blanch, *From strength to strength : a life of Marcus Loane*, 273.

⁸¹ M.L. Loane, *These Happy Warriors: Friends & contemporaries* (Australia: New Creation Publications, 1988), 61., also in Cameron, *An Enigmatic Life, David Broughton Knox, Father of Sydney Anglicanism.*, 221.

⁸² The TRC was a crucial component of the transition to full and free democracy in South Africa and, despite some flaws, is generally regarded as successful. The TRC was set up in terms of the *Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act*, No. 34 (1995), and was based in Cape Town. The mandate of the commission was to bear witness to, record and in some cases grant amnesty to the perpetrators of crimes relating to human rights violations, reparation and rehabilitation. For a first-hand account of the often harrowing process see D Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness* (Rider House: London, 1999).

⁸³ Virtue, "South African Presiding Bishop (CESA) Sees GAFCON as Uniter and Unifier of Global Anglicanism".

⁸⁴ D.B. Knox, "Lausanne 1974," (The Protestant Faith, 1974, 22 September)., also cited in Raiter, "THE CHURCH HAS NO MISSION? The tension between Ecclesiology and Missiology in Sydney Anglicanism," 5.

(1974).⁸⁵ This would later be considered by some as a betrayal by 'the architect of 20th century evangelicalism', John Stott in 'de-throning evangelism'.⁸⁶ The underlying criticism for this strain of theology was that one could not or one should not do both.



Bishop A. Jack Dain and evangelist Billy Graham signing the Lausanne Covenant document in front of the Congress. Cited from: Nichols, Alan, ed. *The whole gospel for the whole world : story of Lausanne II congress on World Evangelization*, Manila 1989. Charlotte, N.C.: Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization and Regal Books, 1989, 15.

In comparison, Sydney Anglican Bishop A. Jack Dain, Executive Chairman of the International Congress on World Evangelization, 1974,⁸⁷ with John Reid, who had been made Bishop in 1972, recognised it as a "water-shed moment"⁸⁸ in the history of the evangelical movement. Jack Dain perceptively described the Lausanne Movement:

⁸⁵ I'm indebted to Archdeacon Alan Nichols, for his eye-witness account of these events, through a telephone conversation, 21/02/16

⁸⁶ "Stott dethrones evangelism," http://www.therealjohnstott.com/?page_id=144#_edn22.

⁸⁷ See Bishop Dain's self-penned 'Introduction' in *Evangelicals* (Sydney: A.I.O. Publishing, 1975), 1-3. Dain as Bishop, was apparently *disliked* by D. B. Knox, not only because he was a bishop, also because he was "an Englishman", see Cameron, *An Enigmatic Life, David Broughton Knox, Father of Sydney Anglicanism.*, 257, also confirmed in Reid, *Marcus L. Loane: a biography*, 105.

⁸⁸ This recognition was of a defining moment in Bishop Reid's approach to ministry, was made known in his son's Eulogy, David Reid. "Funeral Programme, Bishop John Reid."

Lausanne is a Congress on Evangelization not a Congress on evangelism ... But I think now the present thought in the minds of many leaders around the world is that we not only need to think of evangelism, that is the proclamation of the Gospel, but the whole task given to us by the risen Christ. This I think more aptly, is called evangelization.

We are now seeking to draw together a widely representative group of church leaders to take a new look at the world in which we live, and the areas of those outside the reach of the gospel.⁸⁹

Dain and Reid, along with the majority of the Sydney Anglican contingent present, voted *for* the inclusion of the paragraph on 'Social Responsibility' in the Lausanne Covenant:

... we affirm that evangelism and socio-political involvement are both part of our Christian duty ... The message of salvation implies also a message of judgment upon *every form* of alienation, oppression and discrimination, and we should not be afraid to *denounce evil and injustice* wherever they exist. When people receive Christ they are born again into his kingdom and must seek not only to exhibit but also to spread its righteousness in the midst of an unrighteous world. The salvation we claim should be transforming us in the totality of our personal and social responsibilities. Faith without works is dead.⁹⁰ (Italics my own)

⁸⁹ Alan Nichols, ed. *The whole gospel for the whole world : story of Lausanne II congress on World Evangelization, Manila 1989* (Charlotte, N.C.: Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization and Regal Books, , 1989), 14.

⁹⁰ I'm indebted for this account to an eye-witness who attended the inaugural Lausanne Conference, the Rev Alan Nichols. He was a trained journalist and Chairman of the Sydney Anglican Information Office, AIO (1970-78). Bishop Reid became his immediate boss during his years at the AIO. In a telephone conversation, 21/01/16 for this thesis, Nichols relayed an account of these events. He recalled being seconded from the AIO to live in Lausanne in the three months leading up to and organizing the 1974 Conference. He recounted how the time had come through a world-wide evangelical movement to come together and discuss the contentious issues between evangelism and 'social responsibility'. Nichols witnessed a vocal minority from the Anglican Sydney Diocese disagree with the majority evangelical membership of the Lausanne movement, precisely on this issue, in particular what would become par. 5 from the founding document. He could not contain his joy at seeing this particular Sydney minority, outnumbered and out voted by the world's foremost leading evangelical leaders at the time.

As a result of the Conference, Nichols edited the popular papers in *Evangelicals* (Sydney, AIO, 1975) . For the Covenant's definition of Social Responsibility see Par. 5 in International Congress on World Evangelization [Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization], "Lausanne Covenant".

According to Archdeacon Alan Nichols, the Lausanne Covenant was a 'watershed in placing social justice within the purposes of the Church's mission'.⁹¹ One of its principal authors was the English evangelical, John R. W. Stott (rector, All Souls', Langham Place, London, 1950–75) appointed to the Conference as "theologian at large".⁹² The Covenant became integral to the continuing life and work of the Lausanne movement for World Evangelization. The Sydney Anglican Diocese was represented by such luminaries as Dain, Reid, Nichols, the Rev David and Robyn Claydon, all of whom acknowledged the role of social responsibility/action in world evangelization. They recognised that evangelizing both the world and at home required attention to the hitherto underestimated, ever-shifting, playing field 'of the context', be it the first or the third world. This was an explicit recognition that first world, middle-class evangelism and the HUP (homogeneous unit principle) devoted to building mega-churches, was not for everyone.⁹³ The Lausanne Movement was *not* a formula for a one-size-fits-all-gospel. It was rather its 'contextual' opposite, dependent on what kind of 'soil' the planter would plant 'the seed' and what sort of 'community of believers' would nurture the new converts. More importantly, it indeed would *need* to take 'the whole church' to bring 'the whole

⁹¹ See Nichols, *The whole gospel for the whole world : story of Lausanne II congress on World Evangelization, Manila 1989*, 15.

⁹² See *Evangelicals* 9. It is interesting, that during the Sydney meetings that formed the "Resolution 11/88 Committee re: Church Growth Report.", it was recognised that the assembled committee was still split along the pure evangelism vs evangelism and social /programming/responsibility (Lausanne Covenant, 1974) lines. Comment was made by the Rev John Chapman, in criticizing Ms Marilyn Correy's paper on this issue during the deliberations of the Church Growth Committee, the assessment from the Rev J. Chapman was that 'Stott had lost the plot' in this area. This was reported to the CCM Co-Ordinator, by Ms Correy at the time.

The following précis is an important observation regarding the Lausanne movement, even if omitting the integral Sydney evangelical leadership:

It is significant that Lausanne's attention to social concern reflected the effort of North American evangelicalism to reread the Bible in the light of its own growth and public re-emergence. This evangelicalism, typified by Billy Graham, had already become widely recognized and accepted. Lausanne's attention to socio-political involvement reflected the British vein of evangelicalism, which, unlike its North American counterpart, has consistently kept alive its rich heritage of social and political involvement. John Stott is a good example of this tradition ... This primarily reflected the contribution of a third-world evangelicalism that was reading the Bible in contexts of dependency, poverty, injustice, and oppression. This evangelicalism, in its search for a missionary obedience, was prepared to re-evaluate the evangelicalism imported from the North and to face the challenge of becoming contextual. Valdir R. Steuernagel, "Social concern and evangelization: The journey of the Lausanne movement," Overseas Ministries Studies Center, <http://simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=rlh&AN=9704170486&site=ehost-live>.

⁹³ For an overview of the growth of the mega-churches in Australia and the use of the HUP see Sam Hey, "God in the Suburbs and Beyond: The Emergence of an Australian Megachurch and Denomination" (Griffith University, 2010), 64-65.

gospel' to 'the whole world'.⁹⁴ The roles were now reversed as the broader evangelical world of the Lausanne Congress viewed the Anglican Diocese of Sydney, as 'the Other'.

In the decade of the 1990s, as we have seen, Sydney became a microcosm of the whole world. It was attracting unprecedented migration that would bring to its shores disparate people-groups from all over the world. So the strategies would require what missiologist Ralph D. Winter described as:

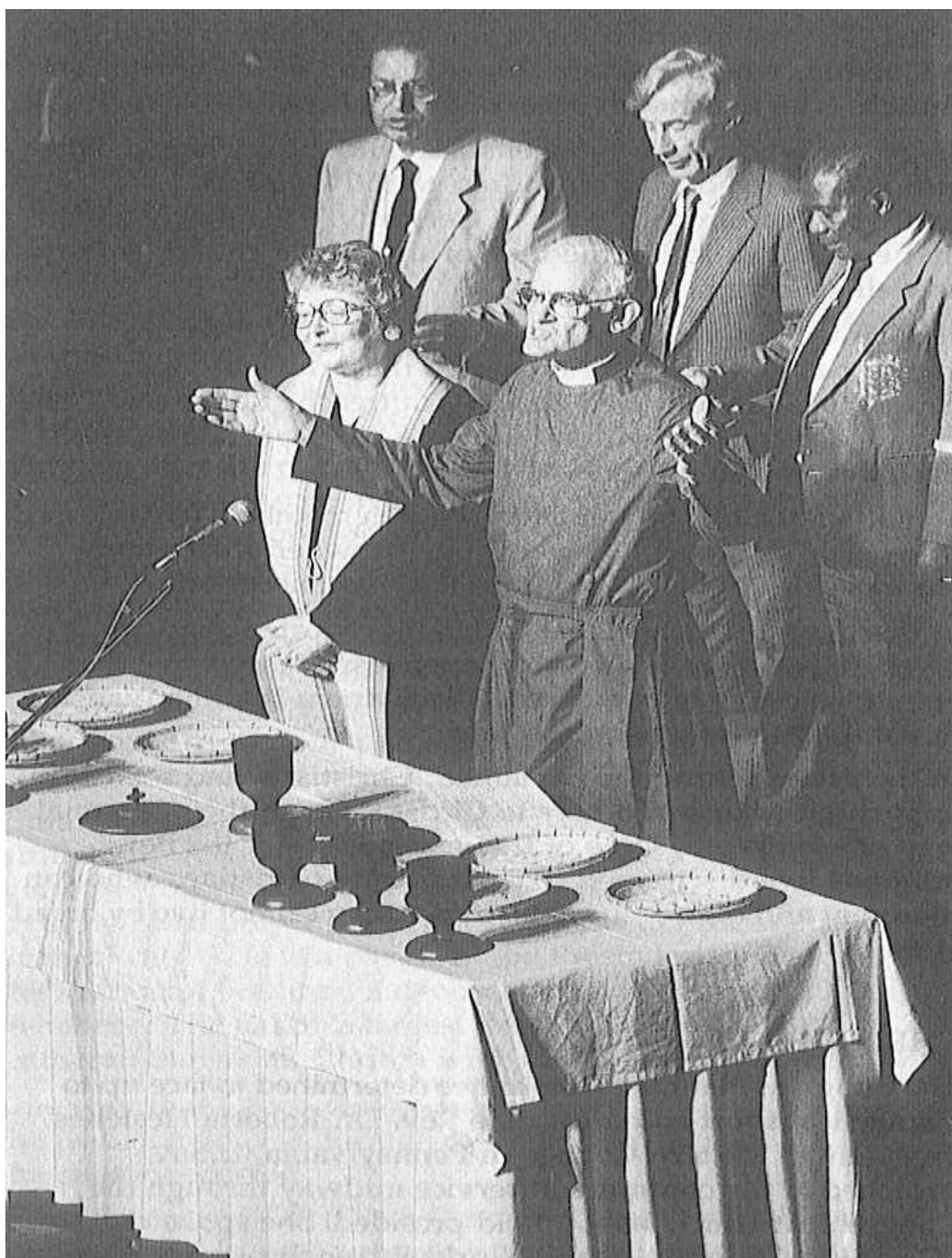
- E.1. the strategy which evangelized people-groups in their own language and culture.
- E.2. evangelizes people of a different language and culture
- E.3. evangelizes radically different languages and cultures

His model implied the greater 'the cultural distance', from E.1. to E.3., the greater the communication problems. He also showed that migrations had the real possibility of reaching into the E.3 category. Indeed, this was the opportunity now afforded to the churches. Migration to Australia since the mid-1970s was governed by a non-discriminatory racial migration policy. Winter had set the benchmark for evangelicals: 'The Highest Priority: Cross-Cultural Evangelism'.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ This was the title of the Lausanne II Congress, held at Manila, 1989, for further elaboration on par. 4 'The Gospel and Social Responsibility', see Nichols, *The whole gospel for the whole world : story of Lausanne II congress on World Evangelization, Manila 1989*, 115-16.

We repent that the narrowness of our concerns and visions has often kept us from proclaiming the lordship of Jesus Christ over all of life, private, public, local and global. We determine to obey his command to 'seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness' (Matthew 6:33).

⁹⁵ The so-titled, original paper he presented at Lausanne Ralph D Winter, "The Highest Priority: Cross-Cultural Evangelism," in *Let The Earth Hear His Voice, International Congress on World Evangelization Lausanne, Switzerland*, ed. J.D Douglas (Mineapolis, Minnesota USA: World Wide Publications, 1975), 71-75., see Chapter 6, titled 'Strategy' in *ibid*.



Photograph, Bishop Reid conducting the closing Service, at the Lausanne Conference 1989 in Manila. Cited from Nichols, Alan, ed. *The whole gospel for the whole world : story of Lausanne II congress on World Evangelization*, Manila 1989. Charlotte, N.C.: Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization and Regal Books, 1989, 15.

Sydney diocese since 1974, however, was not united in attempting to reach the benchmark of cross-cultural evangelism. It continued to be split theologically and ideologically along the 'pure' evangelism versus evangelism *and* social action/parish-based social welfare agendas. With Bishop John Reid at the

helm, HMS stood for 'the two sides of the one coin', i.e. parish-based-evangelism with social action/social welfare programming. Michael Hill, Lecturer in Philosophy and Ethics for 27 years at Moore College, made the following important distinction between social welfare programmes and social action, but he did *not* negate either for evangelicals:

... a distinction will be made between social action and social welfare. The term social welfare will refer to the actions of individual Christians or groups of Christians by which Christians do good for others be they individuals or groups. Examples of social welfare are feeding the hungry and providing shelter for the homeless. The term social action will refer to actions intended to change social structures. Social action may result in the overthrow of an institution or the modification of roles and structures within an institution. Examples of social action are the campaigns to abolish slavery or provide women with the vote. Social action would usually require some type of political activity.⁹⁶

In response to the insistence that evangelism is primary, he insisted that:

Even conceding that evangelism is primary in a very limited sense has its dangers. Such thinking might deny the logical link between evangelism and social action. It might suggest that there could be a choice between the two. Furthermore, it could recommend that evangelism is the only legitimate preference. To suggest this option would be like suggesting that one can enter a house and not be subject to the shape and the boundaries of the house. The reality is that evangelism will lead to conversion and conversion will lead to a new creation and that new creation will oblige people to be involved in social action ...

Further supporting the recognition of 'the context', he advised:

... If it is the case that social action is necessary, how much time should be given to it in relation to evangelism? Like most practical problems this issue can only be decided in context. It

⁹⁶ The following extract is taken from a discussion paper authored by Rev. Michael Hill, first presented for discussion at the Social Issues Committee, chaired by Bishop John Reid, Sydney Anglican Diocese, 1989, later published as Michael Hill, "An evangelical rationale for social action : discussion paper " in *Social Issues Committee (1989)* (Sydney: Social Issues Committee, Anglican Diocese of Sydney, 1989/1996), 2.

will depend on the gifts of the individual Christians involved and the demands of the context. Collective judgment might be needed to secure a balance.⁹⁷

Lessons learned: the former CESA, South Africa

Another conservative evangelical came home to roost when the Sydney-supported CESA (Church of England in Southern Africa) was exposed for its complacent racism (see also chapter 4 above). This was the regrettable outcome of the view that evangelism could and should be divorced from social action.⁹⁸ In the 'pure' evangelism world-view, the evil of apartheid did not need to be addressed, but was a 'given'.⁹⁹ When presiding Bishop Stephen Bradley (1965–1984) of the CESA came to preach in Sydney's St. Andrew's Cathedral, 1971, with the permission of D.B. Knox and D.W.B. Robinson. Bradley to the horror of the Sydney press extolled the virtues of 'separate development' from the pulpit.

Bishop Bradley defended South Africa's policy of Apartheid. He was a staunch supporter of the 'separate development' for blacks and whites and publicly defended all aspects of that horrendous government policy of discrimination.¹⁰⁰

The chasm between those that who held 'pure' evangelism as opposed to those who embraced evangelism *with* social responsibility/social welfare programmes could hardly have been wider. The bankruptcy of the pure evangelism approach was too evident to any who witnessed the horrific

⁹⁷ See *ibid.*, 13. It is noteworthy that M. Hill qualifies his discussion paper with: "the need for social welfare is conceded and pre-supposed".

⁹⁸ For a historical overview, see John Allen, "Appendix N,

The Truth and Reconciliation Hearings,

Submission from the Church of England in South Africa (CESA),

Presented by Bishop Frank Retief," in *Apartheid South Africa: an insider's view of the origin and effects of separate development* (New York, NY: iUniverse Inc, 2005)., also Frank (Bishop) Retief, "Church of England in South Africa. Testimony before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission," Truth and Reconciliation Commission, http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/ricsa/commiss/trc/cesa_sub.htm. For a brief history of the segregating practices of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa, written as a critique of the functioning of the HUP see W. A. Saayman, "The Case of South Africa: Practice, Context and Ideology," in *Exploring Church Growth*, ed. W.R. Shenk (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 132-43.

⁹⁹ Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The cultural logic of late capitalism* (Durham: Durham : Duke University Press, 1991), 35-36.

¹⁰⁰ Reid, *Marcus L. Loane: a biography*, 96. For a more extensive account, in the same tome see Chapter 18, titled: 'Problem in South Africa', pp 93-97

ongoing degrading treatment of human beings on the basis of their colour and South Africa's policy of perpetuating cheap and segregated labour. The horrors of Apartheid were well known to the world prior to the 1990s, with the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, resulting in the transition from non-violent protest to violent action, the death of activist, Steven Biko, in 1977, and the ongoing imprisonment of Nelson Mandela, from 1962 to 1989.

CESA Bishop Frank Retief, in his testimony to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in 1997, confessed the flaws created between church and society by the small evangelical denomination which the Sydney Anglican Diocese had supported in South Africa for more than a century:

It was strongly pietistic in its ethos and consequently according to the times in which we lived, separatist in its mentality. In the wider Anglican Communion, we had been stigmatised as a recalcitrant schismatic group of unreasonable right wing evangelicals. Now to some extent, we have no one to blame for these views but ourselves. We saw our theological position under threat and we acted accordingly. When the government made legislation that accorded with our moral or biblical understanding we supported them. However, on the great issue of justice for all, we were often insensitive. *We had not made the connection between gospel and society ...* (Italics my own)

Par. 4 ... The truth is that the full extent of the atrocities exposed by the TRC (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) *were in fact not known to us ...* Looking back, it is amazing that we were so naïve. Be that as it may, the fact of the matter is that we allowed ourselves to be misled into accepting a social, economic and political system that was cruel and oppressive.

Par. 5 ... We declared ourselves to be a-political and in this way failed to adequately understand the suffering of our many black members who were victims of apartheid. *Our failure to be involved in the political struggles of our land was a major error in both understanding and judgement and this mistake has caused us a great deal of embarrassment, heartache and pain.* (Italics my own)¹⁰¹

Elaborating further,

¹⁰¹ CESA, Apologia to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, South Africa, Retief, "Church of England in South Africa. Testimony before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission".

Insofar as the search for justice is part of the Christian's good works we believe we have failed.¹⁰²

It is imperative to note how the attempt to heal the racial divide in the post-Apartheid South Africa was attempted and conducted. Partly as an outcome of the Truth and Reconciliation hearings through a new form of interpretative legal justice – 'restorative justice'. Based on an integral aspect woven through historic southern African culture. This new system of justice as practiced through the TRC endeavoured to address not only the victim but also the perpetrator as the nation struggled to address the aftermath of the consequences of such a heinous legacy, black and white. The churches of South Africa had their role to play using their 'spiritual' and 'cultural' capital. Archbishop Emeritus Tutu from the Anglican Church of Southern Africa (ACSA)¹⁰³ reveals:

Further, retributive justice – in which an impersonal state hands down punishment with little consideration for victims and hardly any for the perpetrator – is not the only form of justice. I contend that there is another form of justice, restorative justice, which was characteristic of traditional African jurisprudence. Hence the central concern is not retribution or punishment but in the spirit of *Ubuntu*,¹⁰⁴ the healing of breaches, the re-dressing of imbalances, the restoration of broken relationships. This kind of justice seeks to rehabilitate both the victim

¹⁰² For a more extensive transcript see Appendix N, Allen, "Appendix N, The Truth and Reconciliation Hearings, Submission from the Church of England in South Africa (CESA), Presented by Bishop Frank Retief," 445.

¹⁰³ Formerly, Anglican Church of the Province of South Africa (CPSA), the name was changed in 2006.

¹⁰⁴ Tutu defines the concept of *Ubuntu* in the following way:

. . . [a] third way of conditional amnesty [integral to the TRC hearings] was consistent with a central feature of the African Weltanschauung (or world-view) – what we know as *ubuntu* in the Nguni group of languages, or *botho* in the Sotho languages . . . Ubuntu is very difficult to render into a Western language. It speaks of the very essence of being human. When we want to give high praise to someone we say, 'Yu, u nobuntu'; 'Hey, he or she has *ubuntu*.' This means they are generous, hospitable, friendly, caring, and compassionate. They share what they have. It also means my humanity is caught up, is inextricably bound up in theirs. We belong in a bundle of life. We say, 'a person is a person through other people'. It is not 'I think therefore I am'. It says rather: 'I am human because I belong .' Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness*, 34,35.

and the perpetrator, who should be given the opportunity to be reintegrated into the community he or she has injured by his or her offence . . . Thus we would claim restorative justice, is being served when efforts are being made to work for healing, for forgiveness and for reconciliation.¹⁰⁵

The TRC emphasis through the Ubuntu concept of belonging further supports indigenizing the African cultural, collectivist paradigm versus the Western individualist trope.¹⁰⁶ However, the synchronous Christian core-values of forgiveness, healing and reconciliation are integral as ascribed to the healing process and are unmistakable for believers.¹⁰⁷

Yet it is Arevalo S.J., who reminds Western culture with its individualist 'lone ranger' trope of the 'spirituality of mission':

The thrust of grass-roots ecclesial communities is a return to the most fundamental of Christian basics: *koinonia*, the Trinitarian life experienced and shared with the community of faith, hope and love. Mission today must be about the creation of Christian community, about the building up of human solidarity, beginning on the grass-roots level.¹⁰⁸

Is this part of the endemic malaise of Western Christianity? Once again the answers are coming from the Third world churches, C. René Padilla from Ecuador reminds the West:

It is high time for Christians in the affluent countries to recognise their own poverty.

109

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 51,52.

¹⁰⁶ Triandis, "Theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of collectivism and individualism," 45-51.

¹⁰⁷ 1 Corinthians 12:26, 27, Galatians 6:2, Hebrews 13:3, 1 Peter 3:8

¹⁰⁸ C.G. Arevalo S.J., "The Pillars of Mission in Asia," in *Mission in the Nineteen 90's*, ed. G.H. Anderson, Phillips, J.M., Coote, R.T. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 40.

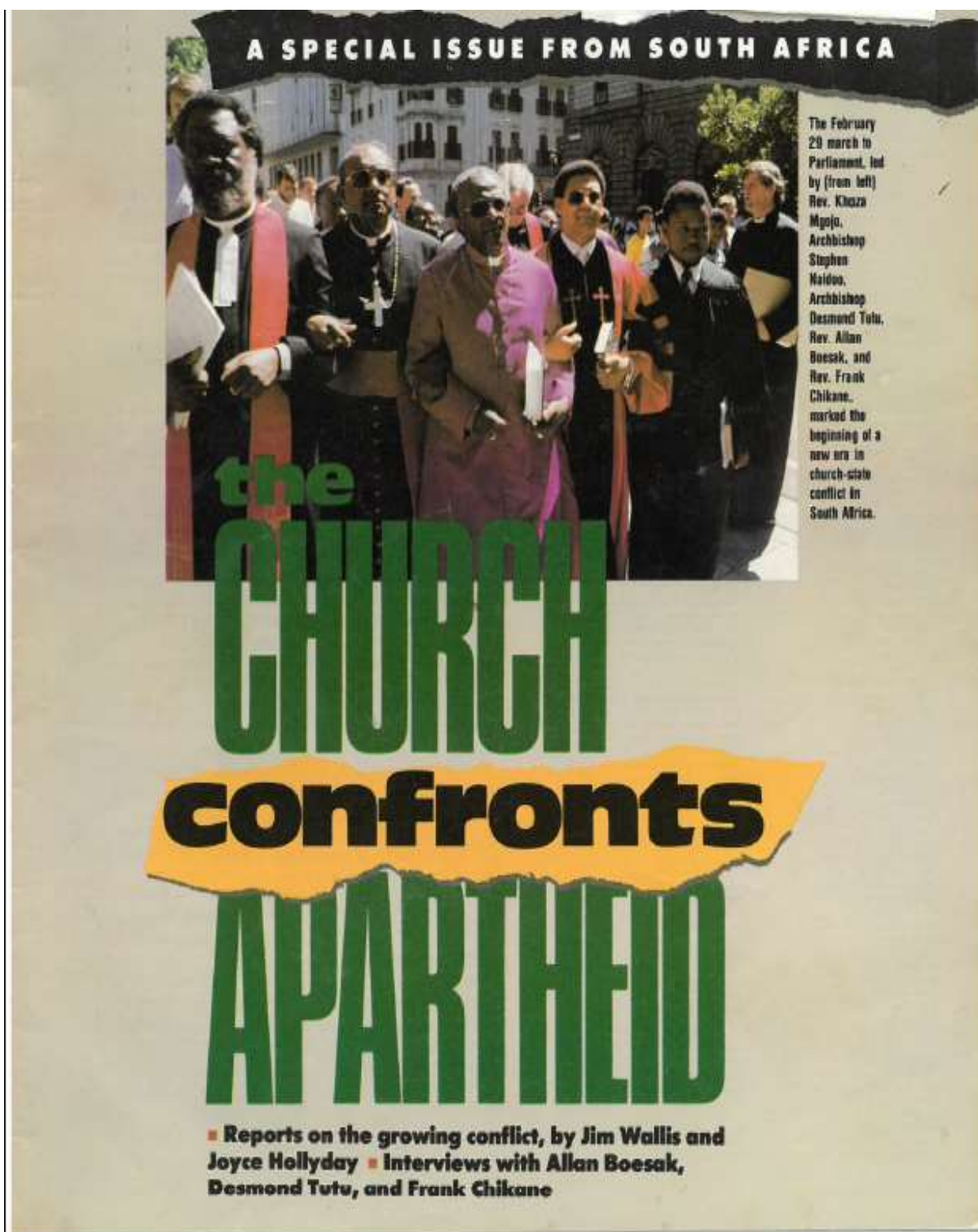
¹⁰⁹ C. René Padilla, "Toward the Globalization and Integrity of Mission," in *Mission in the 1990's*, ed. G.H. Anderson, Phillips, J.M., Coote, R.T. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 31.

Perhaps the tension between church and social responsibility from the position of the Sydney Diocese is summed up by former Principal of Moore Theological College (1985-2001), (immediate antecedent to D.B. Knox,(1959–1985)) and Archbishop, Peter Jensen (2001-2013):

‘I don’t know what social justice is’, Jensen says for example. ‘I think that’s a Catholic expression, it comes from Catholic moral theology.’ . . .Hence I’m asking what does social justice mean? But at least I want to know the answer to that’. . . ‘The best thing I can do for this country is to make more Christians,’ Jensen has declared. ‘There’s no divide between preaching the gospel and the social consequences that flow from it. These are tremendously important, but they do flow from it-they don’t precede it. You don’t make Christians by creating good works.’¹¹⁰

The consequences of a class-riddled, ‘privatised’ religion as a characteristic of church life is rarely if ever mentioned. For the history of the DCCM introducing cross-cultural evangelistic programmes into the parishes (1987-2000), (e.g. Ethno-specific evangelists, ESL programmes) was not without its challenges. For mainstream congregations to become inclusive of ‘the NES Other’, as this thesis has demonstrated, required a necessary paradigm-shift, to *willingly* incorporate the NES, to be integrated as much as is possible into church life. Therefore without a Christian community in and through the grass-roots the new NESB converts would be attempting to grow in poor soil. As is so very much the life of the NES migrant/refugee, adaptation to the new soil requires strength of solidarity, support and community-building into their new world. The church with its parish structure is ideally suited to meet such wholistic needs through Christian community building in addressing the wholistic needs of the NES. This is not merely a student/teacher intellectual relationship but the creation of a tangible form of ‘extended family’ through Christian community building, beginning at the parish level. It does mean of course, the sharing of resources, both spiritual and practical in community.

¹¹⁰ McGillion, *The chosen ones : the politics of salvation in the Anglican Church*, 158.



Cover page, "The Church Confronts Apartheid." *Sojourners*, 1988 August/ September.

The first democratically held elections that included all South Africans of 'colour' after the fall of Apartheid, accompanied by the release of Nelson Mandela, were held in 1994.¹¹¹ Archbishop Emeritus (of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, CPSA)¹¹² Desmond Mpilo Tutu's response in heading up the TRC,¹¹³ in the aftermath of Apartheid, disarmingly critiqued the so-called 'a-political stance', using indigenous African imagery:

If you are neutral in situations of injustice, you have chosen the side of the oppressor. If an elephant has its foot on the tail of a mouse and you say that you are neutral, the mouse will not appreciate your neutrality.¹¹⁴

The social sciences also saw through the vacuity of neutrality. They were becoming increasingly adept at evaluating those social structures which perpetuated inequality in the post-Christian west. The postmodernists spoke of 'de-constructing the meta-narrative', which in simple terms involves 'stripping a story of its ideology' in order to assess issues of inequality.¹¹⁵ It became easier for socially radical Christians to understand how those most at risk and marginalised could be reached through various forms of supportive welfare action, such as what has been recognised in this thesis as Christian community development. The varied ministries aimed at creating a renewing and restorative Christian community was now supported by such sociological constructs as social capital and social solidarity. Equipped with such knowledge, many more Christian soldiers were at the ready to meaningfully engage with the post-Christian, postmodern world and knowingly bring their wounded back with them, into the folds of sanctuary through an embedded Christian community, through the local

¹¹¹ See web-page Alistair Boddy-Evans, "Apartheid FAQ: When Did Apartheid End?," <http://africanhistory.about.com/od/apartheidfaq/f/HowEnded.htm>.

¹¹² The former CPSA also changed its name in 2006, to The Anglican Church of Southern Africa (ACSA)

¹¹³ Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness*.

¹¹⁴ William P. Quigley, *Ending Poverty As We Know It : Guaranteeing a Right to a Job at a Living Wage* (Philadelphia, USA: Temple University Press, 2003), 8.

¹¹⁵ Lausanne Issue Group No. 16 and Principal Writer: Johnson, "Lausanne Occasional Paper 45, Religious and Non-Religious Spirituality in a Post Modern World," 187.

church. But such soldiers were unlikely to be found in REPA ranks. For the HMS during the REPA ascendancy, 'the going, was going to get rough'.¹¹⁶

The Sydney Evangelical Conundrum

It is suggested by Chris McGillion that Bishop John Reid was a 'status quo' candidate in the 1993 election synod for Archbishop:¹¹⁷

He was a strong advocate of the view that the Church must maintain as a priority its commitment to social welfare work.

All of this was anathema to [REPA] radical conservatives-¹¹⁸ (Inclusion my own).

Fundamentally, this thesis would argue against McGillion's exposition that Reid "was a status-quo candidate", yet in a sense McGillion is correct to identify Reid as the 'logical successor' in the race for Archbishop.¹¹⁹ In fact it needs to be argued that Reid was in fact *too* radical for REPA. According to the

¹¹⁶ McGillion citing the Rev Ballantyne-Jones explaining the "20 Colonels" at the helm of REPA had become 'confused with the Phillip-as-Archbishop' twist (2005, p.13). Their reform agenda (REPA) was as much about themselves in this typical 'in-group' setting-having self-authorized their authority and their self-sanctioned imprimatur to re-define Sydney Anglicanism-once again in their own image. All of this and more in light of the Women's Ordination debate was clouded through the issue of Lay-presidency (i.e. the laity being able to preside over the eucharist, or holy communion). These debates continued through the Goodhew episcopate (1993-2001). For a researched overview of machinations of REPA, particularly in the lead-up to the election see McGillion, *The chosen ones : the politics of salvation in the Anglican Church*, 7-10.

¹¹⁷ The CCM Co-Ordinator in discussions with Bishop Reid over the 13-year life of the department, recalls how he detested the practice of Medical personnel being dissuaded from using their gifts on the 'mission field' in order to do 'student work', rather than medical missionary work. He also was instrumental in continuing ministry to the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender/Transsexual and Intersexed, (LGBTI) community, through the Sydney parish of St. Luke's, Enmore. In his own words as CCM Co-Ordinator recalled: "because they need ministry too".

For a discussion of just 'how Anglican are Sydney Anglicans' see Michael P Jensen, "Are Sydney Anglicans actually Anglicans?," <http://www.abc.net.au/religion/articles/2011/09/01/3307437.htm>., his same-titled chapter in, "Are Sydney Anglicans actually Anglicans?," in *Sydney Anglicanism: An Apology* (Or. USA: Wipf & Stock, 2012). See also Muriel Porter, "Beyond the cathedral doors: [Paper in: The Lure of Fundamentalism. Schultz, Julianne (ed.)], " *Griffith review*, no. 7 (2005); *The new Puritans : the rise of fundamentalism in the Anglican Church* for critiques of Sydney Anglicanism as a 'fundamentalist' movement.

¹¹⁸ However, as within 'a closed culture' i.e. only known to the innermost circle, McGillion does not explain why, "Social Welfare work was an anathema" to the REPA grouping despite the various inceptions of The Church Society/HMS operating within the Sydney Anglican denomination since 1856. The stigma however, endured with the Society not tolerated by 'REPA colonels'. See McGillion, *The chosen ones : the politics of salvation in the Anglican Church* 12.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 11-12.

Rev Bruce Ballantine-Jones, it would be D.B. Knox's influence through ACL that had successfully blocked Reid from becoming Archbishop in 1982.¹²⁰ Reid's subsequent extraordinary endorsement of the department of Cross-cultural ministries within HMS would have done nothing to enhance his chances of election in 1993. The department, as we have seen was, founded and co-ordinated by laywoman, Mersina Soulos (1987-2000), and based on Reid's vision and support. It piloted the first Deanery ESL ministry programme (Marrickville Area Deanery) headed by former CMS missionary to Tanzania, Nancy Lewis. It grew to include the diocesan ESL Ministry, implemented and headed initially by Nancy Lewis (1993-96), then Susan Keevers (1996-2000) along with former missionary to Nepal, Kath White (overseeing the ESL Library 1995-97), along with the first-ever ordained female 'Evangelist to the Chinese Community' appointment, Irene Mok (1995-2000).¹²¹ All these appointments are attributable to Reid's visionary creativity, and, on his retirement, continued to be supported by Archbishop Harry Goodhew. All of the above women focussed on their areas of ministry, worked co-operatively and collaboratively as a team together and operated out of the one diocesan department. Sydney's best kept secret was that Sydney Anglican women were attending to "the too-hard basket" for ministry amongst those of NESB. But none of this commended Reid to REPA.

Reid, whilst of necessity keeping his cards close to his chest, supported Women's Ordination, so confirming REPA's suspicions that he was 'soft' on this non-negotiable matter.¹²² His view was confirmed most explicitly only in the funeral eulogy for him. He all along supported the Christian Community Development agenda, via the Bowie Report, and was responsible for the risky restructuring of HMS/Care Force at the time. Such extraordinary accomplishments proved to be too 'dangerous' for some. This thesis argues that Reid took *the most* radical of positions by already 'letting a thousand [evangelical] flowers bloom' with a 'broad church' approach in his episcopal oversight of the South Sydney region (21 years), and his chairmanship of HMS and the Social Issues Committee for over 10 years. In all these contested areas he was a "master strategist",¹²³ as evidenced by how he graciously allowed the continuation of ministries such as St. Matthias ministries that *did not* tick all the Anglican boxes.

¹²⁰ Cameron, *An Enigmatic Life, David Broughton Knox, Father of Sydney Anglicanism.*, 257.

¹²¹ *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, (Sydney Square: Diocesan registry, 2001), 229.

¹²² (McGillion, 2005, p.12)

¹²³ (In conversation with S. Piggin, January, 2016)

It is a contention of this thesis that Reid was in fact *too* radical for the REPA agenda. For example, he supported CCM in *both* church-planting amongst the NESB communities as well as addressing their social welfare/psychological needs. It was clear from those who were doing the NESB church-planting, that the social/welfare/needs agenda was part and parcel of ministry amongst the NES populations. Such needs as ESL, help with employment, or with citizenship status, were to be met. They were not to be compartmentalized so as *not* to matter, or to be *someone else's problem*. The NESB Ethnic Workers' Forum as convened by the CCM Co-Ordinator over the life of the department would have thought of such compartmentalization as decidedly odd. Nor did it matter to them (i.e. the convened Ethnic Workers' Forum) that female leaders/evangelists, such as Irene Mok, had been raised up to church-plant amongst NESB populations. For the Ethnic Workers' Forum at least the work was now at long last being done, gender was in fact not the issue - Jesus was. Church-planting across the broad spectrum of NESB populations, was a possibility for parishes who had the requisite workers to begin. For Sydney, funding the CCM work via the HMS department in this period was not the primary issue; finding and recruiting the workers, was.¹²⁴ For Reid his enduring legacy was in attempting to change 'the mono-cultural' into the 'cross-cultural'. The creation of the DCCM and those who ministered in such fields, was in part a fulfilment.

An experimental lay interaction

The CCM team were encouraged in the early 1990s by a remarkable development within the Peakhurst parish. A ministry to Turkish women was shared by the rector, Alan Donohoo, Mrs Betty Smart, former School Principal, who already had an ESL ministry with Turkish women, and Mrs Cathy Huard, wife of Archdeacon Geoff Huard, who had been part of the CCM Advisory Committee from its inception. The credibility and trust in the relationship was developed to the point that the Turkish women with their children were allowed by their husbands to go with the female pre-School teachers on a camp for 3 days to Gerroa on the NSW South coast. The Turkish women themselves, later describing the event, spoke of "relief at being away from their husbands".¹²⁵ Trust had obviously been established on both sides through the interaction of the women (Turkish and non-Turkish) via the Pre-School. The screening of the Jesus film on the last night of their stay concluded with a discussion of

¹²⁴ This was evident through the Ethnic Workers' Forum meetings (1987-2000), conducted by the Co-Ordinator CCM observed by her over the life of the department. In fact, Irene Mok used the ESL ministry as a means to begin church-planting at St. John's Cathedral, Parramatta (1999-2000) where the ongoing church-planting/social welfare model is still in place today. (Notes taken from the Rev Mok's Interview for this thesis).

¹²⁵ Cited from Mrs. Cathy Huard's conversation, regarding this thesis.

the question 'who was the real Jesus'? The event evidenced the efficacy of trust that was earned from both sides and the ministry of women to women across cultural barriers.¹²⁶ This was taken as evidence of the potential of urban evangelism among newcomers in whose country of origin little or no evangelism existed.



Camp at Gerroa, 1996, Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Cathy Huard.

The DCCM along with its Advisory Committee became a conduit for linking interested persons (lay and clerical) in Cross-Cultural ministry with resources and encouragement across the diocese. They managed to operate below the radar of internal Sydney Anglican debates, protected through the Reid/HMS legacy of Christian community development in the Sydney Diocese.

¹²⁶ The example of female lay ministry, with Mrs. Betty Smart and Mrs. Cathy Huard with minority Muslim women was discussed in the interview for this thesis, Cathy especially described the need for “trust” to be built as well as Archdeacon, Geoff Huard. The photos from the event were graciously supplied by Mrs. Cathy Huard. (Mrs. Betty Smart is taking the photo, with Cathy Huard sitting in the middle, with the red shirt).



Camp at Gerroa, 1996, Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Cathy Huard.

The Sydney Anglican Diocese in the decade of the 1990s, became ever more polarized, as internal ecclesiastical politics grew more lethal. For some Anglicans, the politics became the whole game, while others, without ignoring the politics, managed to remain faithful to a higher mission. One who fought consistently for the radical Anglican tradition was Keith Mason, formerly Solicitor General NSW who served on HMS Council for many years. His views were reported thus in *The Melbourne Anglican*:

The real difficulty he argues lies in our incapacity to locate our religious belief and experience in the things that are significant to us as Australians: work, family, recreation, retirement, health and sickness. He quotes Bishop Bruce Wilson of Bathurst as saying that the church is marginalised because the laity have failed to work out its vocation to be Christian in the public sphere. Christians, Mr Mason continues, have usually assumed that the interests, needs, desires of organised religion equate with the demands of the gospel. But history and scripture indicate this need not be so. With the benefit of hindsight, we can confidently see instances where the church as a structure or denomination has, by opposing movements within society, put its own

welfare ahead of the spiritual and other needs of those who in Christ's name the Church is supposed to serve ...

But there is still ... ambiguity about the place of welfare activities in the Church's mission. When the churches speak on welfare issues, they are often very effective; church welfare is the most "acceptable and credible face of organised religion" to many outsiders. The media ... tends to treat our statements on welfare issues with "considerably more respect than ecclesiastical statements about sexual morality".¹²⁷

Sydney Diocese during the 1990s began a period of experimentation with differing models of ministry being trialled on various levels: parish, deanery, and with HMS as the cross-cultural missionary society at home. These models of ministry involved taking risks and would serve as the training ground for innovative ministries. The reaction by some was to retreat even further into a hardened conservative fortress, convinced that it had worked for them in previous troubled times. Bishop Reid's strategies felt most threatening to these rather 'grim' arch-conservative forces. The classical debate for Sydney evangelicals continued through its own internal dissension, and was acted out through the ongoing questioning of the place of HMS in the life of the Diocese. HMS continued to fight for its delicately-balanced mission of evangelism and social welfare programming at the cutting-edge. This was appreciated by those who had a visionary embrace of the task of mission. Many of them were women, and they had to wrestle with the added problem of the ongoing unresolved dispute over their own status. Casualties were inevitable, and women the most likely to experience the pain.

¹²⁷ Cited from an an Interview with Keith Mason QC by Muriel Porter, "Law, Religion, Morality," *The Melbourne Anglican* 1995, April, 16.

Chapter 9

‘The Perfect Storm’ and the collapse of the Department of Cross-cultural Ministries

The governments of Fraser, Hawke, and Keating (1975-1996) had embraced policies of Multiculturalism enthusiastically. The social/cultural capital produced by multiculturalism was belatedly recognised as bringing a greater worth to the construction of a national identity for a post-World War II Australia. The Howard Government (1996-2007) proceeded on a different path, aiming to repossess a ‘hegemonic’ identity through the pursuit of attempting to demarcate Australian values. The decade of the nineties produced the Hanson phenomenon, which further pushed the contentious divisions of race and entitlement into the public sphere. The pace of change during this decade, resulted in a resistance or ‘backlash’ to what many considered were decisions and policy which tore at the fragile fabric of Australia’s attempts at the management of cultural diversity as an ‘immigrant receiving’ nation.

In this chapter three issues will be reviewed:

- a) The 1990s as a decade which brought many challenges to the management of Multicultural policies.
- b) The response of the Sydney Anglican Diocese to NES diversity.
- c) The challenge to HMS/Anglicare in re-defining its identity in the light of the advent of diocesan ‘regionalization’ (1996) and its role in the ‘abolition’ of the CCM department (2000).

The tension between the dynamic concepts of Multiculturalism and Australian values influencing Australia’s social policy became evident with the entry of the one who former Australian Prime minister Malcolm Fraser called ‘honest John’.¹ John Winston Howard, leading the conservative Liberal government, defeated the Keating Labor government in 1996, and then won three consecutive federal elections (1998, 2001, 2004). A new era now emerged for those who wanted to reclaim conservative ground. One particularly troubling aspect of this period was the rise of Pauline Hanson’s ‘One Nation

¹ Peter Van Onselen and Wayne Errington, "John Howard the Great Communicator: No, Really!" (paper presented at the Australian & New Zealand Communication Association International Conference, University of Adelaide, 2006), 8.

party'. She was originally a Liberal Party candidate who was disendorsed and later won the seat for Oxley as an Independent MP (1996). She characterized herself as a "fish and chips shop" lady,² and managed to let the Australian racism genie out of its bottle. She played on Australia's historical 'national neurosis' - the fear of invasion. She eschewed 'political correctness' and brought to the fore a redneck Australian identity that attempted to reclaim its original colonizer's entitlements that had been overshadowed by Multiculturalism/Indigenous policy reforms.³ Her attempt at re-defining history included the denial of Indigenous, multi-dimensional disadvantage and the claim that Australia was being invaded by 'the yellow hordes'. To quote from her maiden speech (1996):

We now have a situation where ... a reverse type of racism is applied to mainstream Australians by those who promote political correctness and those who control the various tax-payer industries that 'flourish' in our society servicing Aboriginals, multiculturalists and a host of other minority groups ... I and most Australians want our immigration policy radically reviewed and that of multiculturalism abolished. I believe we are in danger of being swamped by Asians. Between 1984 and 1995, 40 per cent of all migrants coming into this country were of Asian origin. They have their own culture and religion, form ghettos and do not assimilate ... if I can invite whom I want into my home, then I should have the right to have a say in who comes into my country.⁴

Hansonism fermented racist, anti-immigration feeling among the Australian population making acceptable to the majority the slogan which became the hallmark of the Howard government's re-election in 2001:⁵ 'But we will decide who comes to this country and the circumstances in which they come.'⁶

² P Hanson, "Maiden Speech," *House of Representatives Official Hansard* no.208, no. THIRTY EIGHTH PARLIAMENT FIRST SESSION-SECOND PERIOD (1996, September 10), http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/chamber/hansardr/1996-09-10/toc_pdf/H%201996-09-10.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf#search=%22chamber/hansardr/1996-09-10/0000%22.

³ Pal Ahluwalia and Greg McCarthy, "'Political Correctness': Pauline Hanson and the Construction of Australian Identity," *Australian journal of public administration* 57, no. 3 (1998).

⁴ Hanson, "Maiden Speech". 3862.

⁵ Koleh, "Multiculturalism: a review of Australian policy statements and recent debates in Australia and overseas".

⁶ "Election Speech, J. W. Howard for the Liberal/National coalition, delivered at Sydney, NSW," <http://electionspeeches.moadoph.gov.au/speeches/2001-john-howard>.

What Marion Maddox described as an 'us and them' paradigm was now popular in every-day discourse.⁷ A sizeable movement, tearing at the fabric of Australia's fragile multicultural tapestry, had emerged. It was to come from 'within', from a disenfranchised section of the community, who in their sense of entitlement, had begun the blame game, complaining of queue-jumping, unemployment, ghettos, and welfare cheats. Opposition to multiculturalism was tested in the stand-off with the Norwegian freighter, MV Tampa, in August 2001. It rescued 438 Afghani asylum-seekers in international waters off Australia, setting off an international incident when permission for the asylum-seekers to be brought to Australia was denied. This stand against the right to seek asylum (arguably contravening Australia's UN Human rights obligations) brought John Howard higher approval in the Australian opinion polls, and he won the 2001 'Tampa' election with an even greater majority.⁸ The focus on immigration and terrorism aided his re-election.⁹

The Howard years ignited the search for Australian values: was it the Gallipoli Anzacs? Was it the cricketer D. Bradman, was it the Queen and her royal family?¹⁰ Or was it those populations who had 'integrated' into the fabric of Australian culture, using the example of the Greek population in Canberra?¹¹ For C. Johnson, this was an attempt at restoring Anglo-Celtic heritage '... implicitly the most privileged form of both European identity and whiteness'.¹² The rhetoric during this period continued questioning just who were 'the real Australians' and what were 'real' Australian values?¹³

⁷ Marion Maddox, *God under Howard* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2005).

⁸ Shaun Carney, "The challenge for Australia," *The Age* 2004, September 11.

⁹ Murray Goot and Ian Watson, "Explaining Howard's success: Social structure, issue agendas and party support, 1993–2004," *Australian Journal of Political Science* 42, no. 2 (2007): 267–68.

¹⁰ Such questions were put into newly-constructed Questionnaires to be passed so as to obtain Australian Citizenship, for a more detailed examination see M Metherell and T Dick, "New citizens face test on 200 questions," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, <http://www.smh.com.au/news/national/new-citizens-face-test-on-200-questions/2006/12/11/1165685615942.html>, also Emily Farrell, "'Do I feel Australian? No you tell Me': debating the Introduction of the Australian Formal Citizenship test," in *From Migrant to Citizen: Testing Language, Testing Culture*, ed. C Slade and M Mollering (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2010). See chapter 9, asking: '*Do I feel Australian? No you tell Me': debating the Introduction of the Australian Formal Citizenship test*'. Ibid, pages 164–190.

¹¹ Giannacopoulos, "Nomos Basileus: The Reign of Law in a 'World of Violence'," 5.

¹² Carol Johnson, "John Howard's 'values' and Australian identity," *Australian journal of political science* 42, no. 2 (2007): 197.

¹³ (Ibid. 2007)

Prime minister Howard refused to use the "M" word - multiculturalism in the public discourse.¹⁴ The word was eliminated from the Ministry of Immigration and Citizenship in 2007.¹⁵ He proceeded to describe it as a 'confused and muddled' policy, especially when it came to his pre-occupation with defining Australian values.¹⁶ This was a sustained attempt to circumscribe what R. Tzanelli has described as 'political debate on cultural production and experience'.¹⁷ Indeed Jakubowicz (2003) describes the pendulum swinging to the right:

The Government closed the BIMPR, effectively shunted OMA off to Immigration and reduced its already limited freedom of action, and made it clear that multiculturalism was a suspect concept that had no place in the new world of free speech and individualism. Under the advice of two conservative think-tanks, the Institute for Public Affairs in Melbourne, and the Centre for Independent Studies in Sydney, a sustained attack on the underpinnings of multiculturalism was accelerated.¹⁸

Howard and his longtime minister for Immigration, Philip Ruddock (1996-2007), author of the 'Pacific solution',¹⁹ are known to be church-going Anglicans.²⁰ Other Anglicans, however, began to resist

¹⁴ G Sheridan, "Just don't mention the 'M' word " *The Australian* 1997, December 12., see also video excerpt in his address to the Federation of Ethnic Community Councils Australia FECCA, bringing attention to the future 'dismantling' of the policy, Multiculturalism. See excerpt SBS Television, "Howard challenges Multiculturalism," <http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/library/media/Video/id/358>. Despite putting forward a Parliamentary Statement for Racial Tolerance, again omitting the 'M' word. See John Howard, "Parliamentary Statement on Racial Tolerance," Hansard, <http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/library/media/Document/id/535.Racial-Tolerance>.

¹⁵ Klinken Whelan, "25 years of EAPS: Review of EAPS operation in New South Wales " 14.

¹⁶ This theme was again confirmed by John Howard when answering questions from the floor chaired by Prof. Naren Chitty. It included one question put to him by the author of this thesis on the occasion of his receiving an honorary doctorate from Macquarie University, asking him 'why did he consider the social policy of Multiculturalism to be a 'confused and muddled policy?' "John Howard awarded honorary doctorate," Macquarie University-Newsroom, <http://mq.dev.survivor.mq.edu.au/newsroom/2012/04/10/john-howard-awarded-honorary-doctorate/>.

¹⁷ R. Tzanelli, "Cultural Intimations and the Commodification of Culture " in *Rodanthi's Artsite* (Google, 2008).

¹⁸ Andrew Jakubowicz, "Auditing Multiculturalism: the Australian empire a generation after Galbally," Making Multicultural Australia: a research Library, http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/ma_2.pdf.

¹⁹ Asylum-seekers were to be sent to another sovereign country, housing asylum-seekers at Australia's expense. See Elizabeth Farrelly, "The breathtaking irony of Philip Ruddock's UN human rights appointment," Sydney

government policy, including those identified in this thesis as belonging to the 'radical minority evangelical tradition'. Archdeacon Huard came out swinging, protesting the Howard government's dismantling of the Bureau of Immigration Research (BIMPR) in 1996.²¹ In the same year the Sydney Diocese significantly pledged \$1.2 million to the Aboriginal Ministry Trust Fund.²² As the chain reaction to multiculturalism set in, based on racism and obfuscated entitlement, Archbishop Goodhew addressed it head on in his 1996 Synod Presidential Address:

There is much in the recent debate which has been ill-informed, provocative and deeply offensive. I have heard that some of our Asian brothers and sisters have been physically and verbally abused, some spat at while walking down the street. Others talk of their deep sense of grief at finding themselves rejected in the country they have chosen as their home ... A monocultural ethnic Australia would neither benefit the gospel nor promote peace and justice in our world.²³

The CCM Co-Ordinator made it known through various media channels, (including SBS Greek radio) that stereotyping and racist comments from a federal politician were giving such attitudes an air of respectability:

Morning Herald, <http://www.smh.com.au/comment/ruddock-and-pell-promoted-to-their-level-of-malefeasance-20160210-gmq8n3.html>.

²⁰ Stuart. Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia : spirit, word and world*, vol. Revised Edition (Brunswick East, Vic: Acorn Press, 2012), 240.

²¹ ". . .and Huard attacks Bureau of Immigration Research closure," *Church Scene, a national Anglican newspaper* 1996, August 8, 3. Indeed J. Jupp notes the newly-elected Prime minister took a personal interest in dismantling the Bureau (BIR), as 'nothing was put in its place', as well as the closure of the Office of Multicultural Affairs (OMA). J. Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 74-75.

²² "Sydney Pays the Rent," *Church Scene, national Anglican newspaper* 1996, November 8, 7. That included support from Archdeacon Donohoo, Prof. M. Horsburgh and K. Mason Q.C. The same year ATSIC, (Aboriginal Torres Strait Islander Commission) the premium body for Indigenous Affairs is de-funded under the Howard Government "ATSIC cuts 'horrific and shameful'," *Church Scene, national Anglican newspaper* 1996, August 30, 3. Prime minister Howard, re-igniting the Australian history wars, 'there was no genocide against Indigenous Australians', H Davidson, "John Howard: there was no genocide against Indigenous Australians," *The Guardian*, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/22/john-howard-there-was-no-genocide-against-indigenous-australians>.

²³ "Goodhew attacks racist comments," *Church Scene, national Anglican newspaper* 1996, November 8, 3., R. H Goodhew, "Presidential Address,, 1996," in *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney* (Sydney Square: Diocesan Registry, 1997), 321-22.

This can be seen on a daily basis in the increase in racist incidents against people from our congregations ... many Christians from Asian backgrounds felt scapegoated for Australia's economic problems and cut out of mainstream Australia.²⁴

Margaret Rodgers, CEO of Anglican Media for the Sydney Anglican diocese, wrote that '*Christians must stand up for refugees* as the concern is recognized as urgent' and that demonising refugees 'runs counter to Christian teaching'.²⁵



An HMS/Diocesan publicity photograph located inside St. John the Evangelist, Anglican church Campsie, including from the left CCM Co-ordinator. Front row middle: Simon Woo, last on row Dr. Jeanette Boyd. Back row: Roweena, identified from the St. John's congregation. Cited from:

"Racism a terrible worry." *Southern Cross*, 1997, July, 12.

For the Anglican Church of Australia, a Multicultural Committee was inaugurated in 1996, comprising (Chairman) Bishop Ron Williams, Brisbane Diocese; Jim Houston, Director Cross-Cultural Ministries Melbourne (Secretary); Bishop Roger Herft, Newcastle Diocese; and Mersina Soulos HMS, Sydney Diocese. Invaluable input was received from the General Secretary of the General Synod, Bruce Kaye (1994-2004).²⁶

²⁴ "Racism a terrible worry," *Southern Cross* 1997, July, 12., the escalation of racist incidents is also confirmed in X. Tang's interview "Racism: street-level experience," *Church Scene*, national Anglican newspaper 1996, November 29, 7.

²⁵ Margaret Rodgers, "Christians must stand up for refugees," *Southern Cross* 1998, August, 9.

²⁶ Kaye is the same theologian/historian who had addressed the Christians in Social Work conference "Beginnings" (paper presented at the Proceedings of the Christians in Social Work/ Social Welfare Conference,

In the belief that there was no time to lose, a leaflet was produced entitled 'Disciples of All Nations - The Anglican Church of Australia, learning to be an International church within a Multicultural Australia' (1996). It was written by Jim Houston and Mersina Soulos and was sent to every Anglican parish in the country.²⁷ The leaflet broke new ground in that it was designed for small group work, to assist in sermon preparation, and had the complete support of the General Secretary Bruce Kaye as well as the Primate Keith Rayner.

What followed was also extraordinary: the development of a policy for the national Anglican church written by the Multicultural General Synod Committee. It was a Christian response to the need of NES minorities and a plea for the continuation of Australia's functioning policy of Multiculturalism. The following Resolution was passed at the General Synod, 1998:

71/98 Multicultural Committee

The Right Reverend R. Williams moved, the Right Reverend R.G. Smith seconding,

(1) That General Synod adopt the Policy and Principles concerning the Anglican Church's mission and ministry in Australia's multicultural society, as outlined in the appendix to the Multicultural Committee Report, and commends them for adoption by each diocese.

(2) That on the basis of:

(a) the comparative statistical information to be made available by the General Synod Office from the 1996 National Census and the 1996 National Church Life Survey, and

(b) the practical suggestions for action at parish level contained in the General Synod document 'Disciples of all Nations', and other resource material,

each diocese develop appropriate responses in mission and evangelism.

1984). His prolific work included: B. N Kaye and J.W Neville, eds., *Immigration-What kind of Australia Do We Want ?* (Sydney: New College the University of NSW, 1989)., Kaye, "Christianity and Multiculturalism in Australia.", Kaye, *A church without walls: being Anglican in Australia.*, "Plurality and Identity in the Modern World," *Journal of Anglican Studies* 9, no. 01 (2011).

²⁷ The leaflet was launched in Sydney, by M. Soulos and then head of Mary Andrews College, the Rev. Jackie Stoneman, Deaconess House "CCM co-writes new brochure," *CARE* 1996, November., "New Cross-Cultural leaflet launched in Sydney," *Church Scene* 1996, November 15.

(3) That General Synod in making appointments to Committees, Networks and Task Groups which have a mission focus, ensure that people from Non-English-Speaking Backgrounds are represented, and commends this policy for appropriate implementation by each diocese.

[The Right Reverend R. Williams - 20-2-98]²⁸

The response of the Sydney Anglican Diocese to NES diversity

Bishop Richard Henry 'Harry' Goodhew was appointed the seventh Archbishop of Sydney in 1993 and held the office until 2001. His enduring interest was how to grow parish churches. The Illawarra region represented some of the most highly concentrated NESB populations of any Diocesan region and also one of the regions whose general population most disapproved of Multicultural policy.²⁹

Cross-cultural initiatives under Goodhew as Bishop of Wollongong (1982-1993)

The source of employment for many in the Illawarra had been the Steelworks at Port Kembla and its allied coal and port industries. Yet jobs were being shed during the 1990s, with the highest burden placed on NESB workers, many from the former Yugoslavia and Southern Europe, who subsequently could not find alternative employment because of their age with little or no transferable skills.³⁰ HMS, Care Force welfare services, commissioned an extensive report titled, "From Steel to Welfare" (1990) from Sociologist, Dr. Gisela Geissler (Wollongong University), an analysis of NESB migrants in the region. The report examined changing work practice. Her report concluded with a long term approach revealing the following social profile of disadvantage amongst the NESB:

- Migrants are lured to Wollongong as an industrial centre - whilst sections of the economy have declined.

²⁸ Bishop Ron Williams and General Synod Multicultural Committee, Anglican Church of Australia, "Resolution 71/98 Multicultural Committee, General Synod," (1998, 20 February).

²⁹ Responses to three opinion polls later conducted between 1994 and 1996 were used to construct patterns of racism across NSW. The Illawarra region showing some of the highest indicators opposing the secular policy of Multiculturalism, see Kevin M. Dunn and Amy McDonald, "The Geography of Racisms in NSW: A theoretical exploration and some preliminary findings from the mid-1990s," *Australian Geographer* 32, no. 1 (2001): 39.

³⁰ Mike Morrissey, "Beating the Gong," *Australian Left Review* 1, no. 144 (1992): 6-7.

- Migrant women remain the most impoverished and disadvantaged group in the region. They have little or no access to language services and lack support networks.
- Unemployment among Lebanese and Vietnamese workers was 29%. High rates among Turkish (58%) and Vietnamese women. (42%)
- Almost 57% of migrant women blamed marital problems as the major factor causing their mental illness.
- Many felt isolated, were in need of life skills, literacy training and child care. High levels of domestic violence were found particularly among Filipina women. (A more accurate picture of domestic violence may not be grasped because of the reluctance to come forward and report domestic assaults).
- Vietnamese, Slavic Macedonians and Turks were among the least proficient in the English language. Overall, women were more disadvantaged than men in regard to English language skills.
- Arabic speaking women were the most underprivileged of all the groups, particularly in relation to English classes.
- If these women are to attend, appropriate child-care will need to be provided. English classes need to be single sex and address specific interests and problems of women, e.g. healthcare, welfare. The classes should also be located close to the target group to avoid long journeys.³¹

This extreme profile would be replicated around the Diocese as jobs were being shed in the steel-making, manufacturing, footwear, and textile industries. The report revealed the pockets of NESB migrants who were falling through the safety-net and being left behind.³² Despite the need for welfare services to address the lack of services to the NESB, few if any churches of the Illawarra had re-oriented themselves to engage in NES cross-cultural work.

The three-year work of Grahame and Patti Scarratt had only scratched the surface of NES ministry in Wollongong. This would later be tackled mainly through the ESL ministry, pioneering the difficult work of building the bridges between church and community need. Former Deaconess House student, Sue

³¹ Graeme Cole, "From Steel to Welfare," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1990, 16 April, 1, 8.

³² G. Megalogenis *The Australian Moment* (Penguin Group Australia, 2012), 257-8. Cites the rising discontent with NESB migrants because of the aftermath of the 1991 recession and unemployment rates, see also Tavan, "John Howard's Multicultural Paradox," 6.

Keevers (later to become Diocesan Advisor on ESL), pioneered the ESL ministry in Wollongong. She broke new ground starting up 10 parish-based classes with over 140 students, all staffed by parish volunteers.³³ The creative and entrepreneurial community development approach (adapted from the Marrickville Area Deanery model) was headed up by Sue Keevers with the support of Mrs. Helen Stone from the Wollongong Anglican Area Regional Council (WARC), and the Archdeacon of Wollongong and Camden, Vic Roberts (1984-93). The approach to the NESB migrant populations of the Illawarra would be through the new clergy position - CCM Director. The Rev. John Thew (1993-2001), former CMS missionary Pakistan, (1976-89) employed his wife, Cathryn as learner teacher/trainer for ESL, whilst reducing Sue Keevers's role to part-time in Wollongong.³⁴ Thew had previously asked head office Sydney directly for ESL funding for Cathryn which was subsequently approved by HMS CCM Advisory Committee.³⁵ It became increasingly difficult for Keevers to continue living and working as a single woman in a part-time role, a regrettable development given she had moved to Wollongong in order to undertake founding the ESL ministry in the first instance.

The radical minority Anglican tradition, with its innovative Christian community development approach, was not readily understood in the parishes as a vehicle for NES cross-cultural ministry. There were now two strategies for reaching the NES based on the warring theological ideologies between those who advocated 'pure' evangelism versus those who adopted an evangelism through parish-based social welfare programmes approach. The former aligned themselves with the theology of D. B. Knox, while the latter were more in alignment with the evangelism by all means tradition of Archbishops Mowll (1933-58) and Loane (1966-82) and later with the Lausanne Movement as championed by Bishop Reid (1928-2016). Lausanne urged evangelicals from around the world not to bypass or ignore 'socio-political' responsibility 'in their own backyards'.

In the Illawarra region, concern over social welfare issues was frequently expressed by Goodhew, together with the Catholic Bishop of Wollongong. But in the Anglican parishes the 'pure' evangelism approach was more commonly adopted. This was partly because the easiest, most accessible mission field for Anglicans, were the English-speaking British migrants who had come to the Illawarra after the

³³ Thew, J. "English for Life." *Southern Cross*, the magazine of the Diocese of Sydney, 1994, December, see Section: In Touch.

³⁴ Discussed in Sue Keevers's Interview for this thesis.

³⁵ As recalled by the CCM Co-Ordinator, because of the Rev. John Thew interrupting the manner of business of the CCM Advisory Meeting where the matter was discussed.

Second World War in fulfilment of the 'Bring out a Briton' campaign. The churches tended to be numerically strong with West Wollongong, Figtree and Dapto churches becoming among the largest in the Diocese of Sydney. They seemed to be fully occupied evangelising the English-speaking without finding it necessary to evangelise the NES in order to make their churches grow, which was one of the principal objectives of most parish clergy. There were small efforts to reach the NES through ESL programmes conducted by committed and prayerful lay persons, but their efforts tended not to be integral to parish programmes. HMS and its welfare division Care Force were more aware of the need, but through want of resources and a clear commitment to the radical alternative (the Lausanne approach) there was a relative lack of implementation of the range of welfare concerns featured in the 1990 Geissler report.³⁶ The lack of urgency to fund ministry to NES populations stymied this double-spectrum ministry handcuffed to the principle that one could *not* in fact do both in ministry.

The double-basis for ministry in reaching the NESB populations pioneered by the DCCM was copied in Wollongong. It was a strategy calculated to reach those on the furthest margins, culturally and linguistically with the gospel and it was based on Donald McGavran's strong theological rationale and typology distinguishing three kinds of evangelism: E.1, the evangelization of people in their own language and culture; E.2, the evangelizing of people of a similar language and culture; and E.3, evangelizing people of radically different languages and cultures. E.1 evangelism in fact stops at linguistic and cultural barriers.³⁷ (see chapter 8 above)

Archbishop Goodhew was well aware of McGavran's typology. No-one was more committed to American Church Growth principles than Goodhew. Even Bishop Reid was critical of Goodhew's eagerness to try American-developed strategies. Yet in most parishes, it appears that the path of least resistance was followed, resulting in the practice of the homogeneous unit principle.³⁸ The DCCM of HMS, given the theological divide in Sydney Diocese, ultimately did not have the profile of the Department of Evangelism in the wider diocese, and the latter continued to set the major strategy. It is telling that from the NCLS (National Church Life Survey) research data for 1998³⁹ the Region of

³⁶ "Neglect Leaves Migrants as Cold as Steel," *Care incorporating PULSE* 1990, 16 May, 1, 8.

³⁷ *Evangelicals* 71.

³⁸ McGavran, 9.

³⁹ "Anglicans low involvement in Evangelism," *Southern Cross* 1998, June, 6.

Wollongong had one of the lowest indicators for NES church attenders at 8%, compared to the South Sydney region at 16% of attenders.

Cross-cultural initiatives under Archbishop Goodhew

One of the new initiatives after Harry Goodhew's election as Archbishop in 1993 was the division of Bishop Reid's historic 'Cumberland' region into 2 regions. The South Sydney region was now headed by Bishop Peter Watson (formerly Bishop of Parramatta) and the new Georges River region was headed by the newly-installed Bishop of Liverpool, Ray Smith,⁴⁰ formerly of the Diocese of Canberra/Goulburn. The Archdeacon appointed to the new region was the Rev. Geoff Huard, who had chaired the CCM Advisory Committee from the outset and was considered by many to be Reid's protégé as his former Archdeacon. The Georges River region, would include some of the highest percentages of NESB populations (that included the Marrickville, Bankstown, Liverpool, St. George Area Deaneries). It featured historic, well-connected train-lines and criss-crossing bus-routes that inter-connected the inner-west region of Sydney with urban centres such as Bankstown, Campsie. This region was in fact, the major beneficiary of the DCCM's work. The NCLS in 1998, 5 years after the creation of the new Georges River region, shows that this region had 15% NESB attenders in its Anglican churches. However, as the *Southern Cross* (1998) newspaper article observed, these statistics 'do not compare favourably' with the overall general Sydney background NESB population of 30%.⁴¹ The Georges River region included the local government areas of Canterbury and Fairfield with NES populations as high as 60%.⁴²

Archbishop Goodhew welcomed and encouraged mission initiatives regarding 'church growth' that were dear to his heart.⁴³ In his first year, a working party was formed including, Archdeacon G. Huard, the Rev. John Woo, the Rev. Phillip D. Jensen, the Rev. S. Robinson, Archdeacon L. Stoddart, Mrs. N. Gatenby, were given the following Resolution 8/94:

⁴⁰ Listing *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, (Sydney Square: Diocesan Registry, 1994), 127.

⁴¹ "Anglicans low involvement in Evangelism," 6.

⁴² R. H Goodhew, "Presidential Address, 1995," in *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney*, Synod Summary, 1995 (Sydney Square: Diocesan Registry, 1996), 305.

⁴³ Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia : spirit, word and world*

Revised Edition, 226.

to present a draft diocesan strategy for evangelistic church-planting. This report should particularly include examination of research into and recommendations for evangelistic church-planting among non-Anglo Saxon ethnic groups within our diocese.⁴⁴

The report came up with some exacting insights:

10. ... It is the *laity* who hold the keys to the community and who will take the gospel out and into it via their *relationship networks*.

12. ... We need to encourage risk-taking and to support and applaud the effort, even if failure occurs to reach the original goal.⁴⁵

The Committee formulated sweeping "Specific Recommendations" including:

36. Appoint a church planting resource person in HMS ... and request the Department of Evangelism to assist in training and strategizing when church planting occurs.

37. Request Area Deaneries to assist Bishops and Archdeacons to identify "black holes" and to remedy the situation.

38. Allocate \$300,000 for specific church planting projects in 1997-98. Set advanced funding schedules with termination dates ... Identify a major project, allocate \$500,000 and own it as a diocesan experiment. ...

40. Appoint an Archdeacon as the focal point for cross-cultural ministry and mission.⁴⁶

Of the rather ambitious "Specific Recommendations" in this report only item 36 was implemented. HMS approved funding for the Rev. Irene Mok to church-plant among Chinese populations, as she was based within the DCCM. In her interview (June, 1997), with *Southern Cross*, she acknowledged the role

⁴⁴ "Resolution 8/94,

Developing and Planting New Churches, a report from a Synod Working party," in *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney* (Sydney Square: Diocesan Registry, 1995), 383.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 385.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 390-1.

of HMS as Sydney's mission agency at home: 'Of 12 active Chinese congregations within our diocese, eight have been supported by funding available through HMS in the past.'⁴⁷

However, in response to other recommendations from Resolution 8/94, no Archdeacon for diocesan Cross-Cultural ministry was appointed during the Goodhew episcopate, nor subsequently under succeeding Archbishop Peter Jensen. Silas Horton (1991-1996) and Ken Coleman (1997-2000) continued in their roles as successive CCM Directors across the diocese except Wollongong (who had their own Director). In comparison, a very much welcomed Archdeacon for Women's ministry (1994) 'Di' Dialecti Nicolios was appointed by Goodhew, a first for the diocese.

Goodhew announced his focus through his 1995 Presidential Address with the title 'A Focus On Growth'.⁴⁸ He raised the profile of the DCCM through his Presidential Synod Addresses.⁴⁹ He mentioned the founding Co-Ordinator by name and the CCM Team in his 1996 address⁵⁰ as his vision embraced the potential for church growth in the NES populations. He observed that the overseas born *and their children* comprise 40% of the population of Sydney (1996).⁵¹ By the year 2000 he, he estimated, 4% of Sydney's population would be of Asian background alone.⁵²

In a development of great importance Goodhew explained a shift in thinking from the combined oversight of the NESB pastor with ES oversight to giving NES pastors the authority to grow their congregations without the ES oversight. This overturned in effect the preferred model of the ⁵³ and was consistent with the observation Bishop Reid had made in his electoral synod address in 1993, namely that the Chinese Presbyterian Church, Crown Street, Sydney had grown because it had been

⁴⁷ "Multicultural ministry at the cross-roads," *Southern Cross* 1997, June, 15.

⁴⁸ Goodhew, "Presidential Address, 1994 " 287.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 293., R. H Goodhew, "Presidential Address, 1995," *ibid.*, Synod Summary, 1995 (Sydney Square: Diocesan Registry, 1996), 305-7.

⁵⁰ "Presidential Address, 1995," 305.

⁵¹ (*Ibid*)

⁵² Goodhew, "Presidential Address, 1994 " 293.

⁵³ Although the power-structure is not clearly spelled-out it is inferred in the following way (under the oversight of the rector), see Section: Conclusion, point 29, p.292:

Wherever possible ethnic workers and congregations should be attached to an already existing Anglo-Saxon congregation where they can receive encouragement and support from the Christians already meeting. (Chinese at Cabramatta, Italians at Liverpool, Haberfield etc.)

allowed freedom from Anglo-Celtic oversight, whereas the Sydney Church of England Mission to the Chinese with such oversight had declined.⁵⁴ Goodhew noted in his 1996 Presidential Address:

The Cross-Cultural Team in Parish Support and Development believes that ethnic churches under their own national pastor without the oversight of an Anglo-Celtic Rector and congregation would be more likely to grow and become self-sufficient.⁵⁵

This represented a major shift in thinking in the Diocese. The foundations were being laid for future ministry growth amongst the NESB populations at this juncture, with the full imprimatur of the Sydney Archbishop's leadership. Silas Horton with the CCM Co-Ordinator along with the Evangelist to the Chinese Community, Irene Mok, inaugurated the Chinese workers' ministry forum and together created the first affirmation of Chinese Ministries at St. Clement's, Marrickville. Here, seven years earlier, Irene Mok had planted a Mandarin-speaking Chinese congregation first at Dulwich Anglican Church in 1989 and later the congregation was adopted by Marrickville Anglican Church.⁵⁶ Silas undertook to regularly inform the hierarchy, including the Archbishop, regarding a better way forward with ministry to the Chinese in Sydney, and it appears the briefings had taken effect. The changed strategy enabled further church-planting through community development initiatives amongst Sydney's Asian populations. This opened the gates for Irene Mok to officially church-plant amongst the Chinese populations, using the Christian community development strategy, e.g. play-group, adult Sunday school, ESL ministry.⁵⁷ This development was in part fulfilment of 'Resolution 8/94'. It was an initiative from HMS and, in particular, the DCCM.

⁵⁴ For an overview of Sydney's historic mission to the Chinese, see Lawton, *The better time to be : utopian attitudes to society among Sydney Anglicans, 1885 to 1914*, 15.). Paper forthcoming from Mersina (Tonys-Soulos) Papantoniou, *The History of the Sydney's Church of England Mission to the Chinese*-Rev. Soo Hoo Ten (1848-1934).

⁵⁵ Goodhew, "Presidential Address, 1995," 307.

⁵⁶ "Annual Report, Section: Parish, Support and Development Division," (Sydney: Home Mission Society, 1993), 10-11.

⁵⁷ See the Rev. David West's account of the church-planting of the Chinese congregation, with ESL by the Rev. I. Mok at St. George's Hurstville, "Chinese congregation comes of age," *Southern Cross, a newspaper of the Anglican Diocese of Sydney* 1997, June, 1.

The Rev. Irene Mok was to analyse the Community Development model as applied to NES ministry through her Master's degree, Fuller Theological Seminary, US "Evangelism among the Indo-China Chinese refugees settling in Sydney, Australia " (Fuller Theological Seminary 1999). Irene's Model of Evangelism included a model with 3 axes responding to needs;

From General Secretary to Executive Director HMS

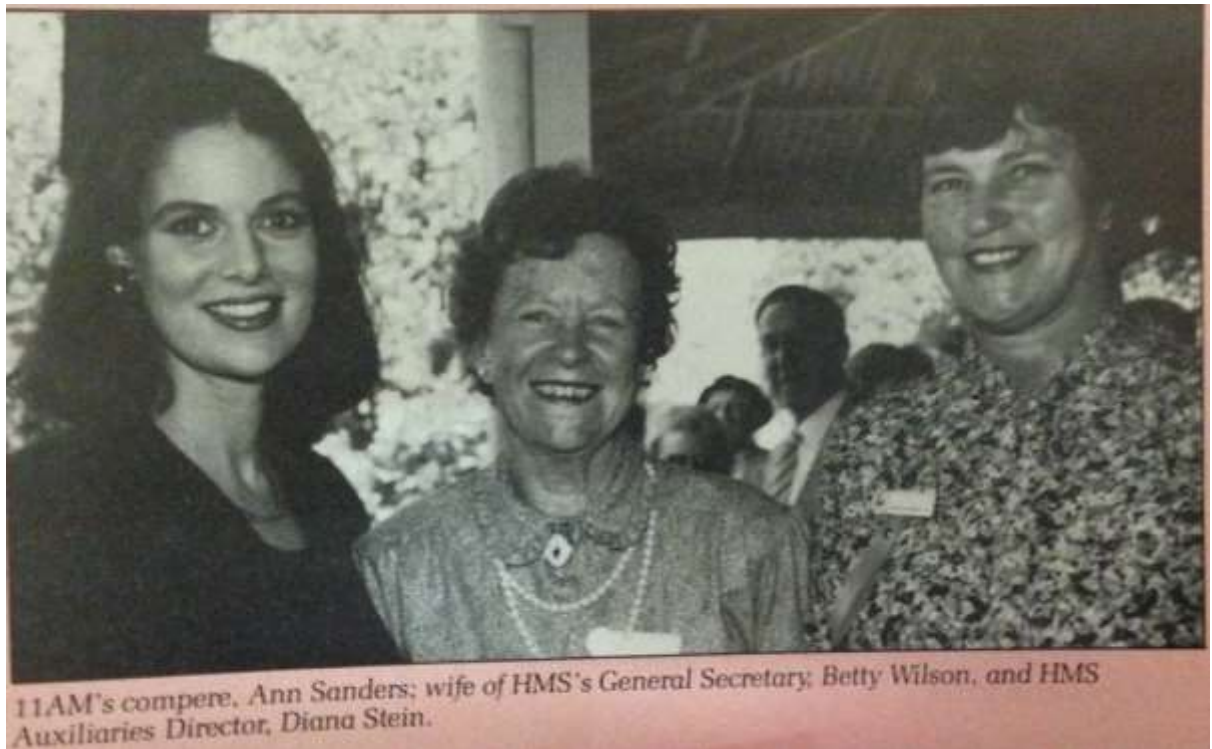
Under the leadership of Canon Bryce Wilson (General Secretary 1990-96) the Society's Council was reduced in membership from 35 to 15 members.⁵⁸ This had the effect of reducing clergy/lay representation from the parishes: in one fell swoop 20 HMS Council members and their parish networks were lost. An added consequence was the diminishing of the HMS's role as a bridge between 'evangelism *and* the social welfare agenda' of the Sydney Diocese. Some parishes withdrew their financial support on the grounds that 'pure evangelism' was not being practised by the Society whereas others supported it on recognising that HMS was in fact achieving both sides of the spectrum

However, in 1996 on the day after Canon Bryce Wilson was due to retire he left his wife Betty of over 30 years, and his family. He received his sizeable lump sum superannuation payment and left, together with his personal assistant for a different life.⁵⁹

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1. X axis, for evangelicals-primacy is based on proclamation of the gospel.
 2. Y axis, 'Social gospel' mix for those providing social services, e.g. the Indo-China Chinese refugees.
 3. Z axis, the Charismatic 'experiencing God'.

⁵⁸ Under Heading: Growth and Consolidation 1958-2005, web-page "Our History, Anglicare".

⁵⁹ This was communicated to the CCM Team by the Rev. Silas Horton and Mrs. Betty Wilson herself.



"Garden Open Day, at Kirribili House." CARE incorporating PULSE, 1991, 23 October, 3. Featuring television presenter, Ann Sanders, Mrs Betty Wilson and Mrs. Diana Stein (head of Auxiliaries Division-volunteers & fund-raising for the Society) organised the event.

The appointment of Canon Dillon

The good ship HMS was in trouble and went into 'damage-control' mode. Canon Wilson's replacement was Melbourne Archdeacon, Canon Howard Dillon. He had been trained at Moore College (1960-63). He was Curate at Willoughby, Sydney (1963-66). He became a Defence Force Chaplain (1966-77) and was posted to the theatre of war in Vietnam and later suffered from PTSD.⁶⁰ He was later decorated for his service.⁶¹ He then became rector of Bowral, NSW (1973-77). He then served in Victoria and became in 1987 the Director of the Mission of St. James and St. John. It is one of the 20 largest charitable institutions in Victoria and employed over 150 people with a budget over \$4.5 million in

⁶⁰ He writes about his experience as a Chaplain, referring to post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) H Dillon, "COMMENT," *Care, newsletter of Anglicare* 2004, February, 2.

⁶¹ "Wilson retires, Dillon pads up," *Church Scene, national Anglican newspaper* 1995, December 8, 8; *ibid*.

1993.⁶² In a 1992 interview in *Southern Cross*, the Sydney Diocesan magazine he warned, 'One of the hardest things for the Church to do is to keep its welfare agencies Christian.'⁶³

In 1993, in a full page paid advertisement, the Melbourne Diocesan newspaper *See* reported 'highlights from the Dillon years'. The Mission of St. James and St. John recalled its achievements including responding to homeless pregnant teenagers and homeless young mothers through the programme "Choices". New building extensions to Yarraville Family Services, including the David Penman Centre were opened by his widow, Jean Penman. Dillon managed to raise over \$250,000 for the renovations at St. James Old Cathedral.⁶⁴ Dillon's last official duty as Executive Director of the Mission of St. James and St. John was to preside over the opening of Howard Dillon House at Lilydale, the new home of Kids in Care, the Mission's foster care programme for the Yarra Valley area.⁶⁵

Dillon was Archdeacon of Melbourne from 1991 to 1996 and became Archbishop Rayner's right-hand man. He became integral to the re-structuring or 'streamlining' of the management structure of the Melbourne Diocese, from five divisions to two. One division included Administration, Media and the Registry. The second division, Diocesan Services, was to be led by the Archdeacon himself who was to be directly responsible to Archbishop Rayner. Diocesan Services included Community Care, ministry with families and children, Evangelism and Church Growth, Education and Multicultural Ministry. The last was of particular relevance to this thesis. In 1994 the Melbourne Diocese received a report on its Review of Multicultural Ministry and Mission and Canon Dillon was directly responsible for implementing it. He appointed the Rev. Jim Houston as its director. His half-stipend was the total funds made available for the Melbourne Cross-Cultural Ministries Department to do its work.

⁶² "New Post for Welfare Head," *See, the monthly newspaper of the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne and Bendigo* 1993, February, 3.

⁶³ J Bartholomeusz, "Howard Dillon," *Southern Cross*,
Section : Face to Face, 1992, March.

⁶⁴ "The Mission of St. James and St. John, Six years work brings, "A brighter future for our children"," *See, the monthly newspaper of the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne and Bendigo* 1993, March, 9.

⁶⁵ "Howard Dillon House dedicated," *Church Scene, a national Anglican newspaper* 1993, April 23, 3.



A 1993 report tabled to the (Melbourne) Diocesan Council, approving the re-structuring, noted:

- ... rather than focus the mission of the church, the divisional structure (s) tended to diffuse it
- Further the Divisions had failed to achieve two primary goals, accountability and wider participation, especially with the laity⁶⁶

⁶⁶ "Diocese to re-shape," *See, the monthly newspaper of the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne and Bendigo* 1993, August, 1.

In his new role as head of Diocesan Services, Archdeacon Dillon explains the goal,

- ... he "will be assisting the Archbishop to find creative and innovative ways of involving all of our parishioners in the wider outreach of the church."⁶⁷

As the newly-appointed Director of Diocesan Services Dillon participated in the workshops conducted by Sydney's Co-Ordinator of DCCM. They were held in Glen Iris in 1993 at the invitation of Jim Houston as part of the Consultation into Multi-Cultural Ministry,⁶⁸ for the purpose of evaluation of Multicultural Ministries for the Melbourne Diocese.⁶⁹ Dillon became involved with amalgamations between the agencies of the Mission of St. James and St. John, the Mission to the Streets and Lanes as well as the St. John's Home for Boys and Girls.⁷⁰ The two lesser agencies were subsumed into the Mission of St. James and St. John. There was talk at the time of a class action against the amalgamations involving the social workers attached to these institutions.

To top it all off, a major renovation of the St. Paul's Cathedral buildings would eventually house the management structure of Diocesan Services, along with a separate Bishop's floor. The renovation also re-located Anglican Youth Ministries, the Aboriginal Working group, the department of Health and Welfare Chaplains into the one building to the tune of \$1.1 million, to be completed by April 1996. The plan is understood in terms of 'departmental networking':⁷¹ 'Archdeacon Howard Dillon said, the current situation, with service units in five separate locations, meant that each one tended to operate in isolation, having minimal co-operation and contact with the rest'.⁷²

After an absence from NSW of almost 30 years, Dillon became Executive Director of HMS Sydney from February 1996 to 2004. He explained in coming to Sydney: 'Overseeing such diverse areas as aged

⁶⁷ "New Post for Welfare Head," 3.

⁶⁸ "Consultation at Glen Iris," 2.

⁶⁹ "Can the Garden of Many Colours Bloom?," *Church Scene, a national Anglican newspaper* 1993, August, 2; *ibid.*

⁷⁰ "Synod nudges merge for Church welfare agencies," *See, the monthly newspaper of the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne and Bendigo* 1994, November, 5., also "Amalgamation on the Agenda," *The Melbourne Anglican* 1995, March, 3.

⁷¹ Reita Mason, "Gothic gloom to networking newness " *Church Scene, a national Anglican newspaper* 1995, November 3, 7.

⁷² "Major Buildings Up-grade," *See, the monthly newspaper of the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne and Bendigo* 1994, November, 1.

care, drug counselling, foster care and cross-cultural ministry with an annual budget of over \$30 million dollars will be a fascinating challenge.⁷³ He and his wife Aileen were considered akin to Melbourne's Anglican royalty and were now coming to Sydney. Just before taking up his new role as Executive Director of HMS, he made the following acknowledgement regarding the Sydney scene:

Archdeacon Dillon said "that AHMS really leads the field in Cross-Cultural Ministries in Australia". He said this was exciting and vital work.⁷⁴

Dillon's arrival in Sydney in 1996 was accompanied by a raft of changes in the work place at St. Andrew's (Church) House. The first to leave abruptly was Secretary to the Parish Support & Development Division, Mrs. Kay Merriment, the widow of a former Anglican rector of Mt. Druitt. She had been left with 3 boys to raise and was brought into the HMS organization for employment, initially through Canon Whitham. Then Nancy Lewis (Diocesan CCM Advisor) and Silas Horton both retired in the one year, followed by Mrs. Diana Stein (Head of the Auxiliaries, for over 20 years).⁷⁵ The Wollongong Spanish-speaking Cross-cultural Worker, Mrs Dorys Hernandez, left after 20 years of service.⁷⁶ Mrs Helen Caves, secretary to the Communications division for over 10 years, also retired.⁷⁷ Mr. David Edgerton, in Administration and who appeared to take on the role of unofficial advisor to Mr. Howard Dillon, after only a short duration of employment also abruptly resigned and left.⁷⁸ The leaving/retirement of such valued Staff began to ring alarm bells within Sydney Anglican networks.

The daily prayer-time, a tradition dating back to Archdeacon Fillingham, HMS General Secretary (1949-64, 1975-82) was changed to once per week. The presence of HMS in the 'in-group' culture of St. Andrew's Church House had meant that HMS was not only a psychological presence but also a physical 'in-your-face' presence amidst the church hierarchy. It was not uncommon for bishops to

⁷³ "Vision will be missed," 5.

⁷⁴ From the national Anglican paper, Church Scene "Wilson retires, Dillon pads up," 8., same quote also written in the HMS, CARE magazine, that is sent to the financial supporters of HMS, "Howard Dillon pads up," CARE 1996, 14 February, 1.

⁷⁵ "Farewell to Diana Stein," *Inside Caring /Staff Journal of Anglicare* 1999, Spring, 6.

⁷⁶ "Two decades for Dorys," *Inside Caring/Newsletter for Anglicare Staff* 1999, Spring, 6.

⁷⁷ "Points for Prayer-Sunday," CARE, *newsletter of Anglicare NSW* 1998, June, 3.

⁷⁸ Often when lay-people departed HMS/Anglicare, their names were often *not* recorded in the Society's publicity material going to supporters. The lay Staff often were the trusted backbone of the Society and seemed to disappear, from archival records, hence their acknowledgement, in this thesis.

wander down the corridor of the 3rd floor and discuss matters with the DCCM, the NCLS team, or greet the volunteers. It was not unusual for the clergy to conduct mini-bible readings at the prayertime and pray through the prayer-points in the HMS prayer-bulletin or in the Cycle of Prayer for the Anglican Communion, which had been introduced to the daily prayertime by the founding CCM Co-Ordinator. This had been a means of connecting with 'other' Anglicans from around the world, a tradition that had not previously existed in HMS. Ironically, while Archdeacon Dillon had attempted to bring all relevant diocesan agencies together into the Cathedral Buildings in Melbourne. Now in Sydney, the exact opposite seemed to be in execution.

The congenial family atmosphere at the head office of the Society had well and truly dissipated. News was also brought to the remaining head-office staff that HMS was shifting permanently out of the St. Andrew's (Church House) Town Hall premises in Sydney and going to rented premises on the border between Harris Park and Parramatta⁷⁹ in the Western region with plans for Anglicare to eventually build its own building(s) in Parramatta.⁸⁰

The NCLS research Team with the DCCM, however, did not go to the air-conditioned rented building in Parramatta, but rather to a former Matron's home (adjacent to what had been a Nursing Home) at Harris Park. Here after a good Sydney Winter downpour, the stored NCLS research materials and ESL library became flooded, as the basement of the house was not water-tight. Within a short time of moving to Harris Park, all the computers from the premises were stolen including those for NCLS research. The DCCM somewhat diminished in importance compared to the NCLS, shared one computer between its Staff and that disappeared also.

The DCCM at this time was also physically 're-structured' and came under the oversight of the NCLS Team, with Mr. Keith Castle, Senior Researcher having oversight of both departments. Silas Horton's replacement as the Director of CCM from 1997 to 2000 was the Rev. Ken Coleman, former missionary with Borneo Evangelical Mission (1965-74). From 1978 to 1984, he had been the Vicar of St. Andrew's Church, Kowloon, Hong Kong, and immediately before appointment as CCM Director he had been rector of the Parish of Balgowlah.

⁷⁹ For an account of the visit to the new Parramatta headquarters by Archbishop Goodhew see "ANGLICARE is a "good example" for the Church.," *CARE newsletter of Anglicare, NSW*1998, October, 2.

⁸⁰ Anglicare head-office at Parramatta opened in 2004 with leasable space for additional income. *CARE* magazine, "Comment," *CARE*2004, June, 2.

Regionalization

After years of Synod discussion on the decentralisation and regionalisation of the diocese, the time came after the 1996 Synod to transfer diocesan funding for ministry into the regions. Previously, HMS would partner the Diocese in *also* contributing to funding to parish-ministry and would effectively oversee ministry grants through the Parish Support & Development Division, (PS&D), HMS. However, regionalization effectively erased the category of CCM grants the Co-Ordinator had introduced in 1991. Funding was transferred completely into the hands of the Regional Councils, their Committees and their presiding bishops and archdeacons. They did not need to consult with the CCM Team as to their priorities when it came to CCM ministry funding of new initiatives. The Executive Director Howard Dillon put it this way:

Before the re-structure, AHMS administered grants in excess of \$1.4 million and almost half the grants supported ministry to Australians of non-English speaking backgrounds (NESB). AHMS provided \$723,000 towards these grants, the administration costs and other activities of the Division (Synod provided \$740,000).⁸¹

In Regionalization there was a lot at stake. Regionalisation meant that the Diocese would stay as one unit and not break up into other Dioceses, e.g. Western Region or Wollongong.⁸² However, there was a spectre hanging over diocesan departments and where they fitted into the new scheme of Regionalization. At the 1996 Synod the Archbishop put it this way in his Presidential Address:

Some folks believe that the need for departments to persuade Regional Councils to support them financially will lead to the dismantling of their work. Others believe that Regionalism will be a pale attenuated arrangement if the Councils are not able to influence the performance of the various ministry agencies by controlling the flow of financial support. Your [Synod] decision will be pivotal. We would be foolish to damage good work, yet Regionalism needs to be significant.⁸³

⁸¹ "Annual Report, Anglican Home Mission Society," (Sydney: Home Mission Society, 1996), 9.

⁸² Goodhew, "Presidential Address, 1995," 318.

⁸³ "Presidential Address,, 1996," 323.

Regionalization and CCM

With regionalization a priority, the DCCM, whilst being in responsibility and focus a diocesan department, was now left to the mercy of HMS regarding the funding of its staff. It was feared that the department would be dismantled and fragmented. Funding new CCM work, without the central role of the DCCM, was a dim prospect. According to the planned regionalization the 5 specialists of the DCCM would need to be replicated and funded supposedly through the autonomous 5 Regions or would they?

Regionalization and NESB church-planting

Irene Mok and the CCM Co-Ordinator had done research pin-pointing where growing centres of Asian (Cantonese/Mandarin speaking) populations could be identified. Irene Mok duly wrote to the respective parishes and the only clergyman who replied was the Rev. David West (Hurstville parish). This parish was located in the new Georges River region and in conjunction with the rector, members of the parish council were willing to go ahead with the church-planting work amongst the Chinese, i.e. Mandarin and Cantonese speaking. The draft schedule of grants was tabled for the region and then shared via the CCM Director, Silas Horton with the CCM team to order in priority, 'A' (top priority) to D. To the team's disbelief and Silas Horton's shock, the funding for the new Chinese ministry venture at Hurstville was listed as B by both Bishop Ray Smith and Archdeacon Huard of the region. This upset the team greatly and Irene especially, as each member of the team subsequently re-categorised the Hurstville initiative as an 'A'. An angry Silas Horton then took the Team's results back to the hierarchy, but there was no reply forthcoming. Meanwhile, the rector, David West had been personally told by the Archdeacon 'that there was no money to plant a Chinese congregation in Hurstville'. Whilst waiting for an answer, the CCM Co-Ordinator was asked by Irene Mok what could she do? So it was suggested Irene Mok put it to the Executive Director and Silas Horton to accompany her in order to ask "why"? Irene Mok subsequently asked Howard Dillon that day, (Silas was absent) to accompany her down the corridor of the 3rd floor of Church House to the offices of the bishops. Bishop Smith was asked why Hurstville's new NES church-planting initiative wasn't going ahead, given that 'B-D' rated initiatives 'dropped off the perch'.⁸⁴

After the direct meeting with Bishop Ray Smith, the pleasing outcome was that the proposed Hurstville Chinese ministry initiative was reluctantly re-instated with an 'A' listing, the meeting with

⁸⁴ The incident was recalled by the Rev. Irene Mok during her Interview (28/05/15) for this thesis.

Bishop Ray Smith, concluding with: 'You can have your \$30,000 for church-planting'. Hurstville parish received its funding after all.⁸⁵ However, the lesson learned was that ES ministry still remained first priority ahead of NES ministry. Given that the Georges River region, with the highest NESB populations in the Diocese, with the longest experience and beneficiary of the DCCM's 10 years work,⁸⁶ with the Bishop's and Archdeacon's warmest responses to NES ministry Committees, who in turn recognised the brilliance of Irene Mok's gifts, were *not* prepared to allocate new funding for NESB work equally with ES work, how were other regions going to prioritize and fund new NESB church-planting initiatives?

Silas Horton was prepared to fight for the unified presence and relevance of the DCCM. Because he clearly understood the hidden treasure of the department - the role of the respective five specialists of the team and even more so, the three women in the department. He valued and appreciated their willingness to collaborate, to help one another and their capacity to bring into play their enduring church networks. They had demonstrated integrity and ability within Sydney Anglican parishes in lay and clerical ministry for over a decade, often at great psychological cost to themselves.

The CCM Team did not see another draft schedule again for comment, not from any region. It had taken 10 years within the HMS/DCCM to finally arrive at the policy of giving NES projects equal priority with ES projects. With regionalization this outcome needed to be re-invented all over again only now it would be with 5 separate regions, including new bishops and archdeacons. The other lingering question was whether after regionalisation HMS would continue to fund the DCCM's staff. The outcome of the Multicultural Ministry review in Melbourne Diocese (1993) personally overseen by Archdeacon Dillon through the amalgamations of the Melbourne Division of Diocesan Services did not inspire confidence. There the paltry outcome of the Melbourne Review was that one clergyman - Jim Houston - was paid at half stipend to do more than the full-time job of re-orienting the entire

⁸⁵ "Chinese Congregation Comes of Age," *Stream line, Supplement of Georges River Region, Southern Cross* 1995, 1.

⁸⁶ See under heading 'Sydney Extra', Jeremy Halcrow, "We're still a mission agency," *Southern Cross* 2000, May, 3.

Melbourne Diocese to implement strategies of inclusivity for the NES in their mainstream diocesan church structures.⁸⁷

The change of Name 1997, 'what's in a name'?



In 1997 the HMS Board changed the Society's name to Anglicare. The same year Archdeacon 'Bob' Fillingham died.⁸⁸ Howard Dillon asked the CCM Co-Ordinator to prepare a historical overview of the place of the DCCM within HMS. It was noted from her report that, since the inception of the department in 1987, the DCCM's role became ever-diminishing. Over time it was placed further down the hierarchical scale in the HMS organisation. Initially the department was directly answerable to the General Secretary. Then with re-structuring it was made part of the Parish Support & Welfare division. Then in October 1996, it was made part of the new Diocesan Services Division⁸⁹ which in 1997 came under the new General Manager, Mr. Terry O'Mara. The Parish Support & Welfare division was abolished.

The 1998 CCM Co-Ordinator's overview requested by both H. Dillon and T. O'Mara, Anglicare reported that:

In 1995-6, Archbishop Goodhew at Archdeacon Huard's suggestion had commissioned a report with a view to the development of ESL in the diocese. Miss Sue Keevers succeeded Nancy Lewis as part-time ESL Advisor, for the Diocese and the position goes full-time. Former Nepali

⁸⁷ See Houston, *Seeds Blowing in the Wind: Review of Multicultural Ministry and Mission, Diocese of Melbourne Anglican Church of Australia*, 111-13. for the final recommendations of the Review. The position of Director is one of the few recommendations implemented in the Melbourne Diocese.

⁸⁸ "Archdeacon Fillingham dies," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1997, February, 4.

⁸⁹ H Dillon, (Acting Director),, "Annual Report, Cross-cultural Ministry," (Sydney: Home Mission Society, 1996), 9.

missionary, Kath White is appointed as (part-time) Librarian for the ESL Ministry Resource Library.

The reasons for the rapid expansion and growth of CCM in the Diocese cited in the CCM Co-Ordinator's report was because:

A Centralized DCCM provided across the Diocese:

- Funding for new initiatives
- Support for ethnic workers
- Training for parishes embarking on CCM
- Co-ordination for development of ESL
- Ministry training fund for Ethnic Workers (1996-7, \$70,000).

The Co-Ordinator's report dared to raise the ongoing issues regarding the problematic identity of the Society, highlighted by the name change to Anglicare.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ It needs to be noted, Anglicare NSW would not allow my access to the minutes of HMS Council or former DCCM meetings, unless this thesis was surrendered to their authority. The author of this work, formerly the CCM Co-Ordinator declined their contract. Official records, e.g. Annual report Howard Dillon, "Executive Director's Report, Annual Report," (Sydney: Anglicare, 1997), 4. "Anglicans Celebrate 150 years: The Sydney Diocese fulfilling the Mission of the Church," in *Sesquicentenary of the Sydney Diocese 1847-1997* (Anglican Home Mission Society, 1997 July), 49. cite the change of name as *Anglicare, formerly known as the Anglican Home Mission Society*). I wish to thank and acknowledge the Rev. Alan Donohoo and his wife Margaret, for the latter reference. The logo with the 'Good Samaritan' symbol stayed till approximately mid-2015, when the left symbol was removed to make way for a new logo.



The Anglicare logo, 2015. Private Photograph taken at Anglicare Headquarters, Parramatta.



The current official Anglicare logo, 2016, with the biblical symbol of the Good Samaritan removed.

"Anglicare, NSW Logo." Anglicare, NSW, 2016. Cited from: <https://www.anglicare.org.au/>

The CCM Co-Ordinator continued to raise the following uncertain issues:

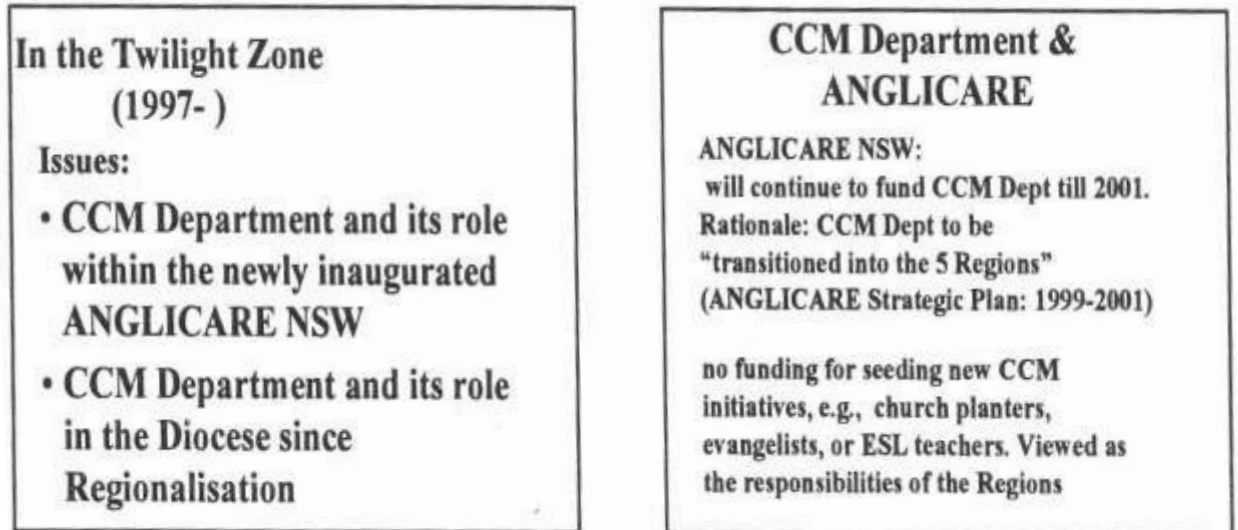


Diagram from: Tonys-Soulos, Mersina. "An Analysis of Cross-Cultural Ministries, Diocesan Services." 3. Harris Park: Anglicare NSW, 1998, April, 2

The Executive Director in red font through the Annual report (1997) announced that:

1997 was a year of decision and change, Anglicare - a change of name, A change of location, A major change of buildings, A change of Council members- ...

Dillon explained through his 1997 ANGLICARE Annual Report that by changing the name he had brought the organisation into line with the other 'Anglicare' agencies around Australia. He explored the view that HMS had been previously hidden on account of its previous profile:

Though collectively the Anglican Church makes an enormous contribution to our nation (Anglicans provide more than a quarter of all charitable caring services in Australia) we were not considered to be "significant players".

This misconception has changed dramatically since we changed our name to ANGLICARE.

Continuing under the heading, No change of character (originally printed in red font), he maintained that 'the ethos of "Home Mission" has been endorsed as foundational - the reason for our being. There is no change to this fundamental motivation'.⁹¹

For those who actively supported the previous incarnation of HMS, it was much more than a welfare organization. The identity of the organization was uniquely fashioned by the history of the Sydney Diocese. Its equal dual-role (evangelism and social service) was at the service of the church's mission at home, the practical arm of the Diocese, and a platform for Sydney Anglicans to hold governments to account for the care of the needy.

The CCM Co-Ordinator continued to ask the question of the Executive Director/Manager, Diocesan Services where the DCCM fitted into the new entity of Anglicare?

To be or not to be? What is the role of the Cross-Cultural Ministry department in ANGLICARE?

The purpose of missioning is at the heart of the Cross-Cultural Ministries department (CCM).

The Department's perspective and aim is to initiate, oversee, manage, encourage and support ministries through and by Anglican churches to and with people of NESB. The department balances the two-edged sword between being a Diocesan Department along with being part of Anglicare - the brief, facilitating evangelism and church-planting amongst people of NESB. The Department believes it is the people of faith that will follow up and nurture its "babies" within the community of faith.

To achieve the aforementioned objectives a deliberate community development approach has been pioneered, over the 11 years of the department's existence.

The following table will clarify what this approach is and what it is not, particularly as it is compared to a welfare-based model.⁹²

⁹¹ "Executive Director's Report, Annual Report," 4.

⁹² Mersina Soulos, "'To be or not to be. . .' What is the role of the Cross-Cultural Ministry department in ANGLICARE?," (Department Cross-Cultural Ministries, 1998), 1-2. The following Chart signalling 'Methodology and Practise', explores the difference between the 2 approaches, is from page 2 of the same report.

METHODOLOGY AND PRACTISE

Welfare model	Community Development model
Model is based on a Client/Centre model where the client walks off the street into the centre to obtain help	Involves a team of initiator/consultant who do advocacy, training
Help is viewed as coming through the front door, when front door closes, the offer for help is also closed.	A more holistic view of process where the individuals being helped are usually referred to being part of a community that can do "follow-up" or disciplining
Staff of centre are seen as experts who give advice and refer clients to appropriate agencies.	The initiator/consultants work with volunteers and "lay-people" seeing them as being responsible for their own neighbourhoods. Training is given to the volunteers based along with other necessary supports to reach out to target group in community.
Programmes are usually funded through various government agencies. Statistics evidence, the success or non-success of the programme, reaching its target group.	The success of the programme can only be judged by the willingness of the trained volunteer base to take steps, develop programme, and be committed for the long term.
Programmes usually fold when government funds run out.	The programmes are usually advertised through word of mouth. The long term work of the programme is usually seen as a community activity, and the success of the programme is evidenced how strongly the programme is owned by the community group.
Historically it has been the development of specialist welfare centres firstly through church agencies, then taken over by secular organisations	Had been historically developed in the 60s, USA by the Civil Rights movement. More recently exemplified by "people-power" in the Philippines with the over throw of President Marcos.
Has been criticized as creating a culture of dependency. "The poor you will have with you always".	Is seen as a self help model, allowing for personal growth of the volunteers and clients. As the initiator/consultant will not be around indefinitely to oversee the programmes.
Works on the basis of the historic church-based "charity" model.	Is seen as transforming communities, enabling them to take greater responsibility for their programmes.
Is a vehicle for sharing the good, eternal news of Jesus Christ, usually in the form of tracts.	The programme itself is intentionally, foundationally Christian, with the regular prayer, and Bible based materials being used. Strengthening the local church in its outreach.

Cited from: Soulos, Mersina. "'To be or not to be. . .'

What is the role of the Cross-Cultural Ministry department in ANGLICARE?": Department Cross-Cultural Ministries, 1998, 2.

The DCCM fulfilled the essential mission of the Society by motivating and equipping members of parishes to commit to caring for the needy beyond the care provided by governments. As a church mission, the history of the former HMS was reliant on its Anglican members for help. The organisation historically was not completely dependent on government grants to exist. In fact, historically, the exact opposite was true as historically parishes financially supported the workings of the organisation, through, for example, parish offerings from Trinity, Advent Sundays, and confirmations which had been sent into the General Fund of HMS.

An important case-in-point, ESL Teacher, Nancy Lewis in wrestling with the future-funding and development of ESL work, intentionally chose *not* to accept government funding for parish ESL work. This was despite government funding being more than available for Anglican parish-based ESL classes already established. Campsie Parish, for example, through the initiative of the Rev. John and Yuke Lan Woo had accessed Community Employment funding (CEP) in the mid-80's for secular English classes. However, parish-based ESL classes as envisaged by Soulos and Lewis had evangelistic resources *especially* written and intentionally-designed for Anglican parishes. It was critical that clergy and laity who conducted these classes not be 'muzzled' by secular restrictions. The 'mission' would proceed with faith, providing a social service with its unashamed Christian yet sensitive 'evangelistic' component integral to it. One *could* in fact do both, especially if it were deliberately NOT tied to government funding guidelines. Clergy and laity began catching the vision for this incarnationally-Christian urban, community development model. As conceived by the CCM Co-Ordinator, the model was *not only* a vehicle for the voluntary work of a congregation, but was for also the transformation of the local community. The local churches were to be 'the lighthouse' in their local community, a beacon of hope for those 'who were heavily burdened'. The Christian community development model saw the churches as initiators of community programmes, unshackled from intrusive government guidelines regarding ESL ministry (such as the requirement to avoid proselytism which is unacceptable to an organisation committed to evangelism as well as social care).

Another Approach

In contrast the Migrant Services Team, favoured by Dillon and O'Mara, began some of its largest programmes by accepting government contracts/grants most notably under the conservative Howard Government. The headquarters of the Team was based at Soldiers' Memorial Church, Cabramatta and was supported by a number of adjoining parishes. In the 1990s Cabramatta became known as the 'heroin capital of Australia'.⁹³ The progenitor of the Team, was the former Immigration Department of HMS, which had accepted Grant-in-Aid government funding as well as church funding, since the arrival of the Vietnamese boat people in the 1970s.⁹⁴ The Manager of the Migrant Services Team, Mrs Xuyen Tang, herself a former 'boat-person',⁹⁵ received government funding for:

- Job Placement, Education and Training (JPET) workers⁹⁶
- Older Person's Housing Strategy for Chinese speakers, \$1.25 million⁹⁷
- Indo-Chinese Young Offenders programme⁹⁸
- Humanitarian Entrants Programme, funded through the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA) and based in the Migrant Services Team, Cabramatta. The programme was the locus for refugee/humanitarian settlement in Sydney.⁹⁹

The total Staff numbers of the Team grew to over 20, so that new premises needed to be found.¹⁰⁰ This model of growth in the organisation, through obtaining government funding, was greatly esteemed during the Dillon/O'Mara (1996-2004) period of Anglicare.¹⁰¹

⁹³ "Once upon a time in Cabramatta," (Special Broadcasting Service (SBS Television), 2014, October).

⁹⁴ See Mersina Tonys-Soulos, "Mr. Frank Garforth," (Harris Park: ANGLICARE, 1999)., written for the anti-racism workshops, 1999-Living in Harmony.

⁹⁵ "Racism: street-level experience," 7.

⁹⁶ "Migrant Services keeps growing," *Inside Caring* 1998, February, 2.

⁹⁷ Evan Coombes, "NSW GOVT GIVES \$1.25mill GRANT," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1995, November 15, 2.

⁹⁸ Over \$58,000 is given for Youth work amongst the Indo-Chinese, "MP launches new Indo-Chinese project," *CARE incorporating PULSE* 1996, August, 2.

⁹⁹ Funding for these programmes is listed in Anglicare, Annual reports under Commonwealth, Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, \$3,792,000, see "ANGLICARE: Into the 21st Century: Highlights of the Year in Review 2000," (Sydney: ANGLICARE, 2000), 6.

However, warnings from the field were starting to critique this method of dependency. The Rev. Brian Howe, Uniting Church Minister and former Deputy Prime Minister under the Hawke/Keating governments (1991-1995) asked:

For some agencies the original church-base or religious base may no longer exist and agencies may become increasingly distant from their religious roots. The gradual evolution of many of these agencies towards a more secular or professional image and self-understanding must be confusing to those who have the responsibility for regulating a service which to outsiders may seem very much a business rather than a charity. It also raises questions for the church too. To what extent are church agencies part of the church in any real sense?¹⁰²

In contrasting the two models, Welfare and Community development, the latter approach seeks to promote ministry intentionally within the local Christian community. Historically, HMS/Anglicare has used both models. Noting the intentional and purposeful inclusion of an integrated faith component, Bill Lawton in his review of Mission Australia (2001) wrote challengingly:

The Christian Welfare Agency is to articulate truth that has been forgotten by the churches. It is to be the cutting-edge of a changed society.¹⁰³

This thesis argues that community transformation comes through the Christian Community development approach as it emphasizes connectedness to local church communities, with priority given to evangelism as well as community programme initiatives. A historic pattern emerged that churches in high NESB urban centres did not have the necessary funding for personnel to initiate NESB

¹⁰⁰ "Migrant Services keeps growing," 2.

¹⁰¹ It is interesting that the budgeted amount by Anglicare for the DCCM, 1999 was \$380,000. However, Anglicare itself was adding \$1.1 million into Migrant Services Team in addition to the government funding. "Sydney's ESL Ministry celebrates ten years of outreach," *Southern Cross, a newspaper of the Sydney Diocese* 1998, December, 14.

¹⁰² A Nichols and M Postma, eds., *The Church and the free market : dilemmas in church welfare agencies accepting contracts from government* (Melbourne: Victorian Council of Churches, Australian Theological Forum, 2002), 7.

¹⁰³ William James Lawton, "Open to change," (Sydney: Mission Australia, 2001), 12.

ministries.¹⁰⁴ The community development approach enabled local community programmes to be decentralized, that is, devolved from the institution (Anglicare) itself and become intentionally parish-based, yet still have the requisite links back into the sponsoring institution.

The writing on the wall

All subsequent communication to and from Terry O'Mara, from 1997 Manager of Diocesan Services, would proceed by the Co-Ordinator explaining matters through her reports, almost never face-to-face. The Co-Ordinator, especially in *Methodology and Practice*, argued strongly for the community development model rather than the welfare model for linking the parish churches with the organisation. She contended that the welfare model would not adequately serve the Anglican parishes of Sydney. She continued to dare to question 'the change of direction' for Anglicare, arguing in her 1998 report:

Given the previous comparison [*Methodology and Practice*, page 2], why has funding been given to aid Parish Programmes, using a welfare type model (e.g. \$3,000 allocated for approved submissions, 'enough to buy equipment, materials for churches to use')¹⁰⁵... there is no funding allocated by ANGLICARE, for NESB pastors, evangelists, theological training etc. which would have strengthened our NESB church planting initiatives. Ironically, two regional councils have come to the conclusion that the present system of regionalisation actually works against initiating new NESB ministries after the English-speaking ministries have been allocated funding ... There again, ANGLICARE is signalling to the Diocese that its image is essentially welfare-based.¹⁰⁶

The Executive Director and the Manager of Diocesan Services who requested the analysis did not give the author of her report a response. Nor was there a response from the newly appointed Director of CCM, the Rev. Ken Coleman. The leadership of the organisation by its silence signalled an ideological shift away from the HMS tradition and not merely a physical one in moving out of Church House in Sydney to Sydney's west, Parramatta.

¹⁰⁴ See Co-Ordinator's published account in *Urban Mission Journal*, "Sydney, Cross-Cultural Ministry and the Anglicans," 33.

¹⁰⁵ For the new parish 'Welfare grants' to parishes see "Parish Welfare Grants-ANGLICARE'S hidden hand," *CARE* 1998, December, 3.

¹⁰⁶ Soulos, "'To be or not to be. . .'" What is the role of the Cross-Cultural Ministry department in ANGLICARE?," 3.

What was becoming apparent was Mr. O'Mara's influential role in the development of the Diocesan Services Division. The newly created Diocesan Services division would include Chaplaincy, Cross-Cultural Ministry, ESL Language classes (listed separately) to CCM, Life After Prison (LAP) Ministry, and the researchers with National Life Church Survey, Mr. Keith Castle, Mr. John Bellamy and Mr. Karl Przywala. The secretarial Staff included Mrs Joy Sanderson and Mrs Judith Matthews. At the writing of his first Annual Report (1997), Terry O'Mara had already 'cherry-picked' the ESL Language classes away from the DCCM, an intention he reached in his first interview with the Society.¹⁰⁷

Management Style

For many 'dyed-in-the-wool' Sydney Anglicans and die-hard Anglican supporters of HMS, O'Mara's was indeed a curious appointment. He was a practising Roman Catholic, seconded from the Department of Community Services (DOCS) where he was a Public Service employee for than 40 years, rising to Assistant Director General. His role at DOCS included State Disaster Manager where he co-ordinated the response to the Newcastle Earthquake and the Nyngan floods. He was himself a victim of the Granville Train disaster (1977), considered to be Australia's worst rail accident.¹⁰⁸

Terry O'Mara quickly became 'number two' in the HMS organization and certainly had the ear of the Executive Director, Howard Dillon. Both were trained army men.¹⁰⁹ Terry O'Mara had little or no prior Diocesan or Church experience, and his annual reports indicated that a new culture for the Society was in train. The reports revealed an onwards change format, and were remarkable for *not* naming the actual personnel in the organisation and their corresponding achievements over the successive years, nor their departure including the staff of the DCCM. This strategy allowed for descriptions of the various work to be reported annually without necessarily recording the turn-over of personnel. This was in stark contrast even with the style of the Annual Report which Howard Dillon had written previously in 1996 as acting CCM Director.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Elizabeth Heath, "Sudden Impact," *Inside Caring/Staff Journal of Anglicare* 1997, November, 5.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ The CCM Co-Ordinator recalling the encounter.

¹¹⁰ For the contrast in reporting in Annual Reports see Dillon, "Annual Report, Cross-cultural Ministry," 9-10.

... There is no cause for alarm

Silas Horton, both during and after retiring in 1996 from his position as Director CCM, fearlessly advised the Anglicare hierarchy and the CCM team that Anglicare was going about its business in the wrong way. Silas Horton was a thorn in the side of both Dillon and O' Mara. He vented his spleen to the CCM team, after attending a Director's meeting, at which O'Mara asked: 'Why is there ministry by Anglicans to the Italians? Aren't they [Italians] Christians already?' A 'blue-blood' Sydney evangelical, Horton railed against such remarks and refused to be silent. In an article written in May 2000 by Mr. Jeremy Halcrow, a reporter with *Southern Cross*, the issues were canvassed openly. The article made the point that in the transition from Anglican Home Mission Society (HMS) to Anglicare, the actual historical word 'Mission' was now missing from the new name, and boldly inferred that the *priority* for evangelism was diminished:

Anglicare no longer sees itself primarily as the 'home mission' arm of the Diocese ... the dropping of the word 'mission' from Anglicare's name reflects a shift in policy away from it being a 'mission agency'.¹¹¹

It was Terry O'Mara and not Executive Director Dillon who in *We're still a mission agency* responded to the criticism:

Anglicare describes itself as a major welfare agency - but it is not. Its core business is the 'business of spreading the Word'.¹¹²

In the same article titled, O'Mara announced that the Anglican Counselling Centre would be 'integrated' into Anglicare. O'Mara probably revealed his chief reason for supporting the integration when he was reported as having said that 'by being part of Anglicare, the Anglican Counselling Centre would have greater ability to access government funding'.¹¹³ In the same article, a note of caution was struck by the Rev. Stephen Fifer, who represented Bishop Piper on the Anglicare Board:

¹¹¹ Halcrow, "We're still a mission agency," 3.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ (Ibid, 2000, May, p.3

I'm ... worried that there is a growing division between parishes and Anglicare. Parishes are no longer giving to Anglicare, while Anglicare is no longer funding as many parish-based ministries. I'd like to see more co-operation and support going both ways.¹¹⁴

O'Mara in the same *Southern Cross* article reported on future provision for cross-cultural ministry:

In regards to cross-cultural ministry, the Diocese found Anglicare was the best answer to a genuine strategic issue. Anglicare will *continue funding 2 consultants* who will provide strategic oversight for ethnic ministry in the diocese.¹¹⁵ (Emphasis my own)

The cross-cultural enterprise was understood as a guaranteed undertaking by Anglicare within the Sydney Diocese. Further confirmation was given in an internal document (2000) entitled:

A PROPOSAL FOR A RE-STRUCTURE OF CROSS-CULTURAL MINISTRY IN THE SYDNEY DIOCESE AND THE ROLE OF ANGLICARE IN IT.

Authored by Dillon, it detailed future developments:

- ANGLICARE ceases the operation of the existing [CCM] team¹¹⁶ ...
- ANGLICARE continues in its management of ESL¹¹⁷ ...
- Whilst ANGLICARE has no responsibility to undertake the role outlined here [2 new positions; Senior Consultant, Strategic Ministries and Consultant for Ministry Resources] - as well as the financial commitments involved - it has responded to the need of the Diocese in this specialised field.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ (Ibid, 2000, May, p.3)

¹¹⁵ Halcrow, "We're still a mission agency," 3.

¹¹⁶ Howard Dillon, "A PROPOSAL FOR A RE-STRUCTURE OF CROSS-CULTURAL MINISTRY IN THE SYDNEY DIOCESE AND THE ROLE OF ANGLICARE IN IT," (Parramatta: ANGLICARE, 2000), 1.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ (Ibid, 2000, p.2)

When rumours of such a re-structure including 'all positions within the existing CCM Team be abolished'¹¹⁹ were made known, Sydney evangelicals were swift to react. Upon hearing the news the former Marrickville Deanery and diocesan ESL Adviser, Nancy Lewis rescinded her bequest to Anglicare.¹²⁰ O'Mara in a fit of rage blamed the CCM Co-Ordinator in front of H. Dillon for Nancy Lewis's decision. The repercussions reverberated around the Diocese.¹²¹ In her own defence the CCM Co-Ordinator denied any influence in the matter and through a faxed Memorandum (dated 24/12/99) to T. O'Mara, still clinging to the hope for continuing CCM within Anglicare, she responded:

I actually have a vested interest to develop my community development models with NESB through Anglicare. To jeopardise such a relationship is both unthinkable and ludicrous.¹²²

That the direction of the organisation was changing, had long been evident to the CCM Team. The 1997 ANGLICARE Annual Report with O'Mara barely into his first year, made it known that the priorities for the new Diocesan Services Division had changed:

However, the [Sydney] Anglican Church has not been involved as a formal member of the Disaster Management protocol. Following serious study, the co-ordination of a state-wide approach to disaster management is a priority for 1998.¹²³

O' Mara was to establish a State Disaster Response Unit to enable the Anglican Community to more actively support people affected by disasters, working in partnership with Government, community and church agencies, through the same Diocesan Services division that currently housed the DCCM.¹²⁴ Under the heading 'Mission' in a Diocesan Services Strategic Plan, 20 January 1999, O'Mara, defined the newly-constructed Diocesan Services Division broadly:

¹¹⁹ Dillon, "A PROPOSAL FOR A RE-STRUCTURE OF CROSS-CULTURAL MINISTRY IN THE SYDNEY DIOCESE AND THE ROLE OF ANGLICARE IN IT," 2.

¹²⁰ From an internal memorandum, Mersina Tonys-Soulos, 1999, 23rd December.

¹²¹ Archbishop Emeritus Goodhew recalled the incident in conversation regarding the Interview at North Wollongong for this thesis, 11/03/15.

¹²² Tonys-Soulos.

¹²³ Terry O'Mara, "Annual Report, Anglicare-Diocesan Services,," (Sydney: Anglicare, 1997), 10.

¹²⁴ "Prayerpoint-Thursday: Diocesan Services," *CARE, a newsletter of Anglicare, formerly the Anglican Home Mission Society* 1998, February, 3.

Within the context of the Mission Statement for ANGLICARE, the mission of the Diocesan Services Division is to encourage, support and represent the church in its ministries, focusing on people in the wider community in their search for spiritual meaning.¹²⁵



O'Mara, Terry. "Annual Report, Diocesan Services." Sydney: ANGLICARE, NSW, 2000, 11.

An analysis of the organisation's Annual Reports from 1998 to 2004 reveals O'Mara's clear priority and leadership for the 'Disaster Management' programme, whilst now accessing the Sydney Anglican denomination's priceless volunteers for the purpose of having them trained in 'disaster management'. Volunteers for 'disaster management' were not only to physically 'help' of course within the context of a 'disaster', but for evangelicals it would afford an unprecedented opportunity to also 'give an account for the hope to which they had been called'.¹²⁶ There is no clear indication that the recruited Sydney

¹²⁵ "Confidential-Short-Diocesan Services Strategic Plan 1999-2001," (Parramatta: ANGLICARE, 1999, January 20), 1.

¹²⁶ 1 Peter 3:15

Anglican volunteers as part of their 'disaster training response' programmes were to be trained in actively sharing their faith on a 'one-to-one' level, or were free to invite to their local church bible-study those who had indeed befallen 'disaster'.¹²⁷ Yet this is the essential component to the 'uniqueness' of Sydney Anglican Diocese. Evangelism is the central component of the Sydney evangelical brand. Michael Jensen wrote:

The question of the centrality of evangelistic mission is a good one to raise with respect to Sydney Anglicans and it does at a certain level offer an explanation (and for some, a justification) of why they do what they do.¹²⁸

This had been the guiding light for the founding of the DCCM since 1987. At its heart was the question, were Sydney Anglicans able to share their faith across what R. D. Winter/McGavran described as the E1-E3 spectrum, that is, across 'cultural distance'?¹²⁹ In the 1990s, the DCCM specialized in attempting to shift the diocesan focus to the inclusion of the NESB agenda, for this was its role.

For the DCCM, what C. Kraft had positively described as 'culture-affirming approach' regarding trends in missiology, was now fraying at the seams. Supported in the current climate of the 'multicultural skeptics', a *Southern Cross* article written in 1998 no less by the Resources Co-Ordinator from the DCCM, the Rev. M. Wilson, and endorsed by the CCM Director the Rev. Ken Coleman, announced:

Orientation: all culture is biased towards sin

Secular multiculturalism often cherishes ethnic and cultural diversity for its own sake. But culture is the expression of human beliefs, values, thoughts, behaviour, relationships. And all people are biased towards sin. So *all cultures are oriented towards sin*.¹³⁰

But in your hearts revere Christ as Lord. Always be prepared to give an answer to everyone who asks you to give the reason for the hope that you have. New International Version (NIV)


¹²⁷ Reference is cited from a presentation for the introduction of the work of Emergency Services to the organisation, that included, "Respect for Privacy" provisions. However, it is not clear from the Presentation summary document what this entails, "Emergency Services, power-point presentation," (Sydney: Anglicare, 1998-1999), 5.

¹²⁸ Michael Jensen, "Sydney Anglicanism: A response," *St Mark's Review*, no. 226 (2013): 114.

¹²⁹ Winter, "The Highest Priority: Cross-Cultural Evangelism," 229-31.

¹³⁰ M Wilson, "The Logic Of Cross-Cultural Ministry," *Southern Cross* 1998, July, 17.

Such a cautionary approach towards cultural diversity hardly endeared one to venture or encouraged one to share in daily NES cross-cultural activities for congregations. The social policies of the Howard era were having their effect on what this thesis would describe as 'the de-construction' of Multiculturalism policies. A form of 'Post-Multiculturalism'¹³¹ was afflicting the diocese and society alike. The publication as a supplement to the Annual Report 2000, entitled *ANGLICARE: Into the 21st Century: Highlights of the Year in Review 2000*, made no mention of the work of Cross-Cultural Ministries, under its re-structured divisional section, Diocesan Services.¹³² It appears merely as a heading on the back page of the report.¹³³



DIOCESAN SERVICES

- ★ Our Emergency Services Division has undertaken a major initiative in training and accreditation for emergency volunteer teams.
- ★ The National Church Life Survey team (NCLS) have been hard at work preparing for the 2001 survey – which will be distributed to over 850,000 church attenders.
- ★ In our Life After Prisons work we meet families who are shattered by the loss of a father or mother to the prison system. And for those leaving prisons, trying to re-enter and reconnect with society, the obstacles can seem insurmountable.

IN NEED OF INTENSIVE CARE

The sounds of an intensive care ward were so very technical. What began as a happy trip in the car ended up in hospital, with two little bodies lying unconscious.

Everyone seemed in control. She felt isolated, so isolated, the one person most involved and the one who could do nothing.

She had no idea how long she had been standing there, all she remembers are those first words, 'Would you let me

help you if I possibly can? She spoke with confidence and compassion.

She stayed with her and prayed. When life and death became such a stark reality, she needed someone to pray with her more than anything else, someone to help her reach out to the God she had always known must be there.

"ANGLICARE: Into the 21st Century: Highlights of the Year in Review 2000." Sydney: ANGLICARE, 2000, 4.

¹³¹ Describing the revisionist view of the social policy, quoted in Burnett, "Issues in immigrant settlement in Australia" 5, cited from Jamrozik, Boland, and Urquhart, *Social change and cultural transformation in Australia*, 113.

¹³² "ANGLICARE: Into the 21st Century: Highlights of the Year in Review 2000," 4.

¹³³ Ibid., 7.

For yet another review, the members of the Committee for 'The Archbishop's Working Party on Cross-Cultural Ministry', August, 1999, included the Abdallah Bahri, Assistant Minister Greenacre; Ernest Chau, Curate-in-Charge, Kirribilli; Dr. Alan Cole retired, Federal Secretary CMS and CMS missionary; Mike Raiter, Head, department of Mission, Moore Theological College; Rocco Scarcella, Curate-in-Charge, Bossley Park; Bishop Peter Dawson, Assistant Bishop of Bukavu, CMS missionary; Geoff Huard (Convenor) Archdeacon of Liverpool, Georges River Region; Ken Coleman (Consultant) Director, Cross-Cultural Ministry, Anglicare; Mike Wilson, (Minute Secretary), Training Co-Ordinator CCM, Anglicare. The male members of the CCM Team are represented on the Committee, while the female members of the CCM team and all laity are noticeably absent. The Working Party's task was to supply a strategic plan for Cross-Cultural Ministry in the Diocese for the period to 2025¹³⁴ and the role of Anglicare in the Strategic Plan.¹³⁵ It reported that:

The Working Party is of the view that Anglicare's management's proposal to divide up the majority of the present Team among the Regions will lead to fewer initiatives, the undermining of effective cross-cultural ministry and a lack of continuity.¹³⁶

In the submission, *A View from Anglicare*, presented by T. O'Mara it was observed that: 'There has been no investment by the Regions in NEW CCM Ministries since [Regionalization].'¹³⁷ This was largely correct, except that Irene Mok also began church-planting at St. John's Cathedral, Parramatta in 1997.

Whilst the desired result was to have *more* NES ministries planted and not *less* in the regions, the 'mainstreaming' (that is bringing the prioritising of NES ministries from the periphery into the 'mainstream' agenda)¹³⁸ could not happen without the requisite infrastructure, research and planning,

¹³⁴ "Archbishop's Working Party on Cross-Cultural Ministry Report," (St. Andrew's House: Sydney Anglican Diocese, 1999, August), 3.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 5.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 15.

¹³⁷ T. O'Mara, "A View from Anglicare," in *Archbishop's Working Party on Cross-Cultural Ministry* (ANGLICARE, 1999, April 15), 4.

¹³⁸ The following criticism of the 'mainstream' integration of social policy initiatives needs attention:

The advocates of mainstreaming very rightly set out to strengthen multiculturalism by bringing welfare, educational and government servicing needs from the margins into the central concerns of core social institutions. But, on the other hand, might it not also mean in practice that special services and institutions, designed to meet the particular needs of non-English-speaking background people,

now all subject to the regional political will. Historically, since 1987 HMS/Anglicare partnered funding of the CCM through its own department. Then by way of CCM grants to the regions, The DCCM's history from its outset had been one of intentional inclusion into the structures and life of the Diocese. Yet Archbishop Goodhew would not set up another CCM structure subject to regionalism, possibly with a new Archdeacon for CCM.¹³⁹ Anglicare strongly hinted at offloading any prospective funding for NES church-planting work including the funding for the DCCM to the regions, and it was common knowledge at the time. Archbishop Goodhew resisted this view, during deliberations reminding Anglicare of its diocesan role to provide consultants to the regions, with the provision of 2 funded Anglicare positions *in order* to facilitate CCM ministry and not to retreat from it.¹⁴⁰

It became clear in the responses from Dillon and O'Mara that their preferred option was the welfare-based, Migrant Services Team heavily subsidized by government grants. As a result Anglicare became progressively 'distant' from the diocese, evolving away from its traditional parish-church model to a more welfare grants-dependent, service provision agency.¹⁴¹

The ministry by HMS/Anglicare to the Sydney parishes was truncated with the projected abolition of the DCCM. The combined expertise of the 'Team', the central diocesan funding channel through one CCM diocesan department that hitherto expedited the vast majority of NES church-planting since 1987 was sacrificed. This was the view of the Alan Cole, Ken Coleman and most if not all members of the CCM team and the majority of the members of the Archbishop's Working Party. Amid the divergent trajectories of regionalism and the leadership of Anglicare going in opposite if not opposing directions after 1997, the clergy were left pondering where was Anglicare's 'mission' and what was its connection with the parishes of the diocese?

are no longer required? S. Castles, M. Kalantzis, and B. Cope, "The End of Multiculturalism? . . . or from the Margins to the Centre," *Ethnos, Ethnic Affairs Commission of NSW*, no. 54 (1986): 1.

¹³⁹ As the earlier "Resolution 8/94, Developing and Planting New Churches, a report from a Synod Working party," 391. had suggested the creation of a new role: Archdeacon for Cross-Cultural Ministry.

¹⁴⁰ This important directive was clarified by Archbishop Emeritus Goodhew, in his interview for this thesis, 11/03/16, North Wollongong.

¹⁴¹ The critique of the Methodology/Practice model comparing welfare grants, Charity model as compared to Christian community development agenda. Mersina Soulos, "Methodology and Practise: The contrast between the charity model versus the community development model," (Sydney Square: Home Mission Society (HMS), 1996). in "'To be or not to be. . . ' What is the role of the Cross-Cultural Ministry department in ANGLICARE?," 2.

The CCM Working Party report in 1999 foretold that approximately half Sydney's population by 2025 would be NESB.¹⁴² It was well on the way to what multicultural theorists, such as J. Martin, had conceived as an Australia with 'no-one ethnic' group predominating in a fully-fledged multicultural society working within the models of 'cultural/structural pluralism'.¹⁴³

On the secular level, Prime Minister Hawke had previously raised the Office of Multicultural Affairs (OMA) portfolio to the level of Prime minister and Cabinet for the implementation of the *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia* because of its social policy priority for his government.¹⁴⁴ Its ensuing incarnation OMA (Office of Multicultural Affairs in the department of Prime minister and Cabinet, 1986-1996) was de-funded under the Howard Government.¹⁴⁵ In effect Sydney Anglicans were following in Howard's train. Since the abolition of the DCCM, (2000)¹⁴⁶ for the Sydney Diocese no formal over-arching NES/CCM ministry department has been instituted since. It is indeed ironic that the Sydney Diocese, in losing its DCCM lost its best hope of resourcing multicultural advance, just as racism and xenophobia for the nation was reaching its intolerable zenith with the pendulum swinging firmly to the right.

¹⁴² Ibid, (Executive Summary, 1999, August, 1.4, p.3)

¹⁴³ See Martin, "Ethnic pluralism and identity.", also S. Shaver's chapters 5 and 9 in Beilharz, Hogan, and Shaver, *The Martin presence : Jean Martin and the making of social sciences in Australia*.

¹⁴⁴ "National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia. . . Sharing our Future.", see also "Office of Multicultural Affairs (Australia) OMA, also known as Dept. of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Office of Multicultural Affairs (1987-1995), ", also see "OMA Publications List," Making Multicultural Australia Library, http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/multoff_4.pdf.

¹⁴⁵ "Fact Sheet - Australia's Multicultural Policy," Australian Government Department of Social Services, <https://www.dss.gov.au/our-responsibilities/settlement-and-multicultural-affairs/publications/fact-sheet-australias-multicultural-policy>.

¹⁴⁶ Dillon, "A PROPOSAL FOR A RE-STRUCTURE OF CROSS-CULTURAL MINISTRY IN THE SYDNEY DIOCESE AND THE ROLE OF ANGLICARE IN IT," 2.

Chapter 10

Conclusion

The immigration of over 4 million people since WWII made Australia one of the foremost immigrant receiving nations in the world. The NES component in the decade 1991-2001 rose from 58% to 61% of the overall migrant intake.¹ The management of such unprecedented linguistic and cultural diversity in terms of settlement has *not* been by accident or by chance. It is rather the outcome of the interaction of government policies, social science research and thinking, and the work of religious institutions. The churches have contributed missiological thinking for the inclusion of the marginalised, including NES migrants and have provided ministries to give practical effect to a vision of a multicultural church in a multicultural nation.

Among Australia's social science researchers, the eminent multicultural theorists Professors Jerzy Zubrzycki and Jean Martin² led the way in identifying policies required for the achievement of 'cultural pluralism', such as the retention of languages other than English, the removal of educational disadvantage, and undermining the myth of automatic 'assimilation'.³ Government policies, beginning with the implementation of the recommendations of the 1978 Galbally Report, reached some maturity with the migrant service provision and multicultural commitments of the Hawke/Keating Labor governments from 1986 to 1996. Multiculturalism enjoyed a modicum of bi-partisan support

¹ See Department Of Immigration And Multicultural Affairs (DIMIA), "Chapter One: The Policy Context," 25. See Table 1.1 in Appendix 1 at end of chapter.

² Considered to be the 'Mother and Father' of Australia's Multiculturalism, in Bottomley, "Jean Martin and the exploration of (in) difference," 114.

³ See J Zubrzycki, "Beyond Multiculturalism," in *Multicultural Australia ? Ethnic Claims and Religious Values: Proceedings of the Galatians Group Conference, August 1995*, ed. E French (Dimboola, Vic: The Galatians Group Inc, 1995); "Multi-racial Australia: a Christian Perspective," in *Multicultural Australia ? Ethnic Claims and Religious Values: Proceedings of the Galatians Group Conference, August 1995*, ed. E French (Dimboola, Vic.: The Galatians Group Inc, 1995); "The Evolution of the Policy of Multiculturalism in Australia 1968-95"; Ethnic Affairs Taskforce (Chairman) J. Zubrzycki, "National Consultations on Multiculturalism and Citizenship," (Canberra: Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1982); Zubrzycki, *Multiculturalism for All Australians-Our developing Nationhood*; Leonard Broom, Frank Lancaster Jones, and Jerzy Zubrzycki, *Opportunity and attainment in Australia* (Stanford University Press, 1977).

until challenged by the reactionary forces of Hansonism and resistance from the Howard conservative government.⁴

Concurrent with the research of social scientists and the development of governmental policies promoting multiculturalism was pioneering and creative research done by and into religious groupings in Australia's increasingly pluralistic population. Professor David R. Cox⁵ wrote an important study of Greek migrants⁶ and made a valuable submission to the 1975 Henderson Enquiry into Poverty. The work of the Ecumenical Migration Centre in Melbourne sponsored the pioneering work of the Alan Matheson, Arthur Faulkner, Des Storer, and Brian Howe – all ministers of religion. Their combined research and advocacy grew out of working with NES migrant communities and therefore had the validity to influence policy-makers and academics to work towards a bi-partisan government approach to settlement policies.

Government policies regarding multiculturalism were used to manage the diversity. These would become the mechanisms to construct a functioning multicultural society, attempting to address the various levels of disadvantage that led to exclusion. The policies although profoundly contested appear to have constructed one of the most successful multicultural societies in the world.⁷ Possessed of a profound Christian faith, Zubrzycki's vision was inspiring:

But the revolution here is one that leads to a universal society whose members are truly persons when joined in the closest inter-dependence without thereby losing

⁴ Michele Langfield, "Ecumenical Migration Centre, Melbourne-the first 20 Years," in *Espresso Bar to EMC, a thirty-year history of the*

Ecumenical Migration Centre, Melbourne (Monash Publications in History 1996), 10., Tavan, "John Howard's Multicultural Paradox."

⁵ D Cox, "'The role of Ethnic Groups in Migrant Welfare', in Australia, Commission of Enquiry into Poverty,," in *Welfare of Migrants* (Australian Government Publication Service (AGPS), 1975).

⁶ "Towards an Understanding of the Greek Migrant," (Melbourne: Ecumenical Migration Centre, CHOMI Monograph, No. 1, 1974).

⁷ President Clinton's "Remarks in Sydney, Australia November 21 1996.," S Ozdowski, "Australian multiculturalism. The roots of its success," *Promoting changes in times of transition and crisis: Reflections on human rights education. Krakow: Ksiegarnia Akademicka. Retrieved from: <http://www.akademicka.pl>* (2013). See also Bouma, "The Emergence of Religious Plurality in Australia: A Multicultural Society†," 296-7.

their identities. This interdependence in other words, is one of communion and not absorption.⁸

But the subsequent history of church and society was not one of an uncontested treasuring of all diversity. This thesis is of a much sadder history of a protracted struggle between those who believed in diversity in communion and those committed to the absorption of the 'Other' into uniformity with their conservative Evangelical faith.

Sydney Anglican Diocese, Lausanne Movement

The author of this action research thesis was at the centre of the action for the construction of a sustainable ministry to the NES. Yet she herself only became aware in retrospect of some of the forces, events and people who enacted this drama. The Lausanne movement was controverted among Sydney evangelicals. But it was clearly pivotal for defining, even creating, the issues at stake. A group of Sydney Evangelicals, including Bishop Jack Dain, Bishop John Reid, journalist and Sydney Anglican priest, Alan Nichols, David Claydon, and Harry Goodhew attended the first Lausanne Conference in 1974 and signed the 'Covenant' that was later to cause so much angst to their conservative evangelical brothers. The history of world evangelicalism was changed through the movement and its Covenant with the majority in attendance subscribing to it. The work of the Conference was facilitated through the vision and influence of evangelicalism's premier theologian and Bible teacher, John Stott, who is also credited with being the main author of the Covenant.⁹ It provoked resistance from leading Sydney evangelical ministers, evangelist, John Chapman, and Moore Theological College principal, Broughton Knox, both of whom also attended the Lausanne Conference. The disjuncture between evangelism and 'socio-political' responsibility was on show for all to see. The Sydney men were extremely influential in their diocese. Their theology would later influence the REPA movement.¹⁰ Yet it was clause 5 which especially proved contentious for them in contemporary evangelical thought:

⁸ J Zubrzycki, "On developing a Multi-Racial Community in Australia-A Christian Perspective," *St. Mark's Review* 103, no. September (1980): 15.

⁹ T. Dudley-Smith, *John Stott a global ministry: a biography : the later years* (InterVarsity Press, 2001), 221.

¹⁰ The Reformed Evangelical Protestant Association, who with their prime candidate, the Rev. Phillip Jensen, who was to contest the next race for Archbishop (1993). They held fast to opposing the evangelical majority view in Clause 5 of the Covenant. This may hardly be called 'radical' rather another form of conservatism. However, the point is often missed by those who have taken this powerful diocese to task and had to 'swim against the tide'

... Although reconciliation with man is not reconciliation with God, nor is social action evangelism, nor political liberation salvation, nevertheless we affirm socio-political involvement are part of our Christian duty.¹¹

For many, perhaps the majority, of evangelicals the theological/praxis alliance between evangelism and social responsibility had been made.¹² One could no longer separate the social responsibility component from the understanding of evangelical conversion, undergirded by the Christian's reciprocal responsibility back into the society.¹³ However, this does not appear to have been true of the majority of Sydney Anglican evangelicals or at least the majority of those who were most heard by the Sydney church. In the interests of the 'pure' gospel they were not willing to add a social dimension to its proclamation. After Lausanne they seemed to stand for an even greater separation between religion and society, between church and state. In this thesis the downside of this conservative stance was seen to be demonstrated by the refusal to challenge or criticise the practice of human rights abuses under the horrific years of Apartheid in South Africa.¹⁴

Those who did endorse the Covenant probably belonged to the mainstream of international evangelical thought and practice, which in its endorsement of the indispensable connection of word and action, drew on the inspiration in Sydney of the likes of R.B.S. Hammond and Bertie Boyce at the beginning of the twentieth century and of Bishop Barker who formed HMS in 1856, and in the wider evangelical world may be traced back through Shaftesbury and Wilberforce to John Wesley himself. This honoured tradition has been labelled in this thesis as the 'minority radical evangelical tradition', for what is a majority elsewhere is a minority in Sydney and what is radical in Sydney is normative elsewhere. It was the members of this tradition who wished to experiment with the church's involvement with communities in Sydney which were experiencing rapid demographic and cultural change. Their strategy is characterised in this thesis as the Christian community development

given their particular theology. Accordingly, the work of the HMS, once extolled by the likes of former Archbishops, Mowll and Loane was now relegated to a second rate relationship within its own Diocese.

¹¹ International Congress on World Evangelization [Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization], "Lausanne Covenant".

¹² Steuernagel, "Social concern and evangelization: The journey of the Lausanne movement".

¹³ For a differing view from the Sydney Diocese see Woodhouse, "Evangelism and Social Responsibility," 3-5.

¹⁴ Retief, "Church of England in South Africa. Testimony before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission".

agenda,¹⁵ which was intentionally pursued for 13 years of struggle by the DCCM within the HMS and the diocese.

The consequences of the Vietnam War (1955-1975) and the response of Sydney Diocese

The arrival of over 20,000 'boat-people' in Sydney as a consequence of the Vietnam War, in the 1970s under the Fraser conservative government, helped to change the focus of the Church of England's Immigration Department in Sydney from that of welcoming mainly British migrants to support for NES Indo-Chinese 'unaccompanied minors' and families. This change of direction was headed up by the refugee settlement work of Mr. Frank Garforth (Field Officer, for Non-British migrants with Immigration Chaplaincy, then invited by Archbishop Loane to be Chief Immigration Officer, 1974) with his wife Gillian.¹⁶ In the 1970s they become known as 'Father' and 'Mother' to the many Indo-Chinese refugees that settled in Sydney. Their work also helped focus church ministry in the Anglican parishes adjoining the East Hills, Endeavour Hostel and Westbridge/Villawood Hostels, Fairfield, Cabramatta through the provision of government Grant-in Aid funding.¹⁷ Irene Mok, then a young Deaconess House student, began visiting with the Garforths in their work amongst the Indo-Chinese populations in Sydney.¹⁸ The Church of England Immigration department was transformed into the Migrant

¹⁵ John M Perkins, *Restoring at-risk communities: Doing it together and doing it right* (Baker Books, 1996); John Perkins, *Beyond charity: The call to Christian community development* (Baker Books, 1993).

¹⁶ I would like to acknowledge the kindness of Frank Garforth's late widow, Gillian in allowing the use of the original documents from the period, regarding the change of direction (including positive support from Sydney's Archbishop Loane), from British migrants to NESB migrants/refugees. The information was included as part of the former CCM Co-Ordinator's (private) submission Tonys-Soulos, "Submission for the formulation of a Policy re: Multicultural Australia : The Way Forward." to the Howard Government's enquiry, *Multicultural Australia: the way forward* National Multicultural Advisory Council, "Multicultural Australia: the way forward ". Because the Co-Ordinator recalls Manager, T. O' Mara, did not give his permission for the Co-Ordinator's submission to be sent on behalf of Anglicare. The substantial links subsequently made between the Howard government and the higher echelons of Anglicare can be traced back to this time. The history was also summarized and included by her as part of the original outline of the three Living in Harmony Workshops, re: Frank Garforth. The former CCM Co-Ordinator's (private) submission was sent to the Howard government through the support and the prompting of Nancy Lewis, also a former Co-Ordinator of the Migrant Services Team, "Nancy's new role is just second nature," 2. The CCM Co-Ordinator agreed, given the history of the work was far too important to be left unrecognised, with Australia's new Howard conservative government and the fact that individual cases from Indo-Chinese community, Sydney were still trying to trace their parents, 20 years after the war.

¹⁷ Tonys-Soulos, "Mr. Frank Garforth."

¹⁸ From the Rev. Irene Mok's Interview for this thesis, via Skype from China, interview by M. (Tonys-Soulos) Papantoniou, 2015, 28 May.

Services Team under HMS in 1976¹⁹ and is still largely dependent on government grants for its programmes.²⁰ The Team had its initial base in Cabramatta and was an example of using the welfare agenda in church-planting amongst the incoming migrant/refugee populations through the Soldiers' Memorial Church, Cabramatta. This work represented a major paradigm-shift in the denomination towards ministry amongst NES, predominantly Indo-Chinese populations using government grants.

The exponential rise in the number of NES migrants to Sydney has only increased the need for ministry to assist with their inclusion. But as the need increased and the understanding of what needed to be done and what could be done also increased, so too did opposition to the work. Those evangelicals who attempted to enter such arenas of dispossession and disadvantage were derided by the 'purists' as doing 'social-work' and *not* the work of the gospel.

The Sydney radical minority evangelical tradition

Those who agreed with the Lausanne Covenant and supported the work of HMS among the NES, especially through the DCCM, have been here identified as the radical minority evangelical tradition. An example, treated in chapter 8, was the ministry of 'Bill' and Margaret Lawton from 1989 to 1999) in the parish of St. John's. Their ministry coincided with the height of the AIDS epidemic. Lawton began a counselling service in the parish, with his wife, Margaret (a trained counsellor herself)²¹ and through what he described as his 'dream-ministry team', began the Life after Prison (LAP) programme through the ministry of his assistant, Tom Henderson-Brooks. It was a ministry that modelled the marriage of evangelism with the community development agenda in an urban setting.

Those in the minority radical evangelical tradition who played the leading roles in creating the DCCM in HMS as an instrument for moving the Diocese from its primary focus on the ES ideally to an equal commitment to NES ministry were John Reid and Allan Whitham. The experienced and sagacious strategist, Bishop John Reid, was the Chairman of the HMS Council and Canon Allan Whitham, who

¹⁹ "The History of the Migrant Services Team," 1.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ W. J. Lawton, "Can we let people out of the closet?," *Church Scene, a national Anglican newspaper* 1996, July 19; "Urban Ministry-writing the Vision."; "The Touch of Love, the Breath of Renewal, the Face of God in the City."

had earlier pioneered ministry through the emerging housing commission estates of Mt. Druitt,²² was the General Secretary of HMS from 1982 to 1990. Whitham led the Society with great vision and had an extraordinary sensitivity to the 'ordinary person' and the multicultural city that Sydney was already becoming. To 'the purists' HMS had lost its way. To the radical evangelicals it had found its way again.

Whitham implemented the recommendations of the 1983 Bowie report by introducing the Christian community development agenda to the Sydney Diocese through the Parish Community Workers (PCW's). The aim was to unite the work of the home "Mission" and the parishes of the Diocese through innovative parish-based community programmes. Both Reid and Whitham showed extraordinary vision and commitment to this strategy for NES ministries.

Yet there was one, from another Australian Anglican diocese, who in his too short, 5-year episcopate would overshadow them both. David Penman was *the* Anglican Statesman for Australia's Multiculturalism. He produced what became the inaugural policy document for the Diocese of Melbourne in cross-cultural ministry, with its 99 recommendations: This would forever set the benchmark for policy and change for the Anglican church of Australia toward NES minorities. His unrelenting pace included the chairmanship of the peak advisory body to the Australian government, created out of one of the recommendations of the Galbally report, the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs. One of the first tasks in his new role was to inaugurate the department of Multicultural Ministry for his own diocese. Those from the radical minority evangelical tradition drawn to support him included Khalil Razmara from Iran, Alan Nichols, and Jim Houston. The last was belatedly recognized as the author of the ground-breaking speech of the Minister for Immigration, Al Grassby, *A multi-cultural society for the future*²³ (1973) in which he introduced the concept 'multi-cultural' into Australia's lexicon.²⁴

²² Subsequent research has revealed entrenched cycles of poverty among populations in Western Sydney, see Vinson, *The great divide : poverty and wealth in Western and outer South-Western Sydney : a report / compiled by Society of St. Vincent de Paul, Parramatta and Wollongong Diocesan Councils ; [written by Tony Vinson and Paul Power]*.

²³ Grassby, "A multi-cultural society for the future."

²⁴ From Prof. A. Jakubowicz, regarding the 1973 speech:

... represents one of the most important aspects of recognition and paradigm shifts in Australian history. This meant that the history of Australia's past was no longer going to dominate the future. (Quoted verbatim), Jakubowicz.

Sydney follows Melbourne

Not to be outdone, Sydney Diocese succeeded in inaugurating the DCCM, through the Anglican HMS in 1987, as the premier department for evangelism and church-planting amongst the NES. The document *Report of the Standing Committee, Cross-Cultural Ministries*,²⁵ became the policy document for the Sydney diocese on NES church-planting and evangelism. The founding Co-Ordinator of the department, Mrs Mersina Soulos, was, by Sydney standards, a curious appointment. She was a NESB lay woman, member of the Greek Bible Fellowship congregation (St. Matthias Ministries), formerly Parish Community Worker under the leadership of Mrs. Myfanwy Bosanquet, Care Force, HMS.²⁶ As Co-Ordinator of DCCM she was made directly answerable to the HMS General Secretary, and also answerable to her CCM Advisory Committee.²⁷

It was perhaps unusual for the church in Sydney to be so responsive to national sentiment. In 1989 the Hawke Government through its *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia ... Sharing our Future*,²⁸ defined the premises and boundaries for Australia's policy of Multiculturalism. The Office of Multicultural Affairs (OMA) was brought directly under the Office of Prime minister and Cabinet.²⁹ The document defines the management of Australia's social policies regarding diversity and social cohesion and the shared national 'values' on which they would proceed. The foundational document held centre stage from 1989 to 1996, representing the halcyon days of multiculturalism.³⁰ It was appropriate for the church to be also intentional and focussed on developing mechanisms and ministries to aid the settlement of the NES not only in the wider community in Australia, but also in the churches.

²⁵ "Report of the Standing Committee, Cross-Cultural Ministries."

²⁶ Through the leadership of M. Bosanquet, the Christian community development agenda was introduced within Sydney Diocese and at its zenith (1996) had 7 PCW's working in the diocese. "Sydney: Vision for the Poor," *Church Scene, a national Anglican newspaper* 1996, June 7, 3.

²⁷ The minutes to the historic CCM Advisory Committee exist, however, permission was denied by Anglicare for their access.

²⁸ "National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia. . . Sharing our Future."

²⁹ Jakubowicz, "Cleaning up the mess? 1987 - A new agency in the Prime Minister's Department to advise on multicultural policies".

³⁰ "National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia. . . Sharing our Future."

The church as 'agency' – the growth of the DCCM

The Co-Ordinator's position united the disparate and fragmented elements from within the diocese who were seeking ministry with NES minorities in Sydney. Working with Sydney's NES migrants and refugees, it became inconceivable to the Co-Ordinator that the social justice/socio-political responsibility would be ditched in favour of the 'pure' evangelism-only ministries paradigm. The community development agenda had been pioneered through her work as PCW for the Inner West through the churches of the Marrickville Area Deanery. HMS would become the theological/practical vehicle bringing the NES ministry agenda into the mainstream life of the Diocese. The DCCM 'would do both' intentionally and as part of the 'radical minority evangelical tradition'.

A further impetus to the work was given when a separate category of ministry grants was approved through HMS Council in 1991 for the funding of NES ministries through the fledgling department. This gave the opportunity for the NES mission to be considered on its own merit rather than in competition with the usual ES parish ministries, such as curates and youthworkers. It was evident that the parishes which had made up the bible-belt of the 1950s and 60s, that is the parishes of the inner west, had substantially changed in composition with the increasing NES migrant populations. It became evident that for some parishes NES ministry became a ministry of 'last resort' once all avenues to the tried and familiar had been exhausted. The ministry of the Rev. John Woo (1983-98) and his late wife, Yuke Lan, in Bishop Reid's words "resurrected" the inner west parish of Campsie,³¹ by growing the existing congregation and also church-planting a Chinese congregation via the ESL class, funded as part of the ESL Deanery initiative.

So the ministry expanded. In 1991, there were 12 NESB congregations in the diocese.³² By 1996, prior to regionalization there were 30 NES congregations and 38 workers (not including the five members of

³¹ Cited from an Interview of the Rev. John Woo for this thesis, (26/06/15).

³² Fletcher, "Anglicanism and National Identity in Australia Since 1962," 336.

the DCCM).³³ In 1996 there was a total of \$517,000 for parish-funded CCM initiatives,³⁴ almost doubling the 1993 schedule.³⁵

1996 Closure: the perfect storm

The appointment of Howard Dillon as CEO of HMS changed the philosophy of the organisation. Together with the name change from HMS to Anglicare, the organisation was distanced both physically and philosophically from the diocese. The change of direction was given impetus when the diocesan policy of Regionalization was formally introduced through the 1996 Sydney Synod. This allowed representatives from the regions to decide their priorities. Theoretically, this appeared to be a logical step, because regions were sufficiently large to threaten to break-away and form their own dioceses. But DCCM was lost in the transition.

Region:	Bishop:	Parishes	Congregations
South Sydney	Peter Watson	55	63
North Sydney	Paul Barnett	65	76
Parramatta	Brian King	56	92
Wollongong	Reg Piper	46	96
Georges River	Ray Smith	48	58
Sydney (all)	Harry Goodhew	270	385

The table was put together from the 1995 Yearbook of the Sydney Diocese. Cited from

Mason, R, and Charles Sherlock. "Province of NSW, Part 1: The Diocese of Sydney." Church Scene, 1995, June 23, 7.

Ironically, the region that had been the main beneficiary of previous CCM grants, the Georges River region,³⁶ had most to lose. The Bishop, Ray Smith, found it difficult to prioritize new CCM work amid his other regional priorities. Archbishop Goodhew in his Presidential Address to the 1999 Sydney

³³ Appendix 3: DCCM Directory, 1997

³⁴ See Tables 1-3, in Appendix from this chapter, cited from personal correspondence to Mr. Ken Bowden, Diocesan Secretariat, titled: *Budgetary Considerations for the Future funding of CCM* Mersina Soulos, 1998, 23 January.

³⁵ (See Appendix 2, Tables 1, 2 and 3 at end of this chapter, from Bowden 1998 correspondence)

³⁶ (See Appendix, Table 2 at end of this chapter)

Synod,³⁷ through Resolution 23/99, sought to ensure that the Synod recognise the Georges River region as a "missionary region" and "should be supported commensurately".³⁸ The resolution over successive Synods and by the new Archbishop from 2001, Peter Jensen, was ultimately *not* supported, and neither were motions (13/99 and 24/00) regarding Cross-Cultural Ministry.³⁹

Archbishop Goodhew continued to raise his concerns regarding the future of CCM in the diocese even in his last Synod address 2000.⁴⁰ In 1999 there was a proposal that the department be retained, if not under Anglicare, then directly as a department of the diocese, in the same way as the Office of Multicultural Affairs was positioned under the Prime minister and Cabinet.⁴¹ This was not accepted and a compromise was reached between Anglicare and the Diocese to fund two Consultants on CCM for 3 years, whilst Anglicare retained funding of ESL ministry.⁴² The strategy, as implemented, destabilized the existing full-time positions of the founding Co-Ordinator, M. Soulos, the Diocesan ESL Advisor,⁴³ S. Keevers, and the Evangelist to the Chinese, the Rev. Irene Mok, all positions held by women, 2 lay and one clerical. In 2000 DCCM was closed and the position of the Co-Ordinator terminated.

³⁷ 'Harry' Goodhew, "Presidential Address to the Sydney Synod, 1999," in *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney* (Sydney Square: Diocesan Secretariat, 2000), 353.

³⁸ "Resolution 8.7, 23/99, Georges River to be declared a 'missionary region'," *ibid.* (2003), 440.

³⁹ "Resolution 8.5, 13/99 Cross cultural ministry

23/99 Georges River region to be declared a "missionary region"

24/00 Cross cultural ministry," in *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney* (Sydney Square: Diocesan Secretariat, 2004), 367-8. The following outcome was reported:

We appointed a Committee to consider these matters but it did not actively pursue its reference. In the circumstances we terminated the appointment of the Committee. We do not intend taking any further action in relation to these matters. (*ibid.*, p. 368)

⁴⁰ "Resolution 8.12, 24/00 Cross-cultural ministry," in *Yearbook of the Diocese of Sydney* (Sydney Square: Diocesan Secretariat, 2003), 441.

⁴¹ This was a perception of the Co-Ordinator CCM prior to the department's abolition.

⁴² From an internal report: *A PROPOSAL FOR A RE-STRUCTURE OF CROSS-CULTURAL MINISTRY IN THE SYDNEY DIOCESE AND THE ROLE OF ANGLICARE IN IT*, Dillon, "A PROPOSAL FOR A RE-STRUCTURE OF CROSS-CULTURAL MINISTRY IN THE SYDNEY DIOCESE AND THE ROLE OF ANGLICARE IN IT," 2.

⁴³ S. Keevers had doubled the ESL classes to over 90 classes with in excess of over 1, 000 students in the diocese. Cited from her interview "Audio Interview with S. Keevers."

Regionalization also had the effect of replacing the community development agenda in Anglicare with a direct welfare provision model aided through the plentiful provision of government welfare grants. The ensuing welfare model chosen by Anglicare's leadership as the *modus operandi* resulted in the perceptible loss of 'connection' between Sydney parishes and the organisation.⁴⁴ The course of action and direction under the Dillon leadership of Anglicare (1996-2004) added further fuel to the flames of criticism from 'the purists'. The criticism initially levelled at 'welfare work' was that it was taking away from 'gospel-work', distancing the parishes in their ministry from gospel work since one could not do both. Now the 'purists' were vindicated when Anglicare, in pursuit, of government money, became less interested in the trouble of sourcing parish money and volunteers.

The Loss of Faith Communities

In recent years in Britain sociologists see 'faith communities' as important as there has been a re-emergence of 'faith' and 'the faith community' as public categories. In the United Kingdom there is currently a public policy interest in faiths as repositories of resources for 'strengthened community'. In Australia the phenomenon of intentionally constructed pluralistic communities has been labelled by sociologist G. Bouma as Australia's 'religious mosaic'.⁴⁵ In a globalised world 'the sacred' may have an ever-increasing place in the construction of communities. R. Thompson in *Durkheim and Sacred Identity* writes:

Most of the revitalizing new social movements today are not class-based, but they are often concerned with symbolic community and identity that is sacred, because it transcends the mundane and separates itself from the profane Other. The most formidable of these are the ethnic movements which, combining with cultural elements such as religion, language, custom and dress-codes expose the fragility of 'organic solidarity' based on civic and economic contractual ties. Globalization provokes localizations and particularizations of identity ...⁴⁶

⁴⁴ See former CEO, Peter Kell's criticism of the Dillon years, "CEO Peter Kell leaves ANGLICARE stronger and more committed to care, Peter's legacy," *CARE* 2011, July, 3.

⁴⁵ Bouma, "The Emergence of Religious Plurality in Australia: A Multicultural Society†," 289.

⁴⁶ Roger Thompson, "Durkheim and Sacred Identity," in *On Durkheim's Elementary Forms of Religious Life* ed. N. J. Allen, W. S. F. Pickering, and W. Watts Miller (London: Routledge, 1998), 104.

The DCCM within HMS/Anglicare had to negotiate taking the church into the world of religious and cultural plurality, intentionally prioritizing evangelism within a community development agenda. The foundation of the department had been built on this very premise. The parish-based, community programming/social welfare agenda was an important priority in regard to ministry within NES communities. In practice this did not mean one at the expense of 'the Other', rather a 'both and' model held in a Spirit-led balance, considered for each parish and each region.

The Sydney radical minority evangelical tradition sits in the 'grey' area between church, local community and state, as an advocate for the 'heavily burdened'. The boundaries of church and state become blurred where the interface between church and society becomes one of 'advocate' for the community. Theologian/historian B. Kaye has observed that Australian Anglicanism 'has persisted with a theological commitment to a view of the Christian community with porous borders'.⁴⁷ Separation from the wider community is not an Anglican option.

The need for continuing 'cross-cultural' praxis will undoubtedly continue, within the churches and without as identity is fashioned out of sameness (inherited identity) *and* difference (exclusion). Regrettably, there is no Sydney policy document on the development of NESB ministries comparable with Penman's 1985 Melbourne report, *The Garden of Many Colours*. The driver for increasing NESB populations in Australia will continue to be evolving government policies based on non-racial discriminatory criteria. As for the future of the churches, the 'outward focus' for mission has traditionally been and continues to be a central driver for 'church growth'.⁴⁸ The DCCM was an authentic expression of the outward focus, not an attempt to grow churches where uniformity is preferred to diversity. The DCCM was guided by the Christian community development approach to local communities, and it began to see the emergence of parish-based community programmes, ESL, Cross-cultural youth ministries, which stood to grow churches which did treasure diversity.

The DCCM was terminated, but not because it failed. It was the victim of bureaucratic inflexibility and ideological friction (theological division). In 1986, just prior to the founding of the department the NES

⁴⁷ Bruce Kaye, "Australian Identity and the Anglican Church," in *Occasional Paper (Australian College of Theology) No. 1* (Kingsford, N.S.W. : Australian College of Theology, 1997), 13.

⁴⁸ P. Kaldor et al., *Taking Stock: A Profile of Australian Church Attenders* (Adelaide: Openbook, 1999).

born composition of Sydney Anglican attenders was 4%.⁴⁹ In 1991, NESB attenders in Sydney Diocese stood at 6.5%, in 1996, 6.9%, and in 2001, 7.8%. J. Bellamy of the Social Policy and Research Unit in Anglicare explains that there is no question that part of the growth in attendance has been due to the establishment of NESB congregations in the diocese.⁵⁰ Their foundation had been laid largely through the support and ministry of the DCCM (1987-2000).⁵¹ On the enduring role of the churches in Australia, J. Jupp observes:

... it is hard to imagine the acceptance and peaceful integration of millions of immigrants and refugees without acknowledging the work of organised religion.⁵²

In terms of the enduring task of cross-cultural mission, theologian Lesslie Newbigin concludes:

. . . "Modern" western culture will continue to strengthen its grip on the life of human communities everywhere – and – Christian churches that have so long accepted a syncretistic co-existence with the "modern" world view will continue to bear the prime responsibility for articulating a Christian message for this particular culture. That remains a task which calls for the best intellectual and spiritual energies that we can bring to it.⁵³

⁴⁹ See Interregnum address, Reid, "Presidential Address: given by the Administrator of the Diocese at the Request of the President," 258.

⁵⁰ J. Bellamy, "CONFIDENTIAL: Diocesan Mission Indicators: Anglican Diocese of Sydney (Confidential Report)," (Parramatta NSW2013), 10., it is also testimony to recognising the 'ethno-centric' composition of the Anglican Church, Australia see Appendix 5 (this thesis), 1991, NCLS Attender Data. Cited from Kaldor et al., *Winds of Change: The Experience of Church in a Changing Australia*, 348.

⁵¹ For an indicator of NESB attenders in mainstream churches, for the national Anglican percentage, 5% see Chart: Denominational Variations. *Winds of Change: The Experience of Church in a Changing Australia*, 348. In Appendix 5 1991, NCLS Attender Data.

⁵² James Jupp, *The Encyclopaedia of Religion in Australia*, ed. James Jupp (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 654.

⁵³ L Newbigin, "The Christian message versus "Modern" culture," in *Mission in the 1990's*, ed. G.H. Anderson, Phillips, J.M., Coote, R.T. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 26.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Table 1.1

Table 1.1: Proportion of the overseas-born population from main English-speaking countries

	1901	1921	1933	1947	1954	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
Overseas-born from main English-speaking countries (a)	713,895 83%	724,026 86%	770,666 85%	596,975 80%	721,815 56%	827,109 47%	1,224,204 48%	1,386,397 46%	1,538,149 42%	1,602,582 39%
Overseas-born from other countries (b)	143,681 17%	115,553 14%	132,607 15%	147,212 20%	564,651 44%	951,671 53%	1,355,114 52%	1,617,437 54%	2,150,979 58%	2,502,886 61%
Total overseas born	857,576	839,579	903,273	744,187	1,286,466	1,778,780	2,579,318	3,003,834	3,689,128	4,105,468

Source: Derived from Table 1: Birthplace of the Australian Population for Selected Censuses, DIMA, *Immigration: Federation to Century's End, 1901-2000*. Updated to include 2001 Census data C01_11. (a) Includes United Kingdom, Ireland, USA, New Zealand and South Africa. Canada was not included prior to 1961. (b) Includes all other birthplace countries.

Department of Immigration Multicultural Indigenous Affairs. Report of the review of settlement services for migrants and humanitarian entrants / DIMIA. Belconnen, A.C.T.: Belconnen, A.C.T. : Dept. of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, 2003, 25.

Table Two: Changes in Australia's Religious Profile 1996-2001 —more detail

Religious Identification	1996 '000s	1996 %	2001 '000s	2001 %	96-01 growth rate
CHRISTIAN*					
Anglican	3,903	22.0	3,881	20.7	-0.6
Baptist	295	1.7	309	1.7	4.8
Brethren	22	0.1	19	0.1	-12.3
Catholic	4,799	27.0	5,002	26.7	4.2
Churches of Christ	75	0.4	61	0.3	-18.3
Jehovah's Witnesses	83	0.5	81	0.4	-2.8
Latter Day Saints	45	0.3	50	0.3	10.7
Lutheran	250	1.4	250	1.3	0.2
Oriental Christian	31	0.2	36	0.2	15.9
Orthodox	497	2.8	529	2.8	6.5
Pentecostal	175	1.0	195	1.0	11.4
Presbyterian/Reformed	676	3.8	638	3.4	-5.6
Salvation Army	74	0.4	71	0.4	-3.7
Seventh Day Adventist	53	0.3	54	0.3	2.3
Uniting	1,335	7.5	1,249	6.7	-6.5
Other Christian	253	1.4	324	1.7	28.0
Total	12,583	70.6	12,764	68.0	1.4
BUDDHISTS	200	1.1	358	1.9	79.1
HINDUS	67	0.4	95	0.5	41.9
JEWS	80	0.5	84	0.5	5.3
MUSLIMS	201	1.1	282	1.5	40.2
OTHER	69	0.4	92	0.5	33.3
Aboriginal Traditional Rel			5	0.0	
Baha'i			11	0.1	
Chinese religions			4	0.0	
Druse			2	0.0	
Japanese religions			1	0.0	
Nature religions			39	0.2	
Paganism			11	0.1	
Wicca/witchcraft			9	0.1	
Rastafarianism			1	0.0	
Satanism			2	0.0	
Scientology			2	0.0	
Sikhism			17	0.1	
Spiritualism			9	0.1	
Theism			3	0.0	
Zoroastrians			2	0.0	
NO RELIGION	2,949	16.5	2,905	15.5	-1.5
NOT STATED	1,551	8.7	1,836	9.8	18.4
INADEQUATE DESCR	54	0.3	352	1.9	551.9
JEDI			71	0.4	
National Population	17,753		18,769		5.7

* Groups one per cent and over

** Selected groups

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics

Bouma, Gary. "Globalization and recent changes in the demography of Australian religious groups: 1947 to 2001." *People and place* 10, no. 4 (2002), 21.

Appendix 2

Correspondence to Mr. Ken Bowden, Diocesan Secretariat , Soulos, Mersina. 1998, 23 January.

Table 1

COMPLETED LISTS
1996 PARISH GRANTS
FINANCIAL REVIEW AS AT 15/11/95

<u>CCM Grants</u>	
Georges River Region	\$237,000
Northern Region	\$ 38,000
Parramatta Region	\$ 98,000
Southern Region	\$112,000
Wollongong	<u>\$ 32,000</u>
	<u>\$517,000</u>

**1996 PARISH GRANTS
SCHEDULE OF GRANTS REQUESTED**

CATEGORY C.C.M. GRANTS

GEORGES RIVER		REGION	GRANT
PARISH	PURPOSE/WORKER		
MARRICKVILLE	Chinese Ministry		20,000
PUNCHBOWL (St. Barnabas)	Vietnamese Ministry		35,000
CAMPBIE	Cross Cultural Worker		35,000
BEXLEY	E.S.L. Worker		4,000
HURSTVILLE	Chinese Ministry		30,000
LIVERPOOL SOUTH	Spanish Ministry		28,000
BOSSLEY PARK	Italian Ministry		50,000
PUNCHBOWL (St. Saviours)	Vietnamese Ministry		15,000
CABRAMATTA	Chinese Ministry at Minto		20,000
			\$237,000

NORTHERN REGION

PARISH	PURPOSE/WORKER	GRANT
THORNLEIGH/ PENNANT HILLS	Chinese Ministry	30,000
CHATSWOOD	Chinese Ministry	8,000
		\$38,000

SOUTHERN REGION

PARISH	PURPOSE/WORKER	GRANT
COOKS RIVER	Pastoral Assistant (CCM)	22,000
KENSINGTON	Spanish Ministry	25,000
MALABAR	Pastoral Assistant (C.C.M.)	15,000
PETERSHAM AREA DEANERY	E.S.L. Worker	15,000
MAORI MINISTRY	Chaplain	35,000
		\$112,000

Table 2

1996 PARISH GRANTS
SCHEDULE OF GRANTS REQUESTED

CATEGORY C.C.M. GRANTS

PARISH	PURPOSE/WORKER	GRANT
PARRAMATTA		
MERRYLANDS	C.C.M. Youth Worker	22,000
ROOTY HILL	Maltese Ministry	10,000
ROOTY HILL	Additional C.C.M. Work	10,000
AUBURN (St. Thomas)	Chinese Ministry	30,000
PENRITH	Turkish Ministry	26,000
		\$98,000

WOLLONGONG

W.A.R.C.	E.S.L. Co-ordinator	32,000
		\$32,000

Ibid.

Table 3

Ibid.

Appendix 3

DCCM Directory, 1997 from the files of Soulos, Mersina. 1998, 23 January.

ANALYSIS OF CROSS CULTURAL MINISTRIES 1997 SYDNEY ANGLICAN DIOCESE

LANGUAGE	CONGREGATIONS	No. OF WORKERS & NAMES	SUBURB
Arabic	1	Mr Farouk Hammo Rev Abdallah Bahri Mr Alfred Coorey	Kingsgrove Greenacre Strathfield
Chinese Cantonese or Mandarin	12	Rev Irene Mok Rev Albert Leung Rev Joseph Thiem Rev Ernest Chau Mrs Yuke Lan Woo Mr Cary Yurk Mr Peter Chung Mr David Zhang Mrs Anna Zhang Rev Min Yaw Law Vacant Vacant	Hurstville Lidcombe Milsons Point Campsie Chatswood Pennant Hills Auburn Parramatta Cabramatta Thornleigh Marrickville
Ethnic Youth Ministry	2	Mr Rami Mussawar Mr Angelo Porcu Mr Kiet Chau	Earlwood Tempe St Johns Park
Indonesian		Rev Noel Clarke	Macquarie Uni
Italian	1	Rev Luciano Ricci Rev Rocco Scarcella	Bossley Park Bossley Park
Japanese	1	Rev Denis McIntyre	Killara
Maori	1	Rev Ngarahu Katene	Redfern
Mar Thoma	1	Rev Kaleekal Samuel	Ersleville
Mediterranean Bible Fellowship	1	Rev Ray Galea Miss Shemeran Pireh	Rooty Hill Rooty Hill
Persian	1	Mr Edmond Baghieri Rev Khalil Razmara	Parramatta Melbourne
Spanish	2	Mr George Sanchez- Ortega Mr Hernan Salinas Ms Angie Powers	Eastlakes Sth Liverpool Croydon
St Matthias Ministries	3	Mr Archie Poulos Mr Kevin Kim Mr Joshua Ng	Croydon Fort street Girls High UNSW Campus
Sth Indian Fellowship	1	Mrs Shanti Daniel	Sth Canterbury

Thai fellowship	1	Mr David Kijvanit	Campsie
Turkish		Mr Kemal Kedicioglu Mr Erol Ozer	Penrith Picton
Vietnamese	2	Rev Vinh Pham Mr Nguyen Van Ten	Regents Park Punchbowl
	30 Congregations	38 Workers (excluding 5 workers CCM Dept Anglicare)	
Anglicare CCM Department (additional 5 workers)			
	Position	Name	Telephone
	Director	Rev Ken Coleman	9261 9543
	Co-ordinator	Mrs Mersina Soulos	9261 9530
	ESL Adviser	Miss Sue Keever	9261 9533
	Chinese Evangelist	Rev Irene Mok	019 929 261
	CCM Trainer	Rev Mike Wilson	9261 9541

Appendix 4

Australian Key Facts Census	1991	1996	2001
Australia			
	1991	1996	2001
Population	16,771,700	17,752,807	18,769,249
Overseas born (OSB)			
Total	3,689,600	3,901,882	4,105,468
As a % of the population	22.0	22.0	21.9
Born in a non-English speaking country (NESC) ¹	2,151,652	2,362,152	2,502,816
Born in a NESC as a % of the population	12.8	13.3	13.3
Born in a NESC as a % of the OSB	58.3	60.5	61.0
Australian born			
Total			
As a % of the population	75.8	74.5	72.6
With both parents born overseas	1,360,717	1,460,201	1,503,689
With both parents OSB as a % of population	8.1	8.2	8.0
With one only parent born overseas	1,756,392	1,880,915	1,924,347
With one parent OSB as a % of population	10.5	10.6	10.3
Aboriginals / Torres Strait Islanders ²			
Total	265,371	352,970	410,003
As a % of the population	1.6	2.0	2.2
Language other than English (LOTE)			

speakers			
Speak a language other than English at home	2,458,445	2,657,751	2,853,829
LOTE speakers as a % of the population	14.7	15.0	15.2

From Australian Bureau of Statistics Census 2001 Table 1

LOTE: Language other than English

Jakubowicz, Andrew. "Auditing Multiculturalism: the Australian empire a generation after Galbally."

Making Multicultural Australia: a research Library,

http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/ma_2.pdf, 2-3.

Appendix 5

1991, NCLS Attender Data

Figure A2.4: DENOMINATIONAL VARIATIONS

DENOMINATION	Education	Country of birth		Mobility	Housing Tenure	
	University degree	Australia	Non English speaking	Resident under 5 years	Public housing residents	Renting privately
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Anglican	19	82	5	34	3	8
Apostolic	9	76	10	57	9	21
Assemblies of God	11	89	15	63	7	25
Baptist	21	78	10	45	4	13
Churches of Christ	15	81	8	44	5	12
Congregational	12	86	3	37	4	8
Christian Revival Crusade	11	77	11	55	10	18
Foursquare Gospel	15	60	27	63	9	26
Lutheran	11	91	7	29	3	8
Missionary Alliance	19	69	15	60	5	24
Nazarene	12	66	16	51	6	21
Presbyterian	16	83	6	33	2	9
Reformed	12	48	48	45	2	10
Salvation Army	7	83	3	48	11	13
Seventh-day Adventist	13	75	13	45	6	13
Uniting	17	86	5	31	3	7
Wesleyan Methodist	15	79	10	47	4	16
Westminster Presbyterian	24	58	21	59	2	14
TYPE OF DENOMINATION						
Mainstream	17	85	5	33	3	8
Pentecostal	11	71	14	61	8	25
Other Large Protestant	15	79	9	45	6	13
Other Small Protestant	13	67	22	46	3	15

Source: 1991 National Church Life Survey Attender Data — Adjusted for non-participants

Kaldor, P., John Bellamy, Ruth Powell, Marilyn Correy, and Keith Castle. *Winds of Change: The Experience of Church in a Changing Australia*. ANZEA Publishers, 1994, 348.

A cautionary note needs to be added that only English language questionnaires were used for the above survey, see note, (Ibid. p.349)

Appendix 6

Final Approval – Ethics Issues Addressed - Ref. 5201500164



25 March 2015

11:44 AM (1 hour ago)

Faculty of Arts Research Office

to me, Mrs

Ethics Application Ref: (5201500164) - Final Approval

Dear Associate Professor Piggin,

Re: 'Multiculturalism's challenge to Sydney Anglican Identity: The study of a Minority Radical Tradition (1987-2000)'

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your response has addressed the issues raised by the Faculty of Arts Human Research Ethics Committee. Approval of the above application has been granted, effective 25/03/2015. This email constitutes ethical approval only.

Note to Researchers:

In relation to point 3, we do still recommend that the researchers retain their proposal to offer transcript-checking prior to use of data (as well as the research summary provision at the conclusion of the research).

If you intend to conduct research out of Australia you may require extra insurance and/or local ethics approval. Please contact Maggie Feng, Tax and Insurance Officer from OFS Business Services, on x1683 to advise further.

This research meets the requirements of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007). The National Statement is available at the following web site:

http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/files_nhmrc/publications/attachments/e72.pdf.

The following personnel are authorised to conduct this research:

Associate Professor Stuart Piggin
Mrs Mersina Soulos

NB. STUDENTS: IT IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO KEEP A COPY OF THIS APPROVAL EMAIL TO SUBMIT WITH YOUR THESIS.

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1. The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).
2. Approval will be for a period of five (5) years subject to the provision of annual reports.

Progress Report 1 Due: 25/03/2016
Progress Report 2 Due: 25/03/2017
Progress Report 3 Due: 25/03/2018
Progress Report 4 Due: 25/03/2019
Final Report Due: 25/03/2020

NB: If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are also required to submit a Final Report for the project.

Progress reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:
http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/forms

3. If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final Report and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit on renewal of approvals allows the Committee to fully re-review research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).
4. All amendments to the project must be reviewed and approved by the Committee before implementation. Please complete and submit a Request for Amendment Form available at the following website:
http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/forms
5. Please notify the Committee immediately in the event of any adverse

effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.

6. At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University. This information is available at the following websites:

<http://www.mq.edu.au/policy/>

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/policy

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide the Macquarie University's Research Grants Management Assistant with a copy of this email as soon as possible. Internal and External funding agencies will not be informed that you have approval for your project and funds will not be released until the Research Grants Management Assistant has received a copy of this email.

If you need to provide a hard copy letter of approval to an external organisation as evidence that you have approval, please do not hesitate to contact the Faculty of Arts Research Office at ArtsRO@mq.edu.au

Please retain a copy of this email as this is your official notification of ethics approval.

Yours sincerely

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