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The Enduring Significance of *Populorum Progressio* for the Church in Africa

Stan Chu Ilo

FLYING BACK TO ROME after his five day "pilgrimage of peace" as an "apostle of hope" to Africa in November 2015, Pope Francis, in answer to a question on the most memorable part of his trip, said, "For me, Africa was a surprise. God always surprises us, but Africa surprises us too. I remember many moments, but above all, I remember the crowds…They felt visited, they are incredibly welcoming and I saw this in all three nations." Pope Francis spoke of Africa as a continent of hope and Bangui, the capital of Central African Republic, as the "spiritual capital of the world." Francis had a clear message to all: "Africa is a martyr of exploitation," "Africa is a victim of other powers." For Pope Francis, Africa is "perhaps the world's richest continent," "Africa is a land of hope."[1]

With the election of Pope Francis in 2013, a new impetus has been given in Catholicism to some of the main themes of Catholic social teaching—poverty, human dignity and rights, family life, the rights of minorities, death penalty, reconciliation, international development, solidarity, income inequality, migration, justice and peace, aid and outreach to the poor, climate change, population, and a critique of neoliberal capitalism. Pope Francis has been a strong advocate for the Global South, especially in his message on how unequal power structures in the world and unequal economic relations work against the will of God for the world.[2] This essay attempts to show how African Catholicism has been in the forefront for the realization of God's dream in Africa since the publication of *Populorum Progressio*. The social mission of the Church in Africa is one of the most important and significant aspects of African Catholicism. I wish to show in this essay how this social mission emerged, the context in which it is flourishing in Africa, and the challenges which it faces.

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[1] "In-Flight Press Conference of His Holiness Pope Francis from the Central African Republic to Rome," w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/november/documents/papa-francesco_20151130_repubblica-centrafricana-conferenza-stampa.html.

[2] See Pope Francis, "Address at the United Nations Office in Nairobi, 26 November, 2015," in *Messages of Pope Francis During His Apostolic Journey to Africa, 25-30 November, 2015* (Kenya: Paulines Publications Africa, 2015), 19-25.

This essay is divided into two parts. In the first part, I explore the enduring significance of *Populorum Progressio* in Africa by identifying some key themes in this important encyclical with regard to the African social context. I analyze the key theological and pastoral developments in the Church's social mission in Africa as a result of *Populorum Progressio*. In the second part, I explore five factors limiting genuine development. These are the needs to overcome a linear notion of history, to listen to the poor, to change problematic notions of development, to accurately understand the causes of poverty, and to include women.

THE ENDURING SIGNIFICANCE OF *POPULORUM PROGRESSIO*

According to Peter Hebblethwaite, Pope Paul VI "did his reputation a world of good with *Populorum Progressio*."[3] The reputation of Pope Paul VI soared in Africa with this encyclical because he gave a broader foundation to the teaching of Vatican II, especially *Gaudium et Spes*, through the emphasis on the social mission of the Church, integral development, and, more particularly, the mission to the poor in newly independent countries in the Global South. In this regard, Donal Dorr writes, "what *Populorum Progressio* gives is a framework or anticipation of the 'shape' of genuine human development. In technical terms what it offers is a 'heuristic' notion of development."[4] Dorr adds that the heuristic concept of development undertakes socio-ethical analysis of development beyond merely technical, theoretical and economic accounts.[5] In charting this new path, Paul VI began a process of widening the understanding of poverty beyond simply "growing out" of poverty, "catching up" with the West, and "ensuring the proper distribution of existing wealth and resources."[6] In *Populorum Progressio*, Paul VI gave a new synthesis and update of Catholic social teaching, while offering theological justifications for the Church's ethical principles on the development of peoples, social justice, Christian humanism and a new hermeneutics for reading the movement of history.

The Church at Vatican II did not succeed in pushing forward a specific document on global poverty, inequality, and economic, social, and political turmoil afflicting emerging nations in the Global South. In addition, Vatican II did not offer a strong framework for doing social analysis which could help the Church in Africa to diagnose the

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[3] Peter Hebblethwaite, *Paul VI: The First Modern Pope* (New York: Paulist Press, 1993), 483.
[4] Donal Dorr, *Option for the Poor: A Hundred Years of Vatican Social Teaching, Revised Edition* (New York: Orbis Books, 1992), 181.
[5] Dorr, *Option for the Poor*, 182-183.
[6] Dorr, *Option for the Poor*, 179.

African predicament through the lens of Catholic social teaching. Instead, Paul VI in *Populorum Progressio* redefined the trajectory of the discussion within the Church and in global politics on the grinding poverty afflicting humanity and the inequality and human suffering to which many people were subjected, especially outside the West. He thus provided a key to a social analytical vector for understanding global poverty through the compass of a new Catholic understanding of development and the questions of human rights, economic and political systems, and social justice. All the questions raised in *Populorum Progressio* were central to the conversations going on in Africa in the 1960s and beyond about the directions of history in newly independent nations of Africa. Thus, Pope Paul set the direction of discourse on Catholic social teaching in Africa in the post-Vatican II Church in many ways.

Africa Needs Her Own Narrative of Faith and Social Mission

Pope Paul VI was concerned that Africa must develop her own narrative of faith and social mission. Unlike Pope Pius XII, who was more concerned that Africa should acknowledge and embrace Europe's contribution to Africa's progress and warned African bishops in the 1950s against "blind nationalism" which could lead Africa into "chaos and slavery," Paul VI was a strong advocate for Africa's own unique narratives of faith, life, and society.[7] He became the first modern Pontiff to visit Africa where he experienced firsthand, as he did in India, some of the pressing social questions facing newly independent countries in Africa and Asia. During this visit, Paul VI gave the now famous battle cry to Africa that the time was ripe for a truly African Church.[8] In his famous speech of 1969 in Kampala, he underlined the need for African solutions to African problems—social, political, economic, theological, and cultural. However, he had already visited Africa in 1962 as Cardinal Montini, and, in 1964 as pope, he canonized the Ugandan martyrs at St. Peter's Basilica. Thus, he made the history and contribution of African Christianity central to ongoing conversations at Vatican II and the history and contributions of non-Western churches to the future direction of world affairs and world Christianity.

His homily at the canonization was remarkable in many ways. He not only highlighted the spiritual treasures of Africa, but he also pointed to Africa's central place in salvation history and in the history of humanity. Furthermore, while emphasizing that human suffering and persecution still afflicted Africa, especially in the decolonization

[7] Robert Calderisi, *Earthly Mission: The Catholic Church and World Development* (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2013), 108.
[8] Paul VI, "Address to the Symposium of Episcopal Conferences of Africa and Madagascar, Kampala," *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 61 (1969): 575.

process, he made a very painful assertion about Africa's need to make a transition from her primitive civilization which highlighted the negative interpretation of Africa as backward and in need of integration into civilization (i.e., Western and Christian) in order to overcome the incubus of her benighted past.[9] This is a point which is still prevalent in Western humanitarianism to Africa, that is, the idea of Africa as trapped, backward, and needy.

Africae Terrarum *and Pope Paul VI's Vision for the Church's Social Mission in Africa*

The most developed and comprehensive form of Paul VI's vision for African development where he advances key themes and theological principles in *Populorum Progressio* with a specific reference to the African social context is the papal message, *Land of Africa* (*Africae Terrarum*).[10] This document was published less than six months after the publication of *Populorum Progressio* on 29 October, 1967. Because of its importance in understanding the continuing significance of *Populorum Progressio* in Africa and the future of the Church's social mission in Africa, it is important to highlight four of the key themes offered in this document.

The first is in article 6 where Paul VI called for a sober realism about the fundamental challenges facing post-independence Africa beyond the euphoria of independence and the innocent ideals which were captured in the hope of a cultural renaissance. This was characterized by a triumphalism that romanticized a progressive future of prosperity which was opening to Africa following the end of colonial rule. This optimism was captured in the now famous slogan by the African nationalist and first President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, who said, "Seek ye first the political kingdom (i.e. independence) and every other thing shall be added unto thee." Paul VI was a sobering voice in this regard in calling the attention of Africa to the fact that hope is not achievement and that development was more than a word. Indeed, at the time of the publication of *Populorum Progressio*, post-independ-

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[9] See 30Days, "Paul VI and the Memory of the African Marytrs," www.30giorni.it/articoli_id_1199_l3.htm: "These African martyrs open a new epoch….The tragedy which devoured them is so unheard of and expressive as to offer representative elements sufficient for the moral formation of a new people, for the foundation of a new spiritual tradition, to symbolize and to *promote the passage from a primitive civilization*, [emphasis added] not lacking in magnificent human values, but infected and weak and almost a slave of itself, to a civilization open to the superior expressions of the spirit and to superior forms of social life."

[10] This message was released in Latin. I am using the translation in French, but the numbering both in the French and Latin versions are the same. See "Message a l'Afrique, de 1967: *Africae Terrarum*, Adresse à la Hiérarchie de L'Eglise Catholique d'Afrique et Tous les Peuple de ce Continent," in Tharcisse T. Tshibangu, *Le Concile Vatican II et L'Eglise Africaine* (Paris: Epiphanie-Karthala, 2012), 103-122.

ence Africa was actually living in a delicate situation requiring national dialogue, collaboration, solidarity, and planning. These steps were considered more decisive in helping African nations consolidate what they had achieved with the end of colonialism rather than mere optimism and euphoria of a renascent Africa.

The second point which Paul VI makes is about contextualization of development practices and local ownership of development. In nos. 7-15 of *Africae Terrarum*, he returns to a theme which he already emphasized in *Populorum Progressio*, nos. 40-41 and 64 on respect for indigenous knowledge, authentic religious, cultural and economic values and patterns. This is grounded on the "heuristic notion" of development, that is, the notion that integral development goes beyond economic systems and orthodoxies imposed by one culture over another. Development is not a gift which one culture gives to another. Thus, development should not be considered simply as the translation of socio-theoretical constructs and models of social progress developed in one milieu and transferred to another with determinate consequences or results. In *Populorum Progressio*, no. 40, Paul VI noted that "rich or poor, each country possesses a civilization handed down by their ancestors: institutions called for by life in this world, and higher manifestations of the life of the spirit, manifestations of an artistic, intellectual and religious character. When the latter possess true human values, it would be a grave error to sacrifice them to the former." He was emphatic in *Populorum Progressio*, no. 64 on the need to respect in countries outside the non-Western civilization "their own proper genius, the means for their social and human progress."

This is a call which is gaining greater currency today with the failure of many development and aid initiatives in Africa. At the UN Third High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Accra, Ghana in 2008, the international community agreed that of the five factors in effective development and aid initiatives—ownership, alignment, harmonization, managing results, and mutual accountability—local ownership of development policies and practices (through local knowledge, local agenda, etc.) is the most critical and decisive step. However, this was a point which Paul VI was so prescient in highlighting more than 30 years before the Paris Declaration (2005) where the idea of failed development practices and exogenous economic programs in the Global South was first discussed as a prelude to the midterm evaluation of the Millennium Development Goals in 2006.

Third, Paul VI did not just enunciate these principles, he also gave the rationale in *Africae Terrarum* for why the Church and international organizations must respect local knowledge and contextualization of development principles and praxis. The foundation for the principles and praxis of development, according to him, is a theological foundation which in Africa is already grounded in an African spirituality, family life, communitarian spirit, and a moral tradition of abundant

life as human and cosmic flourishing (*Africae Terrarum*, nos. 12-14). According to Pope Paul, the development of technical and scientific skills in Africa's march towards modernity should not sacrifice Africa's moral tradition or values which make for the good of order but should be transmitted and incarnated through these essential values (*Africae Terrarum*, no. 12). Rather, development in Africa must be housed in local processes and mediated through local knowledge.

Fourth is the connection between poverty and conflict and the need to place human and cultural development in nations above technical solutions. According to Paul VI, the only path for avoiding wars and conflict in nations and between nations in Africa is through a just society where everyone has equal access to the common good. Despite the challenges and conflicts which afflicted Africa in 1967, with the Nigerian-Biafran War and the Congo conflicts among others, Paul VI believed there were signs of hope in Africa. However, he warned that the kind of violent conflicts afflicting African countries caused by ethnocentric sentiments could lead to genocide if not contained. This was a prophetic statement through which one could read such genocidal conflicts and crimes against humanity in Nigeria (1967-1970), Darfur, Northern Uganda, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and the Central African Republic among others.[11] Most importantly, the recipe for peace in Africa and for the world for Paul VI is "the participation of all the citizens in the construction of a new society that would encourage public programs at the governmental level and private initiatives of associations" (*Africae Terrarum*, no. 16).

Paul VI sees the causes and cure of poverty and suffering revolving around the question of justice in the world. According to Bernard Brady, a significant aspect of *Populorum Progressio* is Paul VI's insistence that the condition for a global order lies in justice in the world and peace achieved through the integral development of every part of the world. This, for Paul VI, requires "deep respect for and responsibility to the marginalized and powerless throughout the world."[12] Paul VI proposes that poverty and injustice rather than ideological differences will define the nature and complexion of future global conflict.

Paul VI's social encyclical was one of the earliest cries to the world to embrace an ethics of compassion, solidarity, charity and justice, especially for those on the margins, in order to avoid wars. This was why he made that famous statement that the name of development is peace

[11] See Karen E. Smith, "The UK and 'Genocide' in Biafra," in *Journal of Genocide Research* 16, no. 2-3 (2014): 247-262. See also Paul VI, "Lettre Du Pape Paul VI Signee Par Le Cardinal A. Cicognani, Secretaire D'Etat, A S.E. Yakubu Gowon, Chef Du Governement Miliataire Federal de Lagos, Julliet, 1967," w2.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/fr/letters/1967/documents/hf_p-vi_let_19670701_cap-governo-nigeria.html.

[12] Bernard V. Brady, *Essential Catholic Social Thought* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2008), 134.

because "to wage war on misery and to struggle against injustice is to promote, along with improved conditions, the human and spiritual progress of all men and therefore the common good of humanity" (*Populorum Progressio*, no. 76). His was a clear-sighted prophetic message that the history of the world cannot evolve towards human and cosmic flourishing while a majority of the people of the earth are abandoned in the lower rungs of economic and social progress. As Hebblethwaite rightly noted, Paul VI was prophetic in predicting that future global conflict will not be between the East and the West, but rather between the North and South.[13]

Paul VI's proposals for African development could be summarized in nos. 17-19 to include: (i) a social and economic program which should cut across ethnocentric particularism but must include civic education for promoting the common good; (ii) a rejection of racism and all practices and programs at the international or local levels which insult the dignity of the human person while being faithful to the teachings of Vatican II and *Populorum Progressio*; (iii) the promotion of universal solidarity and global action to bring about a better world through justice and peace. In this regard, the Church he proposes must play an essential part in defending human rights and social justice while emphasizing the just distribution of national wealth; (iv) the necessity of international aid to Africa because, as he noted, Africa was in dire straits and needed solidarity to help kick start her development. However, such aid must not blind Africa to confronting what Paul VI sees (no. 20) as two fundamental challenges facing her in order to achieve integral development, namely the education of her populace and improving her agricultural production by adopting modern methods of farming. These are two essential messages which he already addressed in *Populorum Progressio* (nos. 65, 46, 54, 62). In showing solidarity to Africa through aid, Paul VI goes back again to the message of *Populorum Progressio* that aid and development are not ends in themselves but means to capacity-building and should not lead to dependency or a new form of colonialism (no. 52).

These four principles are still valid today in understanding why, after more than 50 years of different approaches to development and aid in Africa, no significant progress has been made in transforming the lives of Africans. When one explores the evolution of Catholic social ethics with regard to development in Africa, from the time of the publication of *Populorum Progressio* to the Second African Synod (2009), one can see why the message of Paul VI is still valid today in the development of the theological principles which inform the social mission of the Church in Africa.

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[13] Hebblethwaite, *Paul VI*, 483.

The Impact of Populorum Progressio *on the Catholic Social Mission in Africa*

Populorum Progressio had decisive and far reaching effects in the evolution of the Church's social ministry in general and the social mission in Africa in particular. The pope rejected unequivocally many of the basic precepts of capitalism, including the unrestricted private ownership of means of production, the uncontrolled desire for profit to the detriment of the poor, and the rough edges of free trade. He also drew attention to the unequal development of people in the developing countries, the scourge of poverty, and imperialism which continued to hold many peoples and nations in chains.[14]

The encyclical gave a new impetus to the work of the newly constituted Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace (created in January 1967 by Pope Paul VI as an ecclesial initiative and structure authorized by Vatican II). In addition, this commission fostered a global Catholic movement which became like a sentinel leading to a more active involvement of the Catholic Church in worldwide causes for justice and peace. It helped to deepen global Catholic conversation on the role of the Church in the world and to establish justice and peace commissions in parishes, dioceses, and episcopal conference offices, as well as in many Vatican congregations, councils, and committees.[15]

In Africa, this led to the creation of diocesan and national offices for justice and peace and a more coordinated organization of church charities. However, the Church moved faster in Latin America than in Africa in translating the message of Paul VI into local idioms with its strong emphasis on the option for the poor at the 1968 Medellín conference and the emergence of liberation theology as a distinctive social analysis and praxis of transformation informed by the Christian Gospel. In Africa, the impact of *Populorum Progressio* was much slower. The African bishops in 1981 admitted that they did not do enough to advance and contextualize the message of *Populorum Progressio* within the broader picture of the social mission of the Church.[16] However, between the First and Second African Synods (1994-2009), there were significant developments in Africa in deepening the understanding of the theology and praxis of the Church's social mission.

Many factors led to this new impetus. There was the theological development in African Catholicism on Catholic social teaching and social analysis by theologians like Adrian Hastings, Engelvert Mveng, Jean-Mac Ela, Elochukwu Uzukwu, Benezet Bujo, Laurenti Magesa,

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[14] See David J. O'Brien and Thomas A. Shannon, *Catholic Social Thought: A Documentary Heritage* (New York: Orbis Books, 1992), 238–239.

[15] For a more detailed discussion of the worldwide Catholic movement for justice and peace, see Joseph Gremillion, *The Gospel of Peace and Justice: Catholic Social Teaching Since Pope John* (New York: Orbis Books, 1976), 188–190.

[16] Calderisi, *Earthly Mission*, 60.

and Pete Henriot. Added to this was the introduction of studies of Catholic social teaching in many African seminaries, colleges and universities led by religious orders like the Jesuits in Eastern, Southern and Central Africa, Comboni and Maryknoll Fathers in East Africa, the White Fathers in West Africa, and the Loretto sisters in Southern Africa. Particularly, these predominantly foreign congregations and missions began to introduce in their congregations, especially after the 1974 synod on evangelization, a reflective practice to their charitable work. Also significant in this regard was the pastoral, biblical, and social formation that was taking place in the flourishing small Christian communities in African parishes and local communities. However, not all Africans warmed up to missionaries leading the social mission in Africa. Between 1971 and 1974 there was a strong movement for a self-governing, self-reliant, and self-reproducing African Church.

This movement led to the 1974 All African Conference of Churches' (AACC) Lusaka declaration for a moratorium on missionaries and money being sent to Africa. This declaration supported by some Catholic clerics read in part:

> To enable the African Church to achieve the power of becoming a true instrument of liberating and reconciling the African people, as well as finding solutions to economic and social dependency, our option as a matter of policy has to be a moratorium on external assistance in money and personnel. We recommend this option as the only potent means of becoming truly and authentically ourselves while remaining a respected and responsible part of the Universal Church.[17]

The Catholic Church is not a member of the AACC, but the document submitted by the African Catholic bishops on co-responsibility to the 1974 synod spoke in part on the need for Africa to assume full responsibility for her mission, theologies, pastoral life, and social ministry.

Another important development worthy of note was the publication and dissemination of Catholic literature and magisterial documents through the *African Ecclesial Review*, the first English speaking Catholic journal in Africa which began publication in 1959 and devoted a special section to recent papal and magisterial teachings. The publication was supplemented by Paulines Publications Africa which, since its inception in 1981, has remained the greatest source for the dissemination of Catholic literature in Africa.

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[17] Quoted in Adrian Hastings, *African Christianity: An Essay in Interpretation* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1976), 22.

But the most important factor was that some of the most pressing issues being discussed in Catholic social teaching were already ravaging Africa in the 1970s—wars, grinding poverty, dictatorial governments, drought, locust invasion, tension over mission and money, foreign aid, neo-colonial factors, and the impact of the West-East ideological battles in Africa. These factors created multiple interventionist measures in Africa both by international organizations as well as Catholic charities. There was an urgent need to articulate how to proceed with aid initiatives in Africa and development discourse in African Catholic theology. This required some specific African approaches for social analysis informed by Catholic social teaching against the backdrop of the growing reliance of emerging African voices on liberation theology and Black liberationist discourse which were becoming suspect, especially in Roman circles.

Another area of strong participation by the Catholic Church inspired by *Populorum Progressio* was in building civil society and protecting human rights. This is still a very complex area in Catholic social teaching because the Church and her officials are supposed to be neutral and non-partisan. There are many questions which emerge in the light of recent history in Africa. Why should the Church be non-partisan in the face of misrule, corruption, inexcusable human suffering, and the collapse of law and order in some parts of Africa? Why should the Church be neutral in Africa in the face of genocide and a culture of waste or glaring cases of injustice perpetrated against minorities because of ethnicity, gender, religion, and social class?

Many Catholic clerics abandoned neutrality of any kind and soon became champions of human rights and voices for the poor and the marginalized. While some of them did not leave behind enormous writings, the witness of their lives gave voice to the principles of Catholic social teaching. The Catholic Archbishop Christophe Munzihirwa of Bukavu (DRC), who was one of the most vocal critics of the misrule of Mobutu Sese Seko, was assassinated by Rwandan troops in Eastern Zaire and his corpse left on the streets for many days. Archbishop Luwum of Uganda was murdered on the orders of the dictator Idi Amin in 1977 because of his open condemnation of the malfeasance of the so-called "butcher of Uganda." In the same year, Catholic Cardinal Émile Biayenda was murdered in the political strife in the two Congos; he was a defender of human rights and a culture of good governance and justice for the ordinary people in the 1970s. In West Africa, the heroism of Cardinals Bernard Yago of Abidjan, Paul Zoungrana of Ouagadogou, and Olubunmi Okojie of Lagos are still commonly referred to as some of the earliest indications in African

Catholicism of a prophetic witness to the social Gospel.[18] Many Catholic clerics headed or served in constitutional conferences and truth and reconciliation commissions which ushered in constitutional democracies in DRC, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Nigeria, Benin, and Côte d'Ivoire. These are the earliest indications out of many of how Catholic involvement in Africa's democratic process was born. Absent from all these, however, were the voices of women, which is a major challenge facing the Church in her social mission in Africa, especially in the areas of civic culture, governance, and leadership.

By the time of the Second African Synod (2009), the Catholic Church in Africa was regarded as the biggest NGO in Africa in terms of her social mission. Compared to other religious organizations and private agencies working in the healthcare industry in Africa for example, the Catholic Church had the largest number of private hospitals and clinics providing medical care, free medical treatment for HIV/AIDS patients in some cases, and services for pregnant women and people suffering from malaria and other tropical diseases. This happened even in those African countries where the Catholic Church was not a majority. In Ghana for instance, Catholics made up about 30% of the population, but the Catholic Church had more hospitals than any other private agency in the country.

The impact of the Catholic Church is also visible in many other social sectors in Africa. In Uganda for example, the Catholic Church is the second largest provider of vocational, technical, teacher, and business training (22% of student numbers compared to the government's 42%). The Catholic Church provides 28% of the country's hospital beds.[19] In Africa, the Church works in 16,178 health centers, including 1,074 hospitals, 5,373 out-patient clinics, 186 leper colonies, 753 homes for the elderly and physically and mentally less able brothers and sisters, 979 orphanages, 1,997 kindergartens, 1,590 marriage counseling centers, 2,947 social re-education centers and 1,279 other various centers. There are 12,496 nursery schools with 1,266,444 registered children; 33,263 primary schools with 14,061,000 pupils and 9,838 high schools with 3,738,238 students. Some 54,362 students are enrolled in higher institutes, of which 11,011 are pursuing ecclesiastical studies. There are 53 national chapters of Caritas, 34 national commissions of justice and peace, and 12 institutes and centers promoting the social doctrine of the Church, the most notable of which are the African Forum for Catholic Social Teaching (AFCAST) in Harare, Zimbabwe, the Center for the Study of Catholic Social Teaching, at the Catholic University of Eastern Africa in Kenya, the Jesuit Center

[18] See Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity, Third Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 182-184.
[19] Calderisi, *Earthly Mission*, 112.

for Social Justice in Lusaka, Zambia, the Catholic Institute for Development Justice and Peace, in Enugu, Nigeria, the Gaba Institute in Eldoret, Kenya, the Centre de Recherche et Du Action de La Paix (CERAP) in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, and the Songhai Farms in Porto-Novo, Benin, to mention but a few.

CHALLENGES TO DEVELOPMENT

While *Populorum Progressio* ushered in advances in Catholic social teaching and spurred the social mission of the Church in Africa, there are still challenges hindering the kind of development called for by Paul VI. In what follows, I highlight five needs for true development in Africa: to overcome a linear notion of history, to listen to the poor, to change problematic notions of development, to accurately understand the causes of poverty, and to include women.

The Need to Overcome a Linear Notion of History

Writing on the significance of *Populorum Progressio* in the evolution of Catholic social teaching, Peter Henriot argues that *Populorum Progressio* offers the most complete statement on integral development in Catholic social teaching.[20] While there has been evolution in the "principles of reflection, norms of judgment and directives for action" on integral development in such documents as *Caritas in Veritate*, *Evangelium Gaudium*, *Laudate Si'*, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, and *Laborem Exercens*, the main anthropological, theological, and cultural framework has remained the same.[21] This framework created a challenge to Africa.

Paul VI defines development in many parts of *Populorum Progressio*, the most significant being that "Development cannot be limited to mere economic growth. In order to be authentic, it must be complete: integral, that is, it has to promote the good of every man and the whole man" (no. 43). He also teaches that development is the new name for peace (no. 76), and that "to speak of development, is in effect to show as much concern for social progress as for economic growth" and that "there can be no progress towards the complete development of man without the simultaneous development of all humanity in the spirit of solidarity" (no. 43). The aim of all development according to Paul VI is "complete humanism" which is not closed in on itself but open to the Absolute. According to Benedict XVI, this insight on development was perhaps the most important contribution of Paul VI in *Populorum Progressio*. According to Pope Benedict in *Caritas in Veritate*,

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[20] Peter J. Henriot, "Who Cares About Africa? Development Guidelines from the Church's Social Teaching," in *Catholic Social Thought and the New World Order*, ed. Oliver F. Williams and John W. Houck (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 209.

[21] Henriot, "Who Cares About Africa?" 209-210.

> The truth of development consists in its completeness: if it does not involve the whole man and every man, it is not true development. This is the central message of *Populorum Progressio*, valid for today and for all time. Integral human development on the natural plane, as a response to a vocation from God the Creator, demands self-fulfillment in a "transcendent humanism which gives him greatest possible perfection: this is the highest goal of personal development." The Christian vocation to this development therefore applies to both the natural plane and the supernatural plane; which is why, "when God is eclipsed our ability to recognize the natural order, purpose and the good begins to wane." (no. 15)

Paul VI was ahead of his times in proposing a holistic understanding of development which has been adopted by the UN, national governments, and other international organizations since the turn of the millennium. Indeed, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the UN all show an understanding of development beyond economics. There are many aspects of human and cosmic life which do not show up on the GDP or per capital income. This is the realization that led to the formation of the World Faiths Development Dialogue by the World Bank in 1998 and the Faith in Development partnership between the World Bank and the churches of Africa in 2000.

Former World Bank President James D. Wolfensohn writes that he came to realize over the course of his tenure "how far religious ideas and attitudes" are linked to development and imbue every facet of society with "social trust and cohesion." He argues further that, "religion has an effect on many peoples' attitudes to everything including such matters as savings, investment and a host of economic decisions. It influences areas we had come to see as vital for successful development, like schooling, gender equality, and approaches to healthcare. In short, religion could be an important driver of change, even as it could be a brake to progress."[22] Along the same line of argument, the World Social Forum's document, "Faith and the Global Agenda: Values for the Post-Crisis Economy," highlights the role of religion in helping humanity to rethink the development of the moral framework and the regulatory mechanism that underpin the economy, politics, and global inter-connectedness.[23] The deeply religious worldview of Africa is a veritable framework which must be harvested in the social

[22] James D. Wolfensohn, "Foreword," in *Religion and Development: Ways of Transforming the World*, ed. Gerrie ter Haar (London: Hurst and Company, 2011), xvii.
[23] Quoted in Garrie Ter Haar, "Religion and Development: Introducing a Debate," in *Religion and Development*, 9.

ministry of the Church in Africa. This is because it sees human and cosmic flourishing as intimately connected in a bond of life which is not often reflected in the Western linear, secular, and progressive notion of history or modernity.

While development in *Populorum Progressio* shares some common values with the African notion of abundant life in placing the human person and communities as the goal of all development, an African understanding of community is theandrocosmic (God-humans-cosmos) rather than anthropocentric. Community is understood in African social ethics as the whole of the visible and non-visible universe that includes water, hills, trees, animals, human beings, neighbors, the living and the living-dead, the not-yet-born, God, and spirits. This holistic notion of community is very eco-spiritual because abundant life is understood as the condition which exists when the whole of creation is flourishing because they have fullness of life. This goes beyond the restricted anthropocentric and transcendental notions of integral development in *Populorum Progressio*.

Populorum Progressio and African theologies of development share a strong emphasis on integral development as grounded in a spiritual and cosmic vision of life beyond the false economic messianism of development experts and development theories. However, the African religio-cultural worldview removes itself from the determinism of a linear history built on an economic orthodoxy. African theologies of development-as-abundant life for human and cosmic flourishing are holistic. They move toward a more critical and broader reading of history and development by examining the root causes of poverty and the African predicament. They seek spiritual, cultural, historical, and economic causative factors for the African condition and propose solutions which will reverse the effects of these factors. They are harvesting alternative pathways to the future through narratives of hope in the counter-development subalterns that are new stories of belonging, healing, and restoration in local communities away from the lime light of celebrities and humanitarian tourists. The whole theological structure on which Paul VI builds his teaching on development is based on a linear sense of history, Western worldview, binaries and dualisms—heaven/earth, secular/profane, church/state, poverty/wealth, present/future—in philosophy, theology, anthropology, eschatology, and cosmology.[24] As the Indian economist Deepak Lal rightly noted with regard to the genealogy of social theories, the progressive notion of history, development, and the perfectibility of the human person are

[24] See for instance Allan Figueroa Deck, "Commentary on *Populorum Progressio* (On the Development of Peoples)," in *Modern Catholic Social Teaching: Commentaries and Interpretations*, ed. Kenneth R. Himes, et al. (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004), 302.

"actually part of a culture-specific, proselytizing ethic of what remains at the heart of Western Christendom."[25]

The Need to Listen to the Poor

In 2000, the UN published a significant finding on the definition of poverty within the context of its plan to develop a policy on poverty and development. The book was a field study conducted in 1999 involving over 20,000 poor women and men from 23 countries. According to Deepa Narayan, one of the authors, the formulation of any policy on poverty and development in the 21st century must be informed by those who know most about poverty, "their voices, their experiences, and their recommendations."[26] Yet, so often the voices of the poor are neglected. He writes, "There are 2.8 billion poverty experts, the poor themselves. Yet the development discourse about poverty has been dominated by the perspectives and expertise of those who are not poor – professionals, politicians and agency officials."[27]

The authors found from this research that despite very different political, social, and economic contexts, there are striking similarities in poor people's experiences. One of these common themes in poor people's experiences was one of powerlessness.[28] Complementing this research – reinforced in a study by Oxfam of one hundred transformational, locally-driven projects in different parts of the world—is the decisiveness of human agency.[29] The agency of Africa must become the means for the construction of Africa's present and future development; it must begin with recognizing the assets and gift of the people. As the World Council of Churches document *Together Towards Life* clearly stated,

> Living on the margins, however, can provide its own lessons. People on the margins have agency, and can often see what, from the centre, is out of view. People on the margins, living in vulnerable positions, often know what exclusionary forces are threatening their survival and can best discern the urgency of their struggles; people in positions of privilege have much to learn from the daily struggles of people living in marginal conditions."[30]

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[25] Quoted in Ter Haar, "Religion and Development," 17.
[26] Deepa Narayan, "Voices of the Poor," in *Faith in Development: Partnership Between the World Bank and the Churches of Africa*, ed. Deryke Belshaw, Robert Calderisi, and Chris Sgden (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2001), 39.
[27] Deepa Narayan, Robert Chambers, Meera K. Shah, and Patti Petesch, *Voices of the Poor Crying out for Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 21.
[28] Narayan et al., *Voices of the Poor Crying out for Change*, 21.
[29] See Duncan Green, *From Poverty to Power: How Active Citizens and Effective States Can Change the World* (Oxford: Oxfam International, 2012).
[30] World Council of Churches, "Together Towards Life: Mission and Evangelization in Changing Landscapes," archived.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/wcc-

The Need to Change Problematic Notions of Development

Between 1967 when *Populorum Progressio* was published and 2013 when Pope Francis took office, one can identify five forms of mainstream development initiatives in Africa: Church social mission administered by the clergy and religious in Africa, and mainly driven by laity from the West (CSM); celebrity humanitarianism (CH); African development led by Western experts and international organizations (ADW); Religious Enchantment over Social Action (RESA); and Governmental Economic and Technical Development Agenda (GETDA). I highlight their commonalities and show the limitations of these approaches to development and social mission.

First, the common rationale for development initiatives in Africa since post-independence is the integration of Africa into the global economy. Driven by the modernization theory which seeks greater convergence in the global economy, the central argument for these approaches is that poverty in Africa and other non-Western societies is the result of a divergence in technical, political, cultural, religious, and economic life from the West. In other words, Africa needs to become like the West in adopting political and constitutional democratic principles and Western economic orthodoxies in order to bridge the yawning gap between the quality of life in Africa and the West.

The second characteristic is that these approaches have very rigid operational principles. These are often out of sync with local practices and initiatives, cultural understandings, and indigenous knowledge for creating wealth. In other words, a lot of development initiatives in Africa are defined by economic, technical, and operational principles originating outside of Africa. Even the economic theories are driven by mainstream economic orthodoxies which often do not take cognizance of Africa's own unique world of business and the high cultural contextual framework of African communal and social life. When these economic structural frameworks transplanted into Africa fail—as they do in such policies as Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), the Lagos and Cairo Plans of Action, African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programs, the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD)—the clinical economists of the World Bank, IMF, Washington Consensus group of lenders, or G8 blame Africa rather than admit their structural incoherence in the African context.[31]

This rigidity in operational principles and practices is not a challenge peculiar to secular organizations. It is also a challenge to

commissions/mission-and-evangelism/together-towards-life-mission-and-evangelism-in-changing-landscapes.html.

[31] See Eddy Maloka, *Africa's Development Thinking Since Independence: A Reader* (Pretoria: African Institute of South Africa, 2002).

churches working in Africa. Most of the operational principles for running church charities—Caritas, papal charities, CAFOD, Missio, Misereor, or the USCCB office of International Justice and Peace—are set outside Africa and read the African predicament through the narrow lens of poverty and suffering. These development initiatives also frame Africa more in terms of what she needs rather than what she can offer her peoples and the world. Church social mission in Africa is still predominantly run by local bishops, priests, and nuns who set the agenda, write the proposals, and implement the projects without accountability to the poor people, while sometimes neglecting the agency and voices of the poor.

The future of the social mission of the Church in Africa must be constructed outside of top-down hierarchical thinking, planning, implementation and reporting. The principles and practices for the social mission of the Church in Africa should not simply be the translation of models designed abroad. The social mission of the Church in Africa needs to be concrete, grounded in local processes, paying particular attention to local narratives and initiatives. The social mission of the Church in Africa must harvest the riches of African construction of abundant life rather than being informed by aid from abroad. The future of African development and the Church's mission in Africa does not lie in African bishops and priests begging the West, but lies in new forms of being Church which are determined by the context and agency of Africans.

This was the intention of Paul VI's speech inaugurating the Justice and Peace Commissions after the publication of *Populorum Progressio*. He wanted local parishes, dioceses, and national commissions of justice and peace to "keep the eye of the church alert, her heart open, and her hand outstretched for the work of love she is called upon to do." As Hebblethwaite noted, the whole goal of this was to give power to local churches in discerning the signs of the times in their communities.[32] The Church's mission in Africa cannot be achieved through synods and meetings, through fundraising abroad, or by foreign aid. The Church's social mission in Africa cannot be achieved through occasional "development tourists" like Western Church leaders and missionaries who spend so much money to do in Africa the work which Africans can and should do for themselves. The social mission of the Church must begin first by paying attention to the assets and initiatives of the primary drivers of grassroots transformation in Africa.

The third characteristic of these development initiatives is an emphasis on needs rather than assets. The history of Africa's contact with the outside world, especially within the last one hundred years, has been one of unequal power relations, exploitation, and failure to understand and engage Africa at a level beyond the narratives of poverty,

[32] See Hebblethwaite, *Paul VI*, 489.

suffering, backwardness, and decay.[33] As a result, development programs in Africa—governmental or non-governmental—have been driven by short-term interventionism rather than wealth creation. In its analysis of the socio-economic challenges facing Africa, the lineamenta for the Second African Synod wondered why the assets of Africa have remained a source of conflict and exploitation rather than a means for bringing prosperity to Africa. It states, "Africa's immense resources are in direct contrast to the misery of its poor. The situation becomes even more scandalous if consideration is given to the wealth amassed in the hands of a privileged few."[34]

The assets of Africa—human, cultural, natural, social and religious—have rarely been developed to build lasting and sustainable practices for human and cosmic flourishing in the continent. The kind of apocalyptic images of Africa in international appeals for charity—"helping Africa", "race against time", "the life you can save" in Africa—have resulted in more needs-based interventions rather than facing up to the serious questions about social justice. The churches need to ask the more fundamental question why there is so much suffering and poverty among many Africans in a continent with rich human and natural resources. Why, despite having the most fertile, arable lands in the world, do about 200 million Africans suffer from chronic hunger?[35]

The final characteristic of these development initiatives is they work autonomously without coordinating efforts with each other. The different Christian religious denominations do not often work together in aid initiatives. Different international organizations in Africa work like rivals. Rarely do governments work with NGOs, FBOs, and UN agencies to coordinate such key areas as education, health, and civic education. There are instances where this has been done, especially in

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[33] See Overseas Development Institute, "Growth Without Development: Looking Beyond Inequality, Briefing Paper 47," www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/3474.pdf. The authors highlight the impact of Wolfson's polarization measure compared to Gini's coefficient for explaining inequality in society and why the middle class in the US for instance is shrinking even though there is a marked increase or growth in wealth. They argue further: "Unlike the measurement of inequality, polarisation measures focus on the clustering of members of a society at more than one income level – referred to as poles – capturing convergence around these income levels. Polarisation measures help to clarify why economic growth does not always translate into human development. They provide a distinct and complementary insight into the link between growth and human development, capturing the distributional aspects missed by traditional inequality measures."

[34] Second Special Assembly for Africa, "The Church in Africa in Service to Reconciliation, Justice and Peace," www.vatican.va/roman_curia/synod/documents/rc_synod_doc_20060627_ii-assembly-africa_en.html.

[35] Ernest Harsch, "Africa Beyond Famine," *Africa Recovery* 17, no. 1 (May 2003): 10.

the battle against HIV/AIDS, but they are often crisis driven rather than well thought out and implemented programs.

The Need to Accurately Understand the Causes of Poverty

The *Lineamenta* of the Second African Synod was very direct and unequivocal in its judgment about the social condition of Africa,

> In most African countries, despite recently achieved progress, the rate of literacy continues to be among the lowest in the world. In many places, the educational system is constantly deteriorating, the health system is in shambles, and social welfare is almost non-existent. With the lack of order, the weak are always the people most threatened. Likewise, in the area of demographics, one can't be silent at the imbalance between a population which is witnessing a record rate of annual growth, and resources which remain unutilized, if not being totally depleted. Africa's immense resources are in direct contrast to the misery of its poor.[36]

Moreover, the life of many Africans today is not better than it was when Pope Paul VI penned *Populorum Progressio* in 1967. The 2012 Human Development Index (HDI) reveals that the 12 countries of the world at the lowest rungs are in Africa. In the 2015 report, 34 of the countries in the low development index are in Africa. According to this report, even though the number of people living in the low HDI fell by nearly 20 million, human deprivations are still widespread and much human potential remain unused. For instance, 11 children under five die every minute; 33 mothers die every hour; and about 37 million people live with HIV and 11 million with tuberculosis; 103 million young people between the ages of 15-24 are illiterate and there are 74 million young people who have no job. These statistics refer especially to Africa where two-thirds of her countries fall in the lowest rungs of the human development index.[37]

The 2015 report which looked at the situation of employment worldwide emphasizes that "people are the real wealth of nations, and human development focuses on enlarging people's choices," especially with regard to building human capabilities.[38] Thus, the greatest asset of Africa is her young people:

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[36] Second Special Assembly for Africa, "The Church in Africa in Service to Reconciliation, Justice and Peace," www.vatican.va/roman_curia/synod/documents/rc_synod_doc_20060627_ii-assembly-africa_en.html.

[37] United Nations Development Program, *Human Development Report 2015: Work for Human Development* (New York: United Nations Development Program, 2015), 3, 29-30.

[38] United Nations Development Program, *Human Development Report 2015*, 1-2.

> With 200 million people aged between 15-24 (the youth bracket), Africa has the youngest population in the world. The current trend indicates that this figure will double by 2045, according to the 2012 African Economic Outlook report prepared by experts from the African Development Bank (AFDB), the UN Development Program (UNDP), and the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and the industrialized Countries' Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) among others.[39]

The sad news, however, is that, according to the World Bank, 60% of Africa's young people are jobless.

While many scholars question the accuracy of these statistics, many of these indicators were noted by the Second African Synod: the high unemployment rate among young people in Africa, high maternal and infant mortality, poor health care, poor governance in many African countries, low life expectancy, low standard of living, deterioration in economic and social conditions, a lack of capacity for mitigation and adaptation to the effects of climate change, and low levels of human security. Many African countries suffer from persistent fratricidal wars, ethnic strife, and the pitiable spectacle of refugees and displaced persons.[40] While economic growth is recorded in countries like South Africa, Botswana, Senegal, and Ghana, it does not translate into changes in the living conditions of citizens. There is a 30% youth unemployment in Senegal, while 70% of young people in Ghana are either self-employed or keeping themselves busy in working for their families.[41]

These statistics do not provide an accurate understanding of Africa's poverty. Dayo Olopade argues strongly that African development is following a different trajectory. There is a convergence of interests, creativity, local initiatives, and significant victories and positive stories of young people, women, and civil societies which are changing the face of Africa, but these factors do not show up on the clinical development graph of the UN or the World Top Incomes Database (WTID). Olopade, therefore, argues that, "When you're thinking of Africa in the context of the wars you've seen, the poverty you

[39] Kingsley Ighobor, "Africa's Youth: A 'Ticking Time Bomb' or an Opportunity?" *Africa Renewal* 27, no 1. (May 2013): 10-12.
[40] Second Special Assembly for Africa, "The Church in Africa in Service to Reconciliation, Justice and Peace," www.vatican.va/roman_curia/synod/documents/rc_synod_doc_20060627_ii-assembly-africa_en.html.
[41] Ighobor, "Africa's Youth," 11.

assume, or the government you've given up on, you're likewise missing the point."[42] In his magisterial work, *The Fortunes of Africa*, Martin Meredith argues that,

> The lure of Africa's riches remains as strong in the twenty-first century as in the past. As well as the activities of Western corporations, new players have entered the field. The rising economic might of China and other Asian countries has stimulated a boom in demand for Africa's oil and mineral resources. Land too has become a prized commodity once more…But much of the wealth generated by foreign activity flows out of Africa to destinations abroad. Africa's ruling elites further drain their countries of funds, stashing huge sums in bank accounts and properties abroad.[43]

Meredith argues further that Africa has its own peculiar problems like unreliable rainfall, frequent droughts, harsh and variable climate, challenging terrains, and human and animal diseases.[44] In this light, the analysis of poverty in Africa must begin with an accurate understanding of the conditions facing the continent. Africa cannot be understood in isolation, and the social mission of the Church in Africa must have a correct diagnosis of the African social context.

The Need to Include Women

One area of the social mission of the Church in Africa which carries so much promise is harvesting the gifts of African woman. The question of the role of women and gender equity is strongly raised in Pope Benedict XVI's *Africae Munus*, as it was in the deliberations of the October 2009 Synod. Benedict writes, "The Church has the duty to contribute to the recognition and liberation of women, following the example of Christ's own esteem for them…." (no. 7).[45] However, papal documents have struggled to develop ethical principles which could promote and protect the rights of women. According to Henriot,

> As several feminist scholars have pointed out, this may be the result of an emphasis on "proper nature" and "proper role" of woman—seeming to imply that women have a

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[42] Dayo Olopade, *The Bright Continent: Breaking Rules and Making Change in Modern Africa* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014), 13-14.
[43] Martin Meredith, *The Fortunes of Africa: A 5000-Year History of Wealth, Greed and Endeavor* (New York: Public Affairs, 2014), xvii.
[44] Meredith, *The Fortunes of Africa*, xvii.
[45] I am grateful to Pete Henriot for sharing with me the original draft of his article where he analyzed *Africae Munus* and did a creative appropriation and critique of this document. I also owe to Pete a lot of inspiration for his pioneering work of social analysis within the Catholic social teaching tradition, and his activist work in Africa in Zambia, and now in Malawi.

> "nature" distinct from men's. As a result, insufficient attention is paid both to the massive contributions made by women to economic development (e.g. food production and health care) and social development (e.g. , education), and to the massive obstacles they face (e.g. suffering disproportionately from poverty, illiteracy and malnutrition).[46]

The Church must support the rights and dignity of women more effectively. As Musimbi R. A. Kanyoro writes,

> The witness of the Church in Africa will not be credible unless the Church takes into account the traumatic situation of the millions of women and the perilous conditions of the outcast of our societies. What meaning can faith have in churches that seek to be liberated without sharing the people's battles with the forces of oppression assaulting their dignity? …These questions frighten churches and communities with long established traditions and practices of injustices to women. They threaten our institutional comfort as churches, our invested privileges, our secure situations and they threaten the security of our judgment of what is right and what is wrong.[47]

The subjugation and marginalization of women is deeply rooted in various patriarchal ethos and has contributed to the violation of women's rights in Africa. In Africa about 51% of African women have been victims of violence, 11% suffer violence during pregnancy, 21% marry before the age of fifteen and 24% experience genital mutilation.[48] The various forms of female abuse include domestic violence, ritual bride price, forced marriages, sexual harassment, punitive widowhood rites, female genital mutilation, rape, prostitution, and enforcement of gender-biased laws. These oppressive practices deface the dignity of the African woman and are exacerbated by the consequences arising from the socio-religious, economic, and political realms. As a result, the life of an African woman unfolds along the trajectory of vassalage: at home she serves every member of the family; in society she has limited opportunities; in the culture she is a victim of traditions.[49]

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[46] Peter Henriot, "Who Cares About Africa?" 229.
[47] Musimbi R. A. Kanyoro, *Introducing Feminist Cultural Hermeneutics: An African Perspective* (Ohio: Pilgrim Press, 2002), 80.
[48] See Anne Arabome, "Woman, You Are Set Free! Women and Discipleship in the Church," in *Reconciliation, Justice, and Peace: The Second African Synod*, ed. Agbonkhianmeghe E. Orobator (New York: Orbis, 2011), 119.
[49] Arabome, "Woman, You Are Set Free! Women and Discipleship in the Church," 120.

Even in this situation, women are still active participants in the economy. According to a survey of nine African countries by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in 1996, about 80% of the economically active female labor force is employed in agriculture. Food production is the major activity of rural women, and their responsibilities and labor inputs often exceed those of men in most areas in Africa. Women also provide much of the labor for men's cultivation of export crops from which they derive little benefits. Women are responsible for 70% of food production, 50% of domestic food storage, 100% of food processing, 50% of animal husbandry, and 60% of agricultural marketing.[50]

In my work with the Canadian Samaritans for Africa in over twelve women asset-based projects in four African countries, I have seen how the conditions of women can change with solidarity and participatory practices. African women do not need handouts; they need the Church and state to remove patriarchal obstacles which prevent them from entrepreneurial activities like owning land or running and maintaining a bank account without a male co-signer.

CONCLUSION

The goal of this essay is to show the enduring significance of *Populorum Progressio* for Africa and those factors hindering the development for which it calls. For these challenges to be overcome, the Church needs to become an evangelizing community that, according to Pope Francis, is "involved by word and deed in people's daily lives," "standing by them," "touching their suffering," and "bearing fruits in their lives" (*Evangelii Gaudium*, no. 24). This is similar to the message of Paul VI that the reversal of history to conform to the will of God for the world will require not only the enunciation of sound social doctrine but daily practices by all, especially the poor, in bringing about justice and peace in the world. M

[50] Takyiwaa Manuh, "Women in Africa's Development," *Africa Recovery* 11 (April 1998): www.un.org/en/africarenewal/bpaper/maineng.htm.